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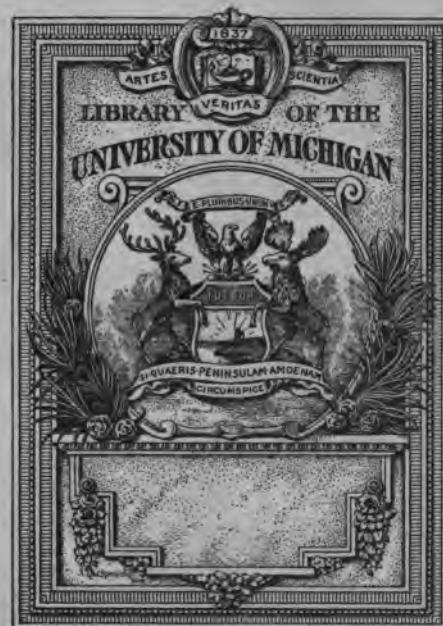
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THE
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JANUARY, 1881.

ART. I.—DON JUAN OF AUSTRIA.

1. *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato.* Edited by EUGENIO ALBERI. Serie I. vol. v.; Serie II. vol. ii. Florence, 1839.
2. *Antonio Perez et Philippe II.* Troisième Edition. A. MIGNET. Paris, 1854.
3. *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España.* A. M. NASARRETE. Madrid.

THE contemporary reports of the Venetian ambassadors to their Government furnish a picture of the awful period of earthquake and chaos which we call the sixteenth century, such as we never find in a stereotyped history of the old and formal school. They throw a light on that wild sea of passions which was let loose by the violent religious changes of the time, and where neither the rock of conscience nor the plank of decorum afforded a refuge. Yet the writings of the ambassadors, who were necessarily dependent on gossip for many of their details, and picked it up from all kinds of sources, must themselves be collated with the private correspondence of the personages of whom they treat, before we can be certain of arriving at the truth.

Since Venice, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, had more important dealings with Spain than with any other Christian nation, it follows that the reports of the ambassadors have done much towards illuminating the sombre and extraordinary character of Philip II. The evil influence which the time exercised even on those who were most thoroughly opposed to religious novelties, was nowhere more strikingly manifested than in this monarch, who combined, in an almost unique fashion, a vacillating timidity of disposition with a deep, quiet, and passive cruelty of heart. But as he was slow in all his thoughts and movements, so also

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his character developed so tardily that even his father never knew all that was contained in it. Philip, when young, was considered a mild man; his pitiless severity was still hidden under the hesitating blandness which his timorous mind imparted to his speech; but that he was suspicious of those whom he was obliged to entrust with the management of affairs was evident even then. But a characteristic which we should never have expected to find in so cold and unimpulsive a nature, is his inconstancy. Inconstant he was to the last degree, ever ready to desert his friends at the first whisper of slander—a trait which caused Antonio Perez, in an absurd astrological enigma on his royal enemy, to place the first letter of his name in the “heaven of the moon.”

This peculiarity in Philip was nowhere more strikingly manifested than in his relations with his natural brother, Don Juan of Austria. It has been a common but surely a mistaken idea with writers on this period, that Philip from the first felt a vulgar envy of his brother, on account of his many brilliant and royal qualities. But Philip was too proud for such an envy. He, the King (*Yo, el Rey*) occupied a sphere far too exalted to admit sentiments of emulation with a subject. It was only when he began to believe that Don Juan aimed at entering that sacred sphere, that the affection with which Philip had formerly regarded him turned into hatred and distrust. For it seems clear that for many years Philip loved his brother well, though after a selfish fashion. Before he had ever seen Don Juan, he knew that a little half-brother of his, who was then hidden in a Spanish village, was likely to be the crowning glory of the House of Austria, and to serve him better perhaps than any other of his subjects. And from first to last he made use of Don Juan for his own ends, and persistently prevented him from becoming independent throughout his short career.

Never was a life more brilliant, more restless, more sadly extinguished—and, we may add, more instructive—than that brief course of thirty-one years; “a life,” as a modern writer truly remarks, “destined never to know the common-place.” Born at Ratisbon in 1547, of a Flemish girl named Barbara Blomberg,* the natural son of Charles V. spent the first seven

* Many and conflicting are the assertions as to the place of Don Juan’s birth, and the status and nationality of his mother. After examining these, we are convinced, with Ranke, that Barbara was of Flemish race, and that her family was either noble or of the higher *bourgeoisie*; but the language of the codicil to Charles V.’s will makes it appear that the boy was born at Ratisbon in Bavaria. Strada gives 1545 as the date of his birth, and several of the Venetians mention 1546; but the irrefragable testimony of the Lepanto medal makes him twenty-four years of age in 1571.

years of his life in the family of a violin-player, in whose hands he had been placed by the Emperor's *valet de chambre* in 1550; but in 1553 he was transferred to the more suitable care of Colonel Luis Quixada and his saintly wife Madalena, who loved him as their own. As the Emperor was anxious to see him, his guardians brought him, in 1558, to Cuacos, near Yuste, where shocking traditions long lingered of raids on the orchards perpetrated by the future victor of Lepanto, and of the un-accommodating spirit in which they were looked on by the proprietor. Charles V. gazed with deep interest on the boy's fair face when he came to visit the Monastery, but avoided the slightest demonstration of the parental affection which he really felt.

In a codicil to his will the Emperor commanded his successor to "honour and cause to be honoured" the son whom he never recognized in his lifetime; and if he showed no vocation to the religious state, which was the one earnestly desired for him by his father, he was to receive from 30,000 to 40,000 ducats a year, and an estate in the kingdom of Naples. This last command the King never obeyed; but he even outstripped the Emperor's directions so far as the honour went. He publicly recognized his brother, and appointed him a household like that of the princes of the blood; he admitted him at ceremonies to the sacred shelter of his own baldacchino.* And now the world in general began to spoil, as much as it possibly could, the many good qualities which Juan possessed by nature, and which Doña Madalena had cultivated in the sylvan retreats of Villagarcia. From the time of his appearance at Court till the era of his government in Flanders, he was altogether raised out of his sphere by a universal tribute of admiration and popularity.

In addition to a sweet temper and a gracious manner he possessed all the fatal showy gifts which attract applause. The Venetian ambassadors speak in glowing terms of his lively wit, his beauty and grace, and his dexterity at every sort of manly and martial exercise. The idea of devoting to the priesthood a boy whose chief delight was in tilts and tourneys, and breaking in wild horses, early appeared ridiculous; nor did Philip try in any way to force Don Juan's inclinations in this respect. Rather was he rejoiced that he might keep so rare an intelligence for the secular service of his Crown. It was evident that Juan was intended for a high position, whether in the Church or in the world, and Spaniards of all classes went so far as to wish that he

* "Her portato soddisfazione e maraviglia a ciascuno per la sua singolar bellezza e grazia, e per il vivo ingegno che tiene," &c. &c. Tiepolo, "Relazioni," S. I. vol. v. p. 75; also Sorango, p. 122.

might be declared next heir after Don Carlos, to the exclusion of the princes of Bohemia.* Thus early was he taught to look for a Crown, even one to which he had not a shadow of right. Philip, indeed, had no mind to see him raised to such an eminence; and sent for the Princes Rudolph and Ernest to Spain, for the purpose of familiarizing the Spaniards with their presence; but these German lads in no wise won the hearts of the nation from Don Juan, who was looked on as a Spaniard, and considered himself as one.

Even the ill-conditioned Don Carlos conceived a warm affection for this favourite of Nature and of fortune, a circumstance which assuredly reveals a vein of generosity in the character of the unhappy Prince. As to the young nobility, Juan was their "glass of fashion" and their "mould of form;" their idol, indeed, as they showed by trooping after him to Barcelona on the occasion of his attempted flight to Malta during the siege of 1565. This attempt, though made in direct opposition to Philip's orders, raised Don Juan very high in the opinion, not only of the martial youth of Spain, but of Philip himself, who welcomed him back to Court in the kindest manner; but it was not till two years later that he began to satisfy his brother's anxious desire for employment by giving him the post of Captain-General of the Sea.

It was very soon after this that Don Carlos endeavoured to persuade him to join in his own mad project of flight and rebellion. Juan, from first to last his brother's most loyal subject, resisted every temptation, and tried long, though unsuccessfully, to dissuade his nephew from his design. It is astonishing that any writer should have accepted the malicious account given by so noted a slanderer as Antonio Perez of the part played by Don Juan in this affair. Treachery, such as Perez himself practised, was utterly foreign to the frank and generous nature of this young Prince, who was the child of the North rather than of the South, and who, even at his worst, never condescended to the dishonourable diplomacy of his time. We find, on studying the narrative of the *huissier* of Don Carlos, and other authorities almost if not quite as trustworthy, that Don Juan was not even the first person to reveal the designs of Carlos to the King. The Prior of Atocha, to whom Carlos imparted, out of confession, his mortal hatred of his father, went to the Escorial on Innocents' Day to inform the King; and it was not till after that day that Philip, as we learn from the *huissier*, sent for Don Juan to the Escorial, where he asked him what had lately been the chief subjects of the Prince's conversation. Juan now told all, but not till he had exacted a promise

* Tiepolo, p. 75.

from the King to refrain from punishing Carlos, a promise from which Philip held himself released when news of the projected flight came to him from at least four different persons to whom the luckless Prince had revealed it.

Philip's love and esteem for his brother had now reached the highest point to which they ever attained ; and in the following year, when the blunders of his two generals, Mondejar and Velez, had increased the Moorish insurrection in Granada to the proportions of a national danger, he determined to make trial of Don Juan's qualities by sending him as commander-in-chief to the rebellious province.

The post to which this youth of twenty-two years was now preferred was one calculated to try his temper and his obedience even more than his capacities as a general. It was very difficult in those days for a prince to make a good *début* in military life. The absurd ideas of the time as to the dignity of princes prevented their passing through the grades of the service, and yet the conduct of armies could not be entirely and absolutely entrusted to a novice. The consequence was, that a young man, even of Don Juan's spurious rank, appearing for the first time in nominal command of an army, was entirely hedged about by military advisers, and was unable to move of his own will ; so that the army had in reality many heads instead of one, an arrangement specially impracticable in war. This was the case of Don Juan in the Granadino campaigns. It was Philip's constant practice to check his lieutenants by means of one another, a practice which originated in his suspicious temperament, and was a fruitful cause of the failures of his reign. On this occasion Philip not only surrounded his brother with counsellors, without whose consent he was to decide on no measures and sign no order, but, most characteristically, took care that these counsellors should all disagree among themselves. The Marquis of los Velez and the Duke of Sesa, though uncle and nephew, were cold friends. The Marquis of Mondejar had an old feud with Sesa, and another with Velez ; Sesa and Quixada, who was to be his ward's chief adviser, often combined against the Marquises. President Deza, indeed, made common cause with Velez, and by his interest at Court obliged Don Juan and Mondejar to expel the Moorish inhabitants of the city of Granada, although they had voted for allowing them to remain.

Thus Philip provided for the continuance of the insurrection, and looked wisely on from Madrid, while his two elderly generals, Mondejar and Velez, spun the war out, and gave the enemy every advantage in the mountains and on the Vega. In the meantime Don Juan was shut up in Granada and forbidden to issue thence. His ardour found vent in daring feats

performed during sorties of the garrison, for Velez so managed matters that the enemy came up to the very gates of the city. Philip gravely reminded his brother that the general ought not to perform the office of the private soldier, nor the soldier that of the general; but Juan persisted in the cavalry charges until Philip accorded to him the much-desired permission to take charge of the mountain campaign in person. The war thenceforth assumed a different complexion. If Don Juan was not precisely a genius, he was all that is intended by the word clever. He had good sense, a ready wit, and the quickest possible perception of surrounding circumstances and their bearing on each other; thus he was formed to be a successful general and an acute politician. On this occasion he was hampered by the usual clumsy nature of Spanish military and pecuniary arrangements, and by the rawness of his troops. Sigismondo Cavalli, who was Venetian Ambassador in Spain in the year 1470, blames Philip's ministers for trying to constrain the Moriscos by unwelcome laws before preparing the means of coercion; so that when the insurrection broke out, the Government had to rely on raw levies hastily raised, with results which showed how little new soldiers on their own ground were to be confided in.* They frequently ran away, and Don Juan twice nearly lost his life in rallying them: on one of these occasions Luis Quixada received his mortal wound. Nevertheless, Don Juan succeeded in quelling the rebellion, chiefly with the co-operation of the Duke of Sesa, who was a very fair general, and whom he liked, and Philip disliked, because he was also an open-hearted spendthrift man. During this war occurred the only instance in which Don Juan can be accused of cruelty, and that was at the taking of Galera, when he gave his troops leave to massacre the whole male population. Yet we cannot, perhaps, expect to find him always and consistently in advance of his times. Shakspeare, in "Henry V.", makes a king whom he intends to represent as just and good, threaten the same and worse punishments against Harfleur, if it persisted in holding out; and Shakspeare, in his historical plays, always paints the manners of his own times, not of those whence he derives his incidents. In general, Don Juan showed himself to be much before his age in the qualities of mercy and clemency, and also of honour, for he scrupulously observed the terms which he made with the vanquished Moriscos and their foreign allies, almost at the very time when Alva was breaking his faith with all the Dutch towns which capitulated, and English lord deputies violating all their pledges in Ireland.

* "Rel.," S. I. vol. ii. p. 166.

The Morisco war, though it exposed the fatal weaknesses of Spain more than anything else which occurred till the end of the century, established the fame of Philip's young half-brother, and also his own good opinion of himself; he was now ready to lead any and every enterprise, and the whole youth of Catholic Europe was eager to follow. Philip also had made use of Juan's capacity to serve him, and decided that he was a valuable machine for leading armies and sustaining the greatness of the Spanish name. More than that the King resolved that he should never be. The letters which Philip wrote to Don Juan at this period are very pleasant to read; full of fatherly kindness, useful counsel, and gentle reproaches because he exposed his life in battle. "You ought not to risk what would give me so much pain as any evil happening to you,"* "I advise you as one who loves you, and who desires that you may approve yourself in all things as the son of our father."† Such are the terms in which the king addressed his brother in 1569 and 1570. The answers, which may be found among "Navarrete's Documentos Ineditos," at once quaint, graphic, and ill-composed beyond description, reveal an increasing pride and love of power, broken by occasional fits of child-like diffidence. They are altogether the production of a clever, vain, inconsistent, and extraordinarily sensitive mind, such as Don Juan's undoubtedly was.

M. Mignet and Professor Ranke have taken different views of this remarkable character, and, like the knights quarrelling about the statue, both are right, but neither sees the other side. Mignet sees only the "naïveté and magnanimity," the amiable temper incapable of rancour or of spite, the honourable observance of promises and treaties, the stainless loyalty of the victor of Lepanto; Ranke sees chiefly the boundless vanity, the incessant longing for pre-eminence and power, the sudden outbursts of hasty and foolish talk, the pride and boastfulness which grew upon Don Juan when in the full tide of his glory, and which the world did its best to foster by flattering him to excess. In any point of view, his lively spirits, his inexhaustible wit, his graceful presence and personal beauty, make up a singularly charming exterior, but they were the principal cause of his many faults and failings. He went forth young into the perils of a stirring and gorgeous existence. He was so generous and gracious, so all-accomplished, so dexterous in what he undertook, that incense was burnt before him everywhere. His finely chiselled features, dark blue eyes, and golden hair brushed up from a broad white brow, were the admiration of all beholders.

* "Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España," vol. xxviii.
p. 52.

† *Ibid.* p. 64.

Ladies flattered him outrageously ; men copied him as best they might. No wonder his head was turned, especially after he had won the greatest victory of modern times. But with all this splendour there was a curse at work which prevented his achieving success in life, a blighting power which he did not discern, though he felt its presence continually.

No portion of history is better known, as far as outward events go, than the formation of the Holy League against the Turks, the choice of Don Juan as its captain-general, the victory of Lepanto, and the disgraceful peace concluded by Venice eighteen months later ; but the manœuvres of Philip during this period—manœuvres which were directed to unworthy objects, and which gave Venice some excuse for breaking the treaty of the League—have not, perhaps, attracted much attention. It was certainly an object with Philip to prevent the Turks from flooding Western Christendom ; but it was almost equally his object to avoid crushing down their power entirely, and this for a twofold reason : he did not wish Venice to be too strong in the Levant, and he was determined that his brother should not gain an independent State, an event which he might not be able to hinder if Don Juan won too many victories. Philip only restrained himself from prohibiting a pitched battle with the Turks in 1571, because he never dared to give a direct answer ; and he set counsellors around his brother, whose secret instructions, as we have no doubt, directed them to prevent him by all possible means from carrying his arms too far. Chief among these councillors was Giovan Andrea Doria, the sea condottiere, whose ships, hired by Philip for gold, were better far than Philip's own. There was no family in Italy more entirely wedded to the interests of the Spanish King than the Dorias. Ever since old Andrea had deserted France for Spain at the siege of Naples in the beginning of the century, the house had been at the devotion, first of Charles, and then of Philip. And now Philip found in Giovan Andrea and his cousin Antonio exactly the sort of cog-wheels that he wanted to check his brother's victorious career in the Levant.

In the “Archivico Storico Italiano” there is a rare old paper,* written by a contemporary named Antonio Longo, on the war and peace of Venice with the Turk. Longo, it is true, speaks with a Venetian's hatred of Genoese and Spaniards, but so many of his accusations against the policy of “Philip's Ministers,” and the actions of Doria, are borne out by other accounts, that they are not to be put lightly aside. He considers that Doria,

* Successa della Guerra Gatta con Selim Sultano, “Arch. Stor. Ital.,” tom. iv. part ii. p. 11, *et seq.*

whom he calls a corsair and not a soldier, dreaded the utter overthrow of the Turkish naval power lest his own occupation should be gone ; and no one disputes the fact that Doria was disposed all along to prevent a pitched battle from taking place in 1571. With the mighty crescent of Islam full in view, he sent a messenger to Don Juan, urging him to hold a council before he ventured to fight ; when the Captain-General returned the memorable answer, that the time was one for action, not for argument. It is true that Doria gave Don Juan very good advice as to the disposal of the battle, advice without which he might have lost it, since his own naval experience was confined to a chase after a few Barbary corsairs ; for it is not to be supposed that Doria wished the combined fleets to be vanquished. But during the action Doria spread his own wing far out to sea, allowed Ochiali to damage the Papal squadron, and afterwards to escape from the scene of battle ; and all this, according to Longo, Doria did of malice prepense. He also records that the saintly Pope reflected strongly on the conduct of the Genoese admiral, saying, “*Dio gli perdoni, se lo merita.*”

Now among all the officers who served Philip on the day of Lepanto, Giovan Andrea was the one on whom the king bestowed the fullest praises and rewards. Of his slackness in showing honour to numerous gentlemen who had done great deeds on that day, Don Juan had to complain deeply in his own quaint half-jesting style. “They tell me I ought to send a person to Court who shall do nothing but cry to our master, “*Mercedes, Mercedes!*”* Thus he wrote to his friend, Ruy Gomez, feeling deeply the neglect shown by his King towards his valiant officers, some of whom told the young victor that they served for love of him, not of their Sovereign.† Yet when Doria went to Spain to visit Philip, the King presented him with gifts of honour, and attributed the victory greatly to his valour and prudence. Every circumstance seems to point to a collusion between the King and the Dorias at this time.

It was the proceedings of the year 1572 which gave the Venetians their best excuse for leaving the Holy League. Philip, threatened with a French war and a Flemish insurrection, commanded Don Juan to remain in Sicily with the Armada, contrary to the treaty of the League, which obliged all the fleets to *rendezvous* at Corfu in the middle of April. The Venetians were most indignant, and were instant with both the King and the Captain-General to fulfil their obligations. Alone of all Spaniards Juan was very popular among the Venetians, although he had disagreed with their cross old admiral, Veniero, the year before.

* “*Doc. Ined.*,” vol. xxviii. p. 177.

† *Ibid.* p. 178.

Antonio Tiepolo, a sort of itinerant ambassador in the interests of the League, who had met Don Juan at Genoa in August, 1571, wrote to the Seigniory praising him in the warmest manner, and always maintained, very justly, that the battle of Lepanto would never have been fought but for “the valour of the Venetians, and the firm resolution of this generous youth.”* Juan himself was exceedingly anxious to go to the Levant in the early summer of 1572. His private letters show that he really wished to act honourably towards Venice; moreover, the Greeks of the Morea wanted to have him for their king, and were already in insurrection against the Turk. No position in history could be grander than that of a sovereign who should have won his kingdom through his sword, not by conquering his people, but by delivering them, at their own earnest request, from the worst of foreign tyrannies. No wonder Juan longed to drive the Turks out of the Morea. But Philip knew of this glorious opportunity, and knew also how to spoil it.

Don Juan had obtained leave to send some galleys to the Levant, under Colonna, early in July, and in August Philip permitted him to follow in person. Giovan Andrea was not with him on this occasion, but he was directed to defer especially to the opinions of the Marquis of Santa Cruz and Antonio Doria. When he joined the Allies off the western coast of Greece, Ochiali, who had hastily constructed a fleet of about 200 galleys since Lepanto, fled before him into the harbour of Modon, where he huddled up his forces beneath the guns of the castle. All the Turks now cried out in despair that Ochiali had delivered his fleet, and Greece with it, into the enemy’s hand; his very crews kept their shoes in their hands, ready to spring ashore when they should be attacked. They could hardly believe their senses when they found that they were not attacked at all. Don Juan’s intention from the first, as we could show by his own letters,† was to destroy Ochiali in Modon harbour, having first thrown some troops on land and secured the castle; and Colonna and the Venetians were eager to take advantage of their opportunities. But the Marquis of Santa Cruz and Antonio Doria most urgently opposed Don Juan’s plans, alleging several pusillanimous reasons for returning to Italy. Whether, in secret council, they gave other reasons, or adduced an absolute prohibition of an encounter on Philip’s part, we cannot know; but we do know that Juan gave up the siege of Modon against his

* “Rel.” I. vol. vi. p. 198.

† See his letter of Sept. 9 to Garcia de Toledo from Cumenizza, in which he says that the enemy is in Modon, and that he is going there to seek him, adding piously, “May God our Lord give us the victory.” “Doc. Ined.” iii. p. 61.

better will and knowledge, and proceeded to invest Navarino Castle instead. And here another doubtful circumstance occurred. Alexander Farnese, Don Juan's nephew, schoolfellow, and dearest friend, who had supported the arguments of Santa Cruz as to Modon, now undertook the siege of Navarino, and blundered as he certainly never blundered again. Had he, too, been requested to check his beloved comrade's career in the East?

However this might be, both enterprises were given up, and the Armada returned home, having accomplished nothing. The Venetians were naturally most indignant; and Longo, although he suggests that the Spanish admirals were jealous of Don Juan's glory, includes him also in his angry strictures. He did not see, as we may now so easily, the bitter reproachful letters in which Don Juan himself bewailed the fruitlessness of the expedition. "I am the more vexed," he wrote to Ruy Gomez, "because I saw clearly enough how easily we might have so injured the enemy that he would long have been unable to raise his head."* Nevertheless, Don Juan, as Captain-General, was not blameless in the affair. If he saw clearly what ought to be done, he should not let himself be persuaded not to do it. He might have shown in 1572 as much determination as in 1571. But before Modon he was in a weak mood, and for the remarkable fluctuations of his temper and spirits no one was responsible except himself.

The Venetians took the opportunity of declaring that they could no longer sustain the fruitless expense of their Armada, and no doubt they were glad of the excuse. At the very time when the League was about to be concluded, they had made frantic efforts to bring the Turks to terms; and even early in 1572 they showed unbecoming and imprudent anxiety to effect a peace. The agreement which they made in 1573 would have been disgraceful if they had lost instead of winning a battle; and so callous had Venetian feeling grown, that one of their envoys, describing a saloon where he awaited the Grand Signior, observed in his report that the spoils of war, among them the stuffed skin of Bragadino, had been carried past these very windows.†

The Greek Crown having vanished, Juan, with the approbation of Gregory XIII., contemplated establishing a Christian monarchy at Tunis. Carthage was to be rebuilt under the patronage of Rome. But his usual ill-luck pursued him here also. Philip allowed him to conquer Tunis, but not to make it his own.‡ Philip was beginning to look on this restless youth

* From Sta. Maria de Vulla, Oct. 22, 1572.

† Costantina Garzoni, "Rel." III. vol. i. p. 379.

‡ M. Mignet, in "Antonio Perez et Philippe II.," shows, from evidence which may easily be found in the above-mentioned volumes of the "Docu-

as a somewhat dangerous person, for Philip could not comprehend that his honour set limits to his folly. It is wonderful, however, that the King did not perceive the prudence of allowing him a sovereignty in Tunis, which would preclude other and more inconvenient schemes.

Don Juan's two secretaries, Soto and Escovedo, who were in great part responsible for the excess of his ambition, had put it into his head to aim, in default of higher game, at the Vicariate-General of Italy, which would give him power and precedence over the different viceroys. Naturally the viceroys of Naples, where he always spent the winter, did not like him, and took every occasion of quarrelling with him; so that Philip sent him to live for several months at Vigevano, a quiet little town in Lombardy, where he would be out of the way of all viceroys, and also of the Neapolitans; for Philip was very naturally displeased at his extreme popularity in Naples. The nobles loved him for his courtesy, which contrasted strongly with the arrogance of Granvella and of Mondejar; the miserable people for his generosity and the efforts he frequently made to lighten their burdens. Both nobles and people went so far as to express a wish that their kingdom should be made over to him altogether.

Don Juan was quite incapable of taking a disloyal advantage of this popularity, but it turned his head completely. He talked of nothing but victories and martial enterprises; he flung away what money he had with a lavish hand, that he might appear splendid and munificent; he said he would kill himself if he knew of anyone in the world more desirous of honour and glory than he was. He dressed so magnificently that it was dazzling to behold him; and took pleasure in excelling in all things little and great.

Vain and ambitious as he had now become, Don Juan was never silly. He did not scorn to ask advice of those who were competent to give it, and he constantly tried to acquire knowledge of such things as were useful to him. Early in the morning he heard Mass, a practice which he never omitted, even at his worst; then he gave audience; then read and answered letters with his secretaries. He next received the visits of Spanish and Italiau gentlemen, and gave more audiences till dinner-time. After dinner he often played at tennis for some hours; on other days he would shut himself up alone to study, even trying to improve his singular orthography.* He understood fortification

mentos," that Don Juan was not guilty of disobedience to Philip in building new fortifications at Tunis, since Philip left the matter to his judgment. But his satirical replies to Philip's pros and cons on the subject, though most amusing, are extremely imprudent. See "Doc.," vol. iii. p. 139.

* Girolamo Lippomano, "Rel.," S. II. vol. ii. p. 290 *et seq.* Lippomano, who is a terrible gossip, went on embassy to Don Juan at Naples in 1575.

and artillery better perhaps than any commander of his day, and was one of the first patrons of the breechloader, then newly invented.* The result of his keen observation of events was that he early became a first-rate politician, and, what was most wonderful considering the period at which he lived, he was also an honourable one. When it fell to his lot to compose the differences of the old and new nobles of Genoa, in 1575, he acted with a combination of firmness, gentleness, and good faith, which obtained the required end without bloodshed and without fraud, and calmed the fears of those who thought that, in his desire for power, he would be sure to seize on Genoa for his own. With Venice, notwithstanding her desertion of the League, he maintained good relations on his own account, well pleased that she recognized his importance by sending him an ambassador; and the Venetian envoy Lippomano observed to the Seigniory that it would be as well to keep on friendly terms with Don Juan, who would very probably possess one of the Italian States after Philip's death.†

But in 1575, when Lippomano wrote these words, Don Juan had already set his heart on a domain far wider and grander than any Italian State.

In the year 1570, when Elizabeth of England and the Duke of Alva made up their differences on the subject of Alva's stolen treasure, and trade was resumed between England and Flanders, the Cardinal of Guise, uncle to the captive Queen of Scots, wrote to the Duke lamenting an amity which he considered prejudicial to his niece's interests. At the same time, in order to win Spain entirely to her cause, he sent articles for her marriage with Don Juan of Austria, which Alva greatly approved. This match was also preferred by the exiled countesses, Sir Francis Englefield, and the whole coterie at Bruges, to the alliance of the wavering Protestant, Norfolk. Philip, however, was entirely opposed to it, and the idea dropped for two or three years, when it was revived by Mary's cousin, the Duke of Guise.

Mary's sole chance of deliverance now lay in a foreign invasion, and for the obtaining of foreign help she relied entirely on Guise, who was the firm and faithful friend of his unfortunate cousin, and was always casting about for means to succour her. In Italy he and his brother Mayenne had formed a strong friendship with Don Juan, and conceived the idea of Mary's liberation by the valour of the victor of Lepanto, and subsequent marriage with him; a scheme which received the warm approval of Pope Gregory XIII., and was eagerly accepted by the Bishop of Ross. Don Juan himself, though he had cared but little for the sugges-

* "Doc. Ined," vol. xxviii. p. 266.

† State Papers.

tions of the English exiles in 1571, in 1574-5 gave willing ear to the proposal of the Pope and of Guise. It came at a critical moment, when the Turks had just taken Tunis, and when he had lost all hopes of a Mauritanian empire for ever, and was looking around wildly in every direction for Crowns. The Morea, Rhodes, Poland, Tunis, had successively faded from view, but to be King of England was grander than all. Philip, of course, was cold as to the project, and put it off, according to his custom, without explicitly rejecting it, when the Nuncio at Madrid asked for his consent and aid, but the idea had entered irremediably into the soul of Don Juan. Henceforth England and the English Crown were the subject of his dreams by day and by night.

In 1576 a momentous change occurred in the destinies of this most enterprising of young princes. Philip decided on sending him to govern the Low Countries. One reason for this resolution was that Juan was the son of a Flemish mother, and Philip hoped that the great name he enjoyed in Flanders, and his fascinating presence, might calm the awful tumult which Alva had stirred up. Another reason was that Philip thought it advisable to send his brother out of Italy, where the people adored him ; for the cold-blooded burghers were not likely to be equally anxious to give him a Crown. This was the turning-point in Don Juan's life, nor is it possible altogether to regret that he was sent to Flanders. His soul, great and generous though it was, and always ready to turn into the right path, was fast succumbing to the evil influences around him. His vanity was rather increased than abated by the vexation which he felt at being twenty-nine years old, and still without a Crown ; for every one repeated to him over and over again that he was born to be a king ; every one forgot, as he pretended to do himself, that the bar sinister was a disadvantage. Now there was to be an end to all this. In the two years' purgatory to which he was doomed he was to receive insults instead of flattery, contempt instead of homage ; stern reality was to replace the changeful mirage which had hitherto engrossed his gaze ; misfortunes, many and great, but healthful and tonic, speedy death itself, awaited him in the dim northern land whence he derived his race, his vigour, and his courage.

Although Don Juan had previously expressed some desire to go and pacify Flanders,* he did not entirely relish the appointment when it came in 1576, probably because he divined its motive ; but he was reconciled to it by the reflection that it would bring him nearer to England, the darling object of his hopes, and immediately told the King that the only true remedy for the ills of the Netherlands was to place England in the power

* Lippomano, 293.

of a person who was quite devoted to his Majesty.* He added that he really did not want the Crown himself, except so far as he might have it by Philip's favour, and as Philip's very humble servant ; and then posted off to Madrid, against Philip's orders, with a double demand for the rank of Infant of Castile, and license to invade England. The King fled to the Escorial ; but when his brother pursued him thither, he knew not how to refuse him utterly. He skilfully put off the question of rank ; for the invasion he granted his permission, only stipulating that the troops were not to be sent away from the Netherlands by sea without the consent of the States. It is impossible not to suspect that Philip, in some roundabout way, gave the States an inkling of what was in the wind.

For this was the time when Philip was beginning to conceive the gravest suspicions against his brother. He and Antonio Perez discovered that Don Juan and Escovedo had been treating secretly with the Pope for bulls and money for the English expedition ; an imprudence which was the beginning of all those terrible disasters described by M. Mignet in his striking volume on "Antonio Perez et Philippe II." Moreover, Escovedo, before following his master to Flanders, sent in to Philip a paper on the subject of the invasion, couched in not very courteous terms ; it even called the King's foreign policy, "décousue" (descosida). Philip had never had such things written to him before, and knew not what his brother might not do now when a secretary ventured to be so bold. But he was wrong, for Don Juan's ambition was limited by certain scruples, and fiery as his spirit was, its fire was harmless.

We have already described† the irritating fashion in which the States defeated Don Juan's project of sending the troops away by sea, and the manful regard to duty with which, notwithstanding this bitter disappointment, he set himself to achieve the primary object of his mission to the Low Countries, which was to pacify and save them to the Spanish Crown. His character and political opinions well fitted him for the task. He was always as much of a Liberal in politics as was consistent with veneration for royalty, and showed himself a friend and protector of the people wherever he went. He had disapproved of Alva's mode of "settling" the Netherlands, and was strongly in favour of restoring to the provinces and cities all the privileges of which they had been deprived. Nor does his private correspondence in any way bear out the accusation of his enemies, that, having

* "Correspondance de Philippe II. sur les Affaires des Pays Bas." (Gachard), vol. iv. p. 167.

† In the first Article on "Mr. Motley's Historical Works," in the DUBLIN REVIEW for April, 1878.

nothing but his sword and cloak, he was always urging the King to make war for the sake of the soldiers.* On the contrary, we find that he constantly tried negotiation before making war. He even proposed, in 1571, to secure Tunis by peaceful means if possible;† in the affair of Genoa he scrupulously avoided blood-shed; and so again now, he made every effort to meet the Flemings half-way, and save their country from the scourge of war. But he was in reality so heart-broken at the downfall of his hopes, that Escovedo expressed fears lest he should die of disappointment; in which case, wrote the faithful, foolish, adoring secretary, he himself would fly to his native mountains, and never see the Court or the world more.‡ Don Juan had inspired this man with a deep wild dog-like attachment; but, unfortunately, Escovedo had human imprudence and human ambition, which were luring his master to a lingering destruction and himself to a violent one.

Although the new Viceroy was unquestionably doing his duty, he was so far as yet from being resigned to his position that he made frantic endeavours to obtain his recall. Accustomed to the incense of flattery, he did not know how to take or to endure the insults which the States heaped on his head, or how to answer their outrageous demands. Both he and Escovedo confided all their hopes, their fears, and their anguish to Antonio Perez, one of Philip's Secretaries of State, and one whose persuasive manners and obsequious observance of Philip's character and wishes had raised him to great influence. He belonged to the more liberal and compromising party at Court, the party which Ruy Gomez had founded, and with which Don Juan had always identified himself. In reality, Perez was the very climax of the heartless cunning, the professed treachery, which were brought to perfection in the sixteenth century; but Don Juan was very far from divining his true character. With all his knowledge of Courts and ready perceptions, he failed to plumb the depths of dissimulation which yawned around him. Still very youthful in tone of thought, in tastes, and in appearance, at thirty he had not yet outgrown the folly of confidence in his friends. All his disgust at his present intolerable situation, all his grief at the postponement of the coronation at Westminster, were poured into the sympathizing bosom of Antonio Perez. "Oh, try all things, to take me away from here, and I will be yours *aeternum*, if I can be more so than I am already." Thus wildly did he write to Perez, whose influence Escovedo also engaged to

* Lorenzo Priuli, "Rel.," S. I. vol. v. p. 270.

† Don Juan to Philip, Nov. 11, 1571. "Doc. Ined.," vol. iii. pp. 38, 39.

‡ Quoted in Antonio Perez, p. 42.

help in divers schemes which he thought would "look well in history." Among other strange designs, Don Juan thought of taking the Spanish troops into France, to fight the Huguenots on behalf of Henry III., his ancient rival when they were both lads and had both won victories. The plan was a wild one enough, but Escovedo observed to Perez, "You must not be astonished at anything which the Prince proposes under this blow, which has been too much for his spirit."

How entirely Don Juan had given himself up to the hope of conquering England, restoring religion in our country, and wearing the crown with which, as a scion of the White Rose, he conceived that he had some fantastic connection, was best shown by his wild despair when that hope was defeated. Philip, no doubt, experienced a grim satisfaction when he learned that the States had insisted on the Spanish troops going straight overland into Lombardy. Thither they went, albeit the plague was raging there; and the Netherlanders paid, in the pestilence of 1578, for the obstinacy of 1577. But the sight of the squadrons departing, and leaving him alone and powerless among his foes, struck Don Juan with despair, which he and his secretary expressed to Perez in no measured terms, though in terms which contained no germ of treason.

All this time the much-trusted confidant was playing the part of a consummate traitor. Ever since Philip had been frightened by Escovedo's rudeness, and startled by the discovery of the secret negotiation with Rome, he had employed Perez to sound and worm out the designs of Don Juan and his crazy secretary. Perez even wrote to them of Philip in disrespectful terms, and showed Philip copies of the letters. What he discovered was certainly not high treason; yet Philip grew more and more alarmed in proportion as his brother planned enterprises and complained of his desperate situation. His project of taking the Spanish troops into France to fight the Huguenots was considered dangerous, and Perez has tried to make the world believe that the alliance of Don Juan with the Duke of Guise meant treason to their respective sovereigns, and that Guise concealed his friend's messengers in his cabinet, and treated with them secretly. This ridiculous charge M. Mignet has fully refuted by surely examining the correspondence of the time. Don Juan's special messengers went to Paris to raise money, with the full knowledge of Philip II.; and the schemes concocted by him and Guise were also well known to the King at this time, the Duke having made some very sensible remarks on the subject to Vargas the Spanish ambassador. "He thinks," wrote Vargas, "that your Majesty alone would have settled the Scottish affair long ago but for fear of the very Christian King, who would have

settled it himself but for fear of your Majesty ; and he desires the ‘union of the two Crowns,’ and the consequences which will flow from this union.”* But when once Philip had begun to suspect one of his subjects, his suspicions always intensified themselves day by day. He and Perez saw the wildest plots looming in the capacious horizon of Don Juan’s imagination—one of them being an intention to marry Queen Elizabeth and to give her Flanders as a wedding present. They fancied that Elizabeth had sent him jewels, and that he had asked the Pope’s permission to marry a heretic.† The whole story would be most ludicrous were it not so tragical. Don Juan was, in reality, serving Philip to the best of his abilities all this time ; but Philip’s former love for him had already changed to hate and distrust, when he committed the crowning error of sending Escovedo to Spain.

The secretary’s mission was simply to impress on Philip the necessity of sending money and troops to the Netherlands, since Orange had already succeeded in destroying the good effects of the pacification of Ghent and the Perpetual Edict. But Philip, mad with suspicion, saw another motive for his coming. “We must get rid of him before he kills me,” he wrote to Perez.

A circumstance which Philip considered as conclusively damning was that Escovedo had proposed to fortify the rock of Mogro, off Santander, in his native Asturias, and to command it himself. That Don Juan, after taking possession of England, intended to land at Santander and conquer Spain, was thenceforth a certainty in Philip’s idea. It was no longer a question of foreign Crowns—that of the Greeks, or of the African Moors, or of the Tudors ; it was his own Crown that was aimed at—that very diadem of Spain itself to which a large party of the nobles, in Juan’s boyhood, had wished him to be considered the heir-presumptive. Yet Philip felt himself obliged to dissimulate his enmity against his brother, and even to send the troops back to him from Italy, under command of the Prince of Parma, with which troops he made successful war on the States, winning the great victory of Gembloix in January, 1578. But then came another torrent of vehement anxious letters from Flanders, expressing solicitude for the King’s affairs only, but containing what Philip regarded as dangerous demands for “money, more money, and Escovedo.” The King was convinced now that there was no wickedness which his brother would not commit at Escovedo’s instigation, and he resolved to smite in secret the author of so many treasons. Perez, in his “Memorial,” says that the Marquis de los Velez, the head of his party, approved

* Quoted by M. Mignet, “Antonio Perez,” p. 66.

† Cabrera, “Felipe Segundo,” 971.

of this decision ; but it was Perez alone who afterwards bore the weight of the guilt.

Never was a more base and cowardly attack made by a sovereign on a subject than this murder of Escovedo, and at no time but the end of the sixteenth century could it have occurred. "L'ordre donné par un roi de faire tuer l'un de ses sujets," says M. Mignet, "pourrait sembler étrange, si l'on ne se souvenait des habitudes comme des théories de ce siècle violent, tout rempli de meurtres. La mort y était le dernier argument des croyances."* The worst feature of the case was, that Philip never thought of an open trial, to be followed by an open execution if Escovedo were found guilty : he was too much afraid of his brother to arraign the secretary before the Council. He took refuge in assassination. To this end he employed Perez. For a long time Perez, though playing a false game with Escovedo, tried to shield him from the King's anger ; and Mignet, unlike Ranke, believes that he became his enemy on account of Escovedo's boldly expressed disapprobation of his intimacy with Princess Eboli. Whether this were so, or whether his sole object was to gain more power over Philip by making himself his partner in crime, Perez consented to arrange the assassination of his friend ; and, after three clumsy attempts to poison him, had him stabbed in the street on the evening of the 30th of March.

In the meantime, Don Juan's success at Gembloux aroused new hopes in the hearts of his friend the Duke of Guise, and of Mary Stewart. It has been said that Mary looked without much enthusiasm on the "enterprise of England;" but whatever her just appreciation of its difficulties, her own letters certainly show that she ended by building all her hopes on the scheme.† Unfortunately, Elizabeth was early informed of it ; the bad luck which, as Norfolk has said, attended everything that was done for Mary, would have it that a courier who was crossing France with a letter of Don Juan's to King Philip on this very subject fell into the hands of a Huguenot troop. They sent the letter to Orange, who saw in it an instrument by which he might admirably serve his cause ; he forwarded that unlucky letter, with the graceful handwriting and singular style of composition characteristic of the author, to the Queen of England.‡ Elizabeth was much startled. She remembered a remark which Don Juan had made early in 1577 to her envoy, to the effect that he hoped one day to go over to England and kiss her hand. That ironical,

* Quoted by Mignet in "Antonio Perez," p. 60.

† She did not, indeed, enter into any correspondence with Don Juan ; the Duke of Guise and her agents acted as go-betweens.

‡ Lebanonoff, tome v. pp. 1-7.

that audacious remark, then, meant more invasions for the sake of the Queen of Scots! Elizabeth and Burleigh at once removed Mary from Sheffield to Chatsworth, and determined to help Orange in their own secret, underhand, shabby way; and Walsingham began to consider that it might be as well to assassinate Don Juan.

He, nevertheless, was expected by Mary and by Guise to subdue the States so effectually as soon to be ready for a landing at Dover. Mary, after saying that she would prefer to remain a widow, betrayed much fear, in writing to the Cardinal of Guise, lest Catherine de Medici should break off her Spanish match, and also that of her little son with one of the Infantas;* and a month later she recommends the Duke of Guise to rely entirely on Don Juan's aid and energy.

Guise's plan, which received Don Juan's entire approval, and that of Mary also, was to land a French force in Scotland at the same time that the Spanish troops invaded England; and, singularly enough, the restless little Duke of Alençon, who was always quarrelling with the King and seeking out some independent employment, offered to join his forces with those of Guise.† Nothing in the policy of France at this time is more singular than the facility with which great personages could raise a rough kind of troops, not only without the King's consent, but against his will.‡ Mary instructed her cousin to confide his intentions to no one in Scotland, except the Earls of Argyle and Athol, and a few of their chiefest friends, lest the approaching landing should get wind; besides which, the Scots always did better when employed suddenly and unexpectedly than when allowed to cool by long deliberations.§

But at this very time, when Mary was warmest and most hopeful, Don Juan was growing cold on the subject of his once darling enterprise. He saw that the Low Countries required his every effort. So pressing were his duties there, that he had hardly a thought to spare for aught else. His brother sent him no money; he had sold all his own plate and jewels;|| and the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. de Segu, who came to Flanders with 50,000 crowns from the Pope for English purposes, was so moved with compassion that he gave them all to the war with the States. Then came the awful news of Escovedo's murder, closely following an amiable letter from the King, in which he promised to send the secretary back to Flanders immediately. And yet in

* Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, April 10, 1578, Labanoff, v. 23.

† Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, May 9, 1578, Labanoff, v. 36.

‡ See account of Alençon's excursion into Flanders, "Rel." S. I. v. iv.

§ Labanoff, v. 37.

|| Octavio Gonzaga to Philip, "Nav. Doc." t. I. p. 373.

this letter there is one passage which seems terribly equivocal when read by the light of events: "I will remember what he merits," wrote the King.*

Some letters of Don Juan's, very recently discovered, show how little he suspected Perez of being the cause of his beloved secretary's death, or what manner of man it was that he had made his confidant. Whether or no he guessed that his august brother was the original assassin will probably never be known. He was aware that his brother deeply suspected his loyalty; he was wounded by Philip's indecorous attempt at an independent negotiation with the States through M. de Selles. And yet Don Juan continued to devote himself, earnestly and exclusively, to Philip's work; and his dealings with Guise were now confined to a request that the Duke would keep the Huguenots occupied in France, so that they should not invade Flanders. Never did adversity operate a more beneficial change than in Don Juan at this time. Pressed by enemies on every side, doubted, almost abandoned, by his brother, and weak in health as he was, his character seemed suddenly to shake off all the faults which the too warm sun of his glory and prosperity had fostered, and to bloom out into saintly virtues. Now that the end was approaching, God showered down His graces in double measure on this soul which He had marked for His own, nor did it fail to correspond. Don Juan bore his trials with the firmest patience, fulfilling every duty, practising every virtue, with a single eye to the glory of God and the service of his ungrateful master. At this most critical moment Philip seemed to have abandoned his brother altogether. He seldom wrote to him, seldom sent him supplies, reinforcements never, urgently as they were required. He did not express his profound distrust of his unfortunate viceroy, but none the less he let it plainly appear. Don Juan's eyes were now fully opened to the vanity of the world. All had turned to dust and ashes, like fairy gold; he began to aim at a crown more glorious than any which he had coveted as yet. Always, in his most worldly days, he had preserved a chivalrous devotion to the Mother of God, and had worn in his morion a medal of her Immaculate Conception: now he determined that so soon as he should have saved Flanders he would retire to the heights of her holy mountain of Montserrat, and there serve a King who would never faithlessly abandon him as his earthly king had done.

In the meanwhile, Don Juan applied himself to expelling from his army the vices which had run riot there under the Duke of Alva and Reguenses, and succeeded so well that Cabrera says

* Quoted in "Antonio Perez," p. 95.

his lines resembled a monastery rather than a camp.* Notwithstanding his stringent rules, he was ardently beloved by his soldiers, who looked on him as their comrade and their friend. He shared all their hardships, sleeping in the trenches, and exposing himself to shot and shell, to wind and weather. In August, unable for want of men to do more than hold his ground, he encamped at Bouge, three miles from Namur. The plague was in the army, imported by the troops from Lombardy; dysentery and fevers raged there also. Don Juan's kindness to the sick knew no bounds. He tended them with his own hands, and took infinite pains that no man should die without the sacraments; he constantly followed the holy viaticum to the hospital as a guard of honour.† Everything he had was given away in alms to his suffering soldiers, and most of his time spent in providing for their needs.

Powerless as Don Juan now was against England, Burghley and Walsingham still deemed him dangerous. Walsingham went over in August to sound his intentions, under cover of mediating between him and the States; and the impression which Don Juan made on his enemy shows that all his misfortunes had not taken away his old charm of look and manner. "Never," wrote Sir Francis, "have I seen a gentleman for personage, speech, wit, and entertainment, comparable to him."‡ Almost at the same time, Walsingham had despatched one Ratcliffe to assassinate his paragon; but Ratcliffe lost courage, confessed all, and was granted his life by his intended victim.§

When, in this same month, the Duke of Alençon arrived at Mons with a fourth army, Don Juan remarked to the Prince of Parma that he thought Flanders might now be called well lost.|| Still he held on gallantly, and the last letter but one that he ever wrote to Philip expressed a calm resignation to the Divine will. "I wait patiently for what God shall send me," he said on the 12th of September.¶ It was deliverance from all his troubles that God was about to send him now. On the 16th he sickened of malignant fever, caught from his plague-stricken soldiers, and no sooner knew of what sort it was than he said that he should die. On the 20th he wrote his last letter to the King, "admirable," says M. Mignet, "for its elevation of sentiment, its eloquence, and its solid counsels." The composition, of course, is the work of a secretary, but the spirit is that of the dying hero. Don Juan assures Philip of his loyalty in the most pathetic

* Cabrera, 1007.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Letter to Burghley, in the Record Office, Aug. 27, 1578.

§ Ratcliffe seems to have been a natural son of the Earl of Sussex.

|| Lippomano, "Rel.," S. III. vol. iv. p. 39.

¶ "A que Dios menbiarre me remito." Quoted by Mignet, p. 102.

terms, and entreats him not to abandon the Low Countries to their fate. "Let me repeat for the last time," he wrote, "that if what I ask (supplies and reinforcements) be withheld, I shall not be responsible for the consequences that may follow. . . . It grieves me that I alone am disgraced and abandoned by your Majesty, since no one is so passionately devoted to you as I am. . . . If you let yourself be overcome by difficulties, you will certainly lose these countries, and perhaps the rest."* After this letter was despatched the fever increased in violence, and Don Juan hastened to receive the sacraments before delirium came on. It raged for about nine days, and left him conscious on the 1st of October, when he died full of contrition and of resignation, glad to seek a world where treachery and cruelty have no part. No end could be holier or more perfect. Alexander of Parma, who was with him to the last, always spoke of his young uncle as having died the death of a saint. The whole army mourned their commander with a heart-felt grief. The deep bell of Namur Cathedral, tolling through the deadly autumn air and across the sluggish waters of the Meuse, seemed to ring the last knell of earthly hopes and earthly glory.

Yet, sad as the extinction of that brilliant existence seems at first sight, it is impossible to regret that Juan endured the purgatory of Flanders. Few can doubt that that two years' anguish, that early death, ensured an eternity of joy. Much more than the victim, the two traitors at Madrid, who had brought about his destruction, are to be pitied. Philip, when he heard of his brother's illness, sent him a kind letter, full of affectionate expressions which cost little; but Don Juan was dead long before it was even written, and Alexander Farnese reigned in his stead. The suggestion made by many historians, that Don Juan was poisoned by order of the King, is absurd enough, since there was ample cause for his death without direct foul play; but Philip can hardly be held altogether guiltless in the matter. He had an indirect way of bringing about such tragedies. Ten years before, when Don Carlos was in prison, the King had told his counsellors that there was no need to take strong measures against the Prince, since he was killing himself by his excesses at table; which excesses Philip made not the smallest effort to restrain. He left circumstances to kill his son, neither hastening nor retarding them, and found the plan answer so well that he employed it on two or three subsequent occasions. This was one of them. He saw events in the Low Countries closing in around his brother; he left him there unsupported,

* Last letter of Don Juan to Philip, Sept. 20, 1578; quoted by Mignet in "Antonio Perez et Philippe II.," p. 193 *et seq.*

almost disowned, since he had tried even to negotiate with the States independently of his viceroy, and had offered to appoint another. Adverse circumstances pressed on Don Juan like converging fiery walls. Abandoned, disappointed, burdened with a task he had not means to fulfil, in failing health—there was no doubt what the end would be : Philip calmly watched it approaching, and when it came, retired decorously to the convent of San Hieronimo to mourn. And yet he had looked, and looked not in vain, to Don Juan's energy and talent to preserve a standing-ground for his authority in the Low Countries. He was warming his

fingers old
O'er the embers covered and cold
Of that most fiery spirit ere it fled;

and when it fled, he repaired, and more than repaired, the loss by employing in the same work the unrivalled genius of Alexander Farnese, whom he presently suspected of treason and doomed to slow destruction in precisely the same manner.

What long and fearful vengeance Philip took on Perez, the instrument of his unheard-of treason against two of his most loyal subjects, has been carefully described by M. Mignet, though, here again, he and Ranke are not of accord as to the motive of Philip in pursuing his accomplice so perseveringly. The disappearance of the wretched tools whom Perez had employed in the murder of Escovedo ; his own imprisonment and torture ; his seizure by the Inquisition on the ground of his having let fall certain blasphemous words in his despair ;* his flight to Aragon and the protection afforded him by the Arragonese, whom Philip deprived of their privileges in consequence ; his final escape out of Spain and weary exile, are well known to the students of history. Nor was Perez without his own vengeance. When living in France, secure but poverty-stricken, he employed his leisure in supplying Europe with scandal about Philip II., which was eagerly devoured. Burning with hatred against the master who had used him for wicked ends and then betrayed him, and anxious to justify himself in the eyes of the world, Perez employed his fertile invention in concocting all sorts of improbable stories against Philip ; neither did he spare the memories of Don Juan and of Escovedo, his malignity towards his victims overstepping the bounds of the grave. It is a pity that his "Memorial" should be so frequently quoted as an authority, even by those who are well aware of his want of veracity and of the circumstances under which he wrote.

* M. Mignet omits the worst of these ; Llorente gives them in vol. iii. of his "Histoire de l'Inquisition."

Sixteenth-century ethics were never better illustrated than in this double tragedy of Escovedo and Don Juan of Austria. Philip, of course, felt greatly relieved when it was over, and all the freer for great military enterprises now that he had lost one of his best generals. He was not at all ashamed ; he covered up the harshness, of which, perhaps, he was hardly conscious, under the veil of pious resignation to his bereavement. "I have felt it, as you may imagine," he wrote to the Duke of Medina Sidonia ; "but I give infinite thanks to God for having been pleased to accomplish His will in my affairs."* Yet this fearful hypocrite nearly fainted when he looked on the ghastly beauty of his brother's dead face ; he turned away and would not look again. If that face haunted him in after-nights, none ever knew it, for Philip was not wont to acknowledge that he had done wrong. He still obeyed Charles V.'s injunctions to him, to do honour to his brother, by burying him in the royal crypt, near the grave of Don Carlos. The prophecy which that unfortunate Prince had made to his uncle when trying to shake his allegiance in 1567, that Philip would always check his career, had indeed come true ; and now, after ten years' separation, the second victim came to seek at the side of the first a rest which neither cruel monarch nor treacherous friend can ever break.

ART. II.—THE BRAIN AND THE MIND.

The Brain as an Organ of Mind. By H. CHARLTON BASTIAN, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

WE hail with much satisfaction, and yet with not a little disappointment, the appearance of this somewhat long-expected addition to the "International Scientific Series" of works of which it forms the twenty-ninth volume. We hail its appearance with much satisfaction, because its author is a man exceptionally well qualified to represent, once for all, adequately and fully, the modern school of idealistic materialism in its dealings with the physiology of the nervous system. His M.A. degree at the London University was gained by his proficiency in modern philosophy, while his time, his studies, and his medical skill, have all been largely devoted to the investigation and treatment of nervous affections. An intimate friend and ardent admirer of Herbert Spencer and Professor Bain, an acquaintance of the late George

* Oct. 29, 1578. "Doc. Ined.," vol. xxvii. p. 214.

Henry Lewes, and a reverent disciple of the late John Stuart Mill, he may well be supposed to be thoroughly acquainted even with the unpublished opinions of those writers, and to have at his fingers' ends all that can be urged by the school with which he sympathizes against the objections of such as ourselves. Moreover, the author is a very able, earnest, and industrious man, who has already shown his power of representing his views as to other matters with great force and fulness. It was with much pleasurable anticipation, then, that we opened Dr. Bastian's thick octavo, hoping therein to find evidence of his having thoughtfully considered such objections as have been urged by men such as we are against other writers of his school, and to meet with fresh arguments which might put our mental powers somewhat on the stretch to refute them. Not slight, then, has been our disappointment to find that the only arguments which really tell against his system are by him utterly ignored; that the real difficulties which that system has to meet and explain are passed over in silence, and that, instead of the exciting pleasure of a real combat, we have but to record one more of the many instances in which assertion does duty for proof, and in which the innocent ignorance of the scientifically uncultured public is imposed upon by a parade of irrelevant knowledge, by a few foolish sneers, and by much empty declamation.

Why, then, it may be asked, take the trouble to review a work so little deserving serious attention? We reply, the work *does* deserve serious attention. In the first place, it contains a great deal of very interesting information, and many statements of facts, and many assertions with which it is desirable the Catholic reading public should be made acquainted. But the work also, and above all, deserves attention on account of its typical character. Let the reader once have a sufficient knowledge of this book and he will know all that can be said on the materialistic side, and, armed with a refutation and explanation of the views contended for by Dr. Bastian, he will be armed against modern materialism altogether. By learning what are the author's mistakes and misapprehensions, the reader may be prepared to look out for and appreciate the analogous mistakes and misapprehensions of the whole school of writers of which Dr. Bastian is one, and which vitiate all their arguments and stultify all their conclusions.

After so depreciating a commencement, it is especially incumbent upon us to do full justice to Dr. Bastian, and the best way to do so will be to give a full statement of the contents of his work, only dwelling on those parts of it which have an interest for us—on those parts, that is, which concern our great controversy with modern materialism.

The work occupies no less than seven hundred pages, its contents being arranged in thirty chapters; but, unfortunately, there is no preface, and no preparatory statement as to the general aim and objects of the work.

A very large portion of the book is taken up with an account of the nervous structures of the whole animal world, and the first chapter has for its title "The Uses and Origin of a Nervous System."

Exception may be taken to the author's very first sentence. He says: "A lifeless object makes no appreciable response to external impressions." Such an assertion seems strange in the face of the well-known phenomena of attraction and repulsion in magnetism and electricity. But, letting this pass, a much more important error vitiates his first hypothesis, that as to "the origin of a nervous system"—the very *fons et origo* of his whole biological philosophy. For, following in the footsteps of him who is amusingly called by the entirely unphilosophic Darwin "our great philosopher"—in the footsteps, that is, of Mr. Herbert Spencer—Dr. Bastian represents a nervous system as having been generated through the reiterated passage of an impression, or stimulus, along definite paths in some animal's body as yet possessing no nervous system at all. "Ultimately," he tells us, "by the constant repetition of such a process, we should have the gradual formation of an actual 'nerve fibre,'" and he brings forward as examples (of animals just caught, as it were, in this incipient nervous condition) certain medusæ, or jelly-fishes, which, while having no nervous system, have yet managed so to convey impressions and stimuli along definite lines so as to seem, for all the world, as if they had one. This discovery was made by Mr. Romanes, and his really very interesting experiments were detailed before the Royal Society, and subsequently a wider public, at the Royal Institution, was regaled with a lecture, in which the actual generation of a nervous system before our very eyes was pointed out. At this stage of scientific knowledge Dr. Bastian's first chapter was written and set up in type. But, alas! very shortly afterwards, Mr. Schäfer and Professor Hertwig both succeeded in discovering a most distinctly developed and, indeed, complex nervous system in these very creatures which were thought to have none, and whose singular movements (under Mr. Romanes's experiments) were supposed to show us a nervous system "in the making." It turns out that, after all, they really had all the time a very well developed nervous system. It ceases, therefore, to be a wonder that they should act as if they had one, and the whole experimental "verification" of Spencer's and Bastian's *a priori* views as to "the origin of a nervous system" falls to the ground. A small foot-note on p. 22

recognizes the fact of this discovery, but, as is not unnatural, the author does not point out its significance.

The second chapter treats of the *structure of nervous tissue—its fibres, cells, and ganglia*, and although such qualifying expressions as "it is thought," or "supposed," are employed, the impression conveyed to the general reader is that there is very little doubt but that fibres and cells are really connected together in the way commonly taught in textbooks. As to this sort of teaching, Mr. G. H. Lewes has said* these various supposed connections are "described with a precision and a confidence which induces the inexperienced reader to suppose that it is the transcript of actual observation." Yet he declares them to be "imaginary from beginning to end," adding that "no such course was ever demonstrated, but that at every stage the requisite facts of observation are either incomplete or contradictory."

After a short chapter on *sense organs*, and six others describing the nervous system in different animals up to and including birds, comes one on the *scope of Mind*, which is not without interest for us, as herein Dr. Bastian strikes the keynote of his whole fugue, and presents us with a real *novelty*, as his views differ curiously from that of every other writer known to us as to what the word *Mind* should signify. He admits that that word is generally taken to denote the sum of our conscious states, but he contends (very reasonably) that there is a close affinity between nervous actions which are accompanied with consciousness and certain other nervous actions not ordinarily, or ever, so accompanied. We might expect, then, that he would employ the word "Mind" to denote nerve activity (*i.e.*, regard it as a synonym of "neurility") a use of the word which would harmonize with the views of Herbert Spencer. But he presents us with a singularly bizarre conception. "Mind," for Dr. Bastian, signifies *our conscious states together with the unconscious activity of certain parts of the nervous system*, while the unconscious activity of other parts of that system (the activity of parts even of the brain itself!) is declared by him to be "in no sense mental," but, on the contrary, "purely physical," the nervous motor activities being excluded by him.

The author indulges in the usual ignorant declamation against what he seems to regard as orthodox views. Thus he speaks (p. 138) of Mind being regarded as "a real and positive something, existing of and by itself," and (p. 153) of philosophical writers who, not having emancipated themselves from the mere metaphysical doctrines concerning Mind, habitually regard it as

* "The Physical Basis of Mind," p. 267.

an entity, and speak of "the Mind" using the Brain as its instrument.

We can assure Dr. Bastian that "orthodox views" are free from all such or any such absurdities, and entirely concur with the most advanced physiology. "Mind" is a term which denotes the rational soul energizing consciously with the help of nervous matter which it informs—as it informs the rest of the body. "Mind," as such, is therefore, *of course*, a mere abstraction, though a real activity of real being, just as the "soul of a living man" is a mere abstraction, since during life it and the body it informs are one inseparable unity.

The very word "soul" acts on men of Dr. Bastian's school like the touch of Ithuriel's spear. They rise and vehemently exclaim they know no such thing! But this protest is again the result of ignorance of our meaning. We, no more than they, have any knowledge of our "soul" as something distinct from our "body," but we know our soul ever and always when we know anything and in whatever we do. Our personal energy, our feelings, perceptions, and relations are our soul. These are, and therefore our soul is, the most certainly and intimately known of all things known by us. As to the existence of our body, we *might* doubt—our soul it is conceivable might be made to err in its judgments and perceptions, and so deceive us as to the body's existence—but as to the *soul's* existence, that is the one thing about which doubt, in a sane man who understands the question, is simply impossible. As Dr. Bastian himself admits, nothing whatever can be known except in terms of "Mind."

But, apart from this explanation, we altogether object to Dr. Bastian's use of the word "Mind," or to any use which would depart from that usage which he admits to be universal, in order that Mind may mean *the activity of part of the nervous system and certain portions of the brain, he cannot tell which, certain other parts of the brain acting, he cannot tell where, being excluded.* He says (p. 139) very truly :—

All that we know of Mind is derived (a), directly or by inference, from our own subjective states (*subjective psychology*), supplemented by (b) what we are able to infer from the words or other actions of our fellow-men and lower animals as to the possession by them of similar states (*objective psychology*), and (c) by what we are able to learn as to the dependence of these subjective states upon the activity of certain parts of our bodies and of the bodies of other animals (*neurology*), or the anatomy, physiology and pathology of nervous systems.

He deprecates (p. 140) exclusive trust in subjective psychology as follows :—

If we lean implicitly and exclusively upon these direct revelations of

consciousness, we must, as the history of philosophy has shown, inevitably commit ourselves to a system of universal scepticism, needing, as Hume proclaimed, a rejection of all grounds of certainty for our belief in an external world, in body, and, indeed, in Mind as an entity—leaving to each one of us a mere fleeting series of conscious states as representatives of the totality of existence.

This is an unconscious tribute of praise to Catholic philosophy which postulates as our ultimate grounds of knowledge—(1) the dicta of consciousness, (2) the intuitions of the intellect, and (3) the information derived through the senses.

The second of these, Dr. Bastian and the whole school of which he forms a part affect to disregard or reject, but at what cost his own words show. He tells us that the direct revelations of consciousness “are by each one of us invariably supplemented and modified, where necessary, by what we deem to be ‘legitimate inferences.’” Yet how can we avoid that very “universal scepticism” which he justly deprecates unless we can trust our intellectual intuitions and unless we can be certain of the objective truth of logic.

He compares (p. 141) our knowledge of “Mind” with our knowledge of “magnetism.” He admits, indeed, that there is a difference, “of fundamental importance,” between our knowledge of the one and our knowledge of the other, but weakens the force of this admission by saying that this difference reposes “only” on the fact that our “very conscious states themselves” are included under the term Mind. Such a remark is like saying that the difference between one thing and another is “only” infinite.

He then labours (p. 142) very superfluously to prove that “evidence altogether fails to assure us of the existence of ‘the Mind’ as a self-existent entity,” which is like labouring to prove that hydrogen does not exist in a free state as hydrogen in water.

“Mind,” as has been already said, includes, according to Dr. Bastian, not only conscious acts, but also unconscious activity. He tells us (p. 143):—“One of the principal errors which the metaphysical conception of Mind as an entity entails is that ‘mental phenomena’ are supposed to be limited or bounded by the sphere of consciousness.” “An unconscious mental process” is very like “a triangular circle,” or “a pitch-dark luminosity;” but the climax of absurdity is reached when he tells us (p. 145) that “it seems almost certain that the greater part of our intellectual action proper (that is, cognition and thought, as opposed to sensation) consists of mere nerve actions with which no conscious states are associated”! And yet this very writer objects (p. 147) to any belief in “unconscious sensation.”

What, it may be asked [he exclaims], is the nature of unconscious “sensation?” Language employed in this way seems to become

meaningless, and, in the writer's opinion, cannot be justified. If an impression receives none of our attention, that is only saying, in other words, that we are not conscious of it or do not feel it. In such a case we have no reasonable warrant for calling such an "impression" a "sensation." No excuse for such language appears to be found in the mere fact that there are different degrees or intensities of consciousness, and that nerve actions without feeling cannot be sharply separated from nerve actions which are accompanied by feeling.

Let the words "*intellectual action proper*" be introduced in the passage just quoted in lieu of the words "*unconscious sensation*," and the unreasonableness of Dr. Bastian's position becomes manifest.

The fact is, the author confounds true intellectual activity, of which consciousness is part of the essence (and which, as active in organized being, is mental "*action*"), with that unconscious cognitive faculty which exists in animals—their "*unconscious neural psychosis*." To this question, however, we shall return.

Supporting his argument in favour of unconscious mental action, he makes (p. 146) the following objection to the view here maintained :—

If we are [he says], as so many philosophers tell us, to regard the sphere of Mind as coextensive with the sphere of consciousness, we should find "Mind" reduced to a mere imperfect, disjointed, serial agglomeration of feelings and conscious states of various kinds—while the multitude of initial or intermediate nerve actions (which serve to bind those other nerve actions commonly associated with conscious correlatives into a complex continuous and coherent series) would have no claim to be included under this category.

This consequence does not seem very alarming to us. Why should they be so included? We do not so include them; but our own consciousness none the less sets us perfectly at rest as to any danger that our intellectual being will be broken up into disjointed fragments in consequence of such exclusion. We know very well our own continuous psychical unity, which is (to sane philosophers) a greater certainty than is the existence of any nerve actions at all, fully persuaded as we none the less are that such nerve actions do really take place in us.

As has been just said, Dr. Bastian is strongly opposed to a belief in "*unconscious sensation*." But though his objection to it is an objection which really tells against his own stronger belief in unconscious intellectual action *proper* (!), yet he really admits all that we who *do* believe in "*unconscious sensations*" can require, for he admits (p. 148) that "there may be nascent, ill-defined, or abortive *subjective sides** to many nerve actions. Now

* The italics here as elsewhere are ours.

an impression is made by an external object on the nervous sensitive structure of a living organism, and if that sensitive nervous structure duly reacts according to its nature, then there must be a sensation, even though the 'subjective side' be 'nascent, ill-defined, or abortive.'

Dr. Bastian then goes on to defend that very peculiar view of Mind which is (so far as we know) exclusively his own—the view that it is the activity of certain parts, he cannot tell which—*i.e.*, of the brain and peripheral parts of the nervous system, certain undetermined other parts of both being excluded. This arbitrary exclusion from Mind of unknown nervous regions is the more unjustifiable, since he himself affirms (p. 151) that "the nervous system is really one and indivisible, so that if, with certain reservations, unconscious nerve actions occurring in the brain are to be regarded as 'mental phenomena,' we can find no halting-point short of including under the same category any unconscious nerve actions of a similar order, wheresoever they may occur."

Nevertheless, he excludes all the parts which minister to outgoing currents, and therefore to acts of will—"the functional results of outgoing currents," he tells us (p. 149), lying "wholly beyond the sphere of Mind." These outgoing currents "rouse in definite ways the activity of the highest 'motor centres' (the corpora striata and the cerebellum), and through them evoke the properly adjusted activity of lower motor combinations, so as to give rise to any movements that are 'desired,' or which are accustomed to appear in response to particular sensations or ideas" (p. 585).

Considering that Dr. Bastian has objected (as has just been pointed out) to the exclusion from "Mind" of the unconscious nerve actions which intervene between others which go with consciousness, it does certainly seem somewhat arbitrary to exclude from it nerve actions which aid "response to particular sensations or ideas."

To the objection that by grouping unconscious nerve actions with conscious states, as components of "Mind," he unites groups of phenomena of utter dissimilarity of nature, subject, and object, *Ego* and *non-Ego*, he replies (p. 149) by the following noteworthy remarks :—

This is an objection based upon our ignorance as to the exact genetic relation existing between subjective states and the bodily conditions (or nervous actions) on which they seem to be dependent. It is probably due to an equal extent to a temporary forgetfulness on the part of those who advance it, that we are as much in the dark as to the real nature of Motion as we are about the real mode of origin of Feeling. Motion, whether molecular or other, we know only by its effects upon us—that is, in terms of Feeling. Who, therefore, is to

declare that there *can* be no kinship between that which is the cause of Feeling and the molecular movements of certain nerve tissues, when, as to the cause of Feeling, knowledge other than that which comes from inference is, from the very nature of the problem, for us impossible, and when we confessedly know nothing concerning molecular movements other than what we can learn through Feeling.

This passage is an excellent example of that confusion of mind (due partly to prejudice, probably sucked in in the early days of intellectual nutrition) which besets our English idealistic-materialists, and makes them—in the case of this author, we are sure, unconsciously—

Palter with us in a double sense.

According to the philosophy Dr. Bastian follows, not merely “motions,” but everything must be known by us in terms of “feeling” and nothing else. What, then, can “molecular movements of nerve tissues” really be? They cannot, by any consistent follower of his philosophy, be really believed to be what he implies them to be—namely, purely physical action of insentient material particles, for such things are simply inconceivable to such a man. An inevitable Nemesis always pursues the idealistic-materialist, and forces him to perform “hari-kari.” But we who are not of that school, can thank God for having given us grace gratefully to recognize and make use of the intellectual faculties with which He has mercifully endowed us. We *are*, therefore, able to “declare that there *can* be no kinship between” feelings and “molecular movements of certain nerve tissues”—no identity of essential nature, that is, though nerve activity is no doubt the agent which produces feelings. But we have a further question to ask. Since we are “in the dark as to the real nature of motion,” who can say that to explain “thought” by “molecular motion” would constitute any real explanation at all, even if it were not intrinsically absurd? Moreover, Dr. Bastian and his school talk glibly about “molecular motion,” as if they had had personal experience of the “molecules,” and as if their “motions” were as palpable as those of so many cricket-balls, instead of the whole thing being a mere working hypothesis, pregnant with philosophical difficulties and contradictions, and therefore very probably, what we believe it really to be, a baseless superstition.

In the next (eleventh) chapter the author treats of “reflex action and unconscious cognition.” Therein he is guilty of that sophistical confusion of terms which has become so common. We mean the confusion produced by employing a word of high meaning in such a way that it shall include within it, as if properly its meaning, that which it only signifies by a more or less remote analogy.

Thus he speaks (p. 157) of "discrimination" as the root faculty of intelligence. Now "discrimination" is properly an attribute of intelligence; but the tide which heaps up the pebbles forming the Chesil bank may *analogically* be said to "discriminate," because it practically sorts out the pebbles according to their sizes and weights. He says (p. 164): "Most of us must be familiar with the fact that by the concentration of attention in certain directions, aided by voluntary efforts, we are capable of increasing our powers of discrimination in the range of either of the senses, and that each new acquirement renders possible other and more refined discriminations. But there is reason to believe that, even without conscious voluntary efforts, the same kind of progress (though more slowly) is capable of being brought about by the action upon the organism of all the varying influences by which it is surrounded." Here is a confusion which it is very difficult not to consider a deliberate one, and yet we are convinced it is only a blunder. In the passage just quoted, discrimination is at first used in its truly intellectual sense, as denoting our voluntary acts of attention; and immediately afterwards a physical effect produced without the intervention of intelligence is spoken of as being of "*the same kind*" as the former. It would be as rational to say that our author and a hogshead of Bordeaux are creations "*of the same kind*," because they are both capable of producing intellectual confusion.

Plenty of "discrimination" and abundant conscious intelligence are manifested by the ant and the bee, but such intelligence is not their *own* (save as the severing of a plank by a saw is the "act" of the "saw") but that of Him who imparted such powers to the forms implanted in the matter of the universe. He tells us (p. 167): "There goes on, as it were, an organization of 'intelligence' primarily of the organic or unconscious kind, which is the hidden cause of the purposive character displayed by so many movements." But "unconscious intelligence" is either an absurd (because self-contradictory) or else an incomplete expression. Its only real meaning denotes the action of an unconscious creature replete with the conscious intelligence of some other being. We have such unconscious intelligence in a calculating machine!

As an example of vague loose statements pretending to be explanatory when they are in no way really so, we may take the lengthy sentence which concludes the chapter (p. 167).* It is as follows: "Organic processes of the same kind *possibly* constitute the basis or starting-point for *all* subsequent mental developments and *mental acquisitions*, even when in higher animals such processes become quickened, *in some further unknown manner*, under

* The italics are ours.

the directive influence of conscious efforts of gradually increasing distinctness." A "possible" action aided by an "unknown" activity will, we venture to think, hardly be accepted as elucidatory by any one who cares to analyze with a little care the dogmas propounded for our acceptance by idealistic-materialists.

The next (twelfth) chapter treats of "Sensation, Ideation, and Perception." As usual, the philosophers referred to are all of one school—namely, that of Descartes. We read of "Descartes, Leibnitz, Spinoza, and other philosophers," with references to Hamilton, Mansell, and others, *ejusdem generis*, as if their opinions were really of some extraordinary importance. Descartes, by his own confession, never studied the philosophy generally received before his time. In ignorance he struck out a new line of his own, and, brilliantly gifted as he was, most of the popular philosophers who came after him—all those with whom Dr. Bastian is apparently acquainted—have been induced to follow him like the famed "moutons de Panurge."

After affirming that on evolutionary principles neither sensation nor cognition can be supposed to be primary and to generate the other faculties, he yet favours the view that if either of these is to be regarded as primary, it is cognition. He favours it, since he tells us "that Hamilton 'truly' observes—

The faculty of knowledge is certainly the first in order, inasmuch as it is the *conditio sine qua non* of the others; and we are able to conceive a being possessed of the power of recognizing existence, and yet wholly void of all feeling of pain and pleasure, and of all powers of desire and volition. On the other hand, we are wholly unable to conceive a being possessed of feeling and desire, and, at the same time, without a knowledge of any object upon which his affections may be employed, and without a consciousness of these affections themselves.

It would appear, then, that Hamilton could not conceive of a new-born infant with pain in one of its limbs. He could not deny that the infant is capable of feeling, and he could not affirm that it has a knowledge either of pain as such or of its own organism. But Hamilton links "desire" with "feeling," and herein is ambiguous and misleading. If by "desire" he means the aspiration of a conscious intellectual nature, then by what he says he affirms that "we cannot have knowledge without having knowledge;" but if he means by "desire" an unconscious tendency (like that which leads the infant to initiate and continue the act of sucking, or a sea-anemone to close its tentacles over a desirable morsel) then we must further distinguish: If he means that for the existence of such desire an intellectual knowledge of the object and a self-consciousness of the affections experience is needed, then what he says is false; but if he means only such

organic discrimination as leads the salivary glands of a hungry man to secrete at the sight of food, and such consentience as leads a decapitated frog to assuage an irritation with one foot when prevented doing so with the other, then such "knowledge" and such "consciousness" may be freely conceded, with the remark that to employ such terms to denote such phenomena is either a folly or a perversity. But not only can we quite well conceive what Hamilton says he cannot, but we cannot conceive what Hamilton says he could, but which we are none the less convinced he could not. He has said: "We are able to conceive a being possessed of the powers of recognizing existence, and yet wholly void of all feeling of pain and pleasure, and of all powers of desire and volition." We can, indeed, conceive of a pure spirit, though we cannot of course imagine such an entity, having as yet had no personal experience of pure spirits. But we cannot conceive of an intellectual nature understanding things good and sensible in their due order, and yet perpetually abstaining from any act of volition. This second question, however, is not to our present purpose; we only mention it to point out what seem to us the errors and confusion contained in the short passage quoted, and because Dr. Bastian has made it his own by his epithet "*truly*."

But it is the more blameworthy of Dr. Bastian to adopt as his own this very unwise passage, because he has himself admitted (p. 148) that there may be actions of sense-organs which do not rise into consciousness, and if the action of a sense-organ is not a sensation—what is it? But he is yet more inconsistent, for he expressly tells us (p. 589) "a simple sensation can, in fact, scarcely exist in consciousness." Does it therefore *not exist at all*? But he evidently supposes that it does exist, and therefore, according to his then expressed declaration, we MUST have such a thing as *unconscious sensation*.

The whole of Dr. Bastian's reasoning about cognition and discrimination results from his own non—"discrimination" between, and non—"cognition" of, the meanings of words.

There are evidently three kinds of actions which need to be separately conceived of and separately named.

One kind is that self-conscious deliberate mental discrimination, or cognition, which we know may take place in ourselves, and which we may distinguish as *intellectual discrimination*, or intellectual cognition. Another kind is that unconscious indeliberate psychical and physical action which may take place in ourselves (as in automatically walking or playing the piano), and which also occurs in animals, through the due co-ordinating action in them (as in ourselves) of the nervous system. This kind may be distinguished as *sensuous discrimination*, or sensuous cognition.

The third kind is that unfelt discrimination which takes place in our own glands and tissues, and in the nutrition of our own nerves, which pervades the bodies of all animals and of all plants, and which leads a few of the latter to perform actions which simulate the sensuous discrimination of animals. This third kind of activity may be distinguished as *vegetal discrimination*, and of course it may be termed vegetal cognition, but to us it seems absurd to employ the word "cognition" to denote any activity so exceedingly remote from cognition true and proper.*

Dr. Bastian, however, does not scruple to call (p. 179) "mere organic discriminations," "cognitions," and to attribute therefore cognition to "plants," or even to "parts of animals," "in which it is not warrantable to assume the existence of anything like that which we know as consciousness or Feeling."

Most certainly, in the absence of any sign of nervous structure, we should hesitate to admit even the possibility of Feeling, and now we are fully persuaded it is non-existent in the whole vegetable kingdom. But where a nervous system and sense-organs are developed, there *must* be Feeling, sensuous discrimination and conscientience. These, however, exist in the animal world without intellectual cognition, and they exist in each man antecedently to intellectual cognition. It is manifest that the child feels pain before it knows it or its own body—not, of course, before it has some sensuous cognition of pain. But that "sensuous-cognition" even of the human infant (for all its innate intellectual nature) is a very different thing from the intellectual cognition of pain, as pain, by the adult. Its sensations of pain are, however, the very same *qua* sensations, as in the adult; the only notable difference is the effect of directing upon these sensations the reflex intellectual activity of the mature and awakened intellect. Certainly, therefore, "sensation" is and must be antecedent to "cognition" in the full and true meaning of the latter term.

The whole essence of a most false metaphysical system is insinuated into the mind of the simple reader by means of a mere passing remark, made as if it were an undisputed and indisputable truth, instead of a most absurd and egregious error. Dr. Bastian says (p. 174): "As ideas are merely weak copies or revivals† of sensations, it is only natural," &c. But ideas are not only *not* merely copies or revivals of sensations, but they are fundamentally, and *toto caelo*, of a different nature. Hume's doctrine (which is the one Dr. Bastian thus quietly introduces as if it were an axiom) is really an absurdity as great as to say that a marble Venus is a

* A similar distinction may be drawn as to "Memory."

† And yet according to Dr. Bastian, sensations are secondary, and cognitions primary!

permanent copy and persistent revival of the implements and strokes by which it was wrought out of the marble in which for untold ages it had been potentially present.

As might be, from the foregoing, expected, the crude notions of Hartley, James Mill, Spencer, Bain, &c., are given out as if they were refined truths. Dr. Bastian quotes (pp. 175, 176) from James Mill (with respect to the association of ideas) approvingly, as follows : "The word 'gold,' for example, or the word 'iron,' appears to express as simple an idea as the word 'colour' or the word 'sound.' Yet it is immediately *seen* that the idea of each of these metals is made up of the separate ideas of several sensations : colour, hardness, extension, weight." We have here a childish fallacy presented as if it were a fact.

A little further on, our author continues (p. 183) : "It seems plain, therefore, that a gradual transition may be traced between simple sensations and the most elaborate perceptions ; that there is a difference in degree rather than in kind, between these two processes ; and that James Mill was not without justification in making use of the latter term, and in speaking merely of 'simple' and of 'complex' sensations." Thus, according to these sapient and discriminating teachers, because a sensation contains an element of sensuous cognition, therefore intellectual cognition is nothing but sensation !

Of course Dr. Bastian fully accepts the popular belief that congenital powers of animals are the inherited results of the acquisitions of their remote ancestors. No tittle of proof is offered for this belief, but some interesting quotations are made from Mr. Douglas A. Spalding's observations on the instinctive powers of birds.

Many of Spalding's observations were made upon young chickens, some of which were carefully hooded as they emerged from the egg, and two or three days thereafter, so as not to permit the incidence of any sight impressions. The young birds being then placed on a smooth white surface, sprinkled with some seeds and insects, the hoods were removed, and the creatures' acts were carefully timed and duly recorded in a notebook.

Often at the end of two minutes, Spalding says, they followed with their eyes the movements of crawling insects, turning their head with the precision of an old fowl. In from two to fifteen minutes they pecked at some speck or insect, showing not merely an instinctive perception of distance, but an original ability to judge, to measure distance, with something like infallible accuracy. . . . They never missed by more than a hair's breadth, and that, too, when the specks at which they aimed were no bigger, and less visible, than the small dot of an i.

One of these chicks, when unhooded, acted as follows :—

For six minutes it sat chirping and looking about it ; at the end of that time it followed with its eyes the movements of a fly twelve inches distant : at ten minutes it made a peck at its own toes, and the next instant it made a vigorous dart at the fly, which had come within reach of its neck, and seized and swallowed it at the first stroke ; for seven minutes more it sat calling and looking about it, when a hive bee coming sufficiently near, was seized at a dart and thrown some distance, much disabled. For twenty minutes it sat on the spot where its eyes had been unveiled, without attempting to walk a step. It was then placed on rough ground, within sight and call of a hen with a brood of its own age. After standing chirping for about a minute, it started off towards the hen, displaying as keen a perception of the qualities of the outer world, as it was ever likely to possess in after life. It leaped over the smaller obstacles that lay in its path, and ran round the larger, reaching the mother in as nearly a straight line as the nature of the ground would permit.

Experiments were also made with regard to the sense of hearing. Chicks, before they had fully escaped from the shell, were rendered more or less deaf by sealing their ears with several folds of gummed paper. Three of them were found, when thus treated, to be so deaf, that they remained perfectly indifferent to the voice of the mother, separated from them by only an inch board. After having been kept in a bag in a dark room till they were between two and three days old, the ears of these three chicks were uncovered, and Spalding says :

On being placed within call of the mother, hidden in a box, they, after turning round a few times, ran straight to the spot whence came what must have been very nearly, if not actually, the first sound they had ever heard. These facts are, as he adds, conclusive against the theory that, in the history of each life, sounds are at first but meaningless sensations ; that the direction of the sounding object, together with all other facts concerning it, must be learned entirely from experience.

But just as young chicks follow the call of their mother before they have had any opportunity of associating that sound with pleasurable feelings, so do they, and other young birds, appear to be inspired, independently of all education on their part, with an immediate Emotion of dread, or sense of danger, at the sight, or on first hearing the cry, of birds of prey, whose predecessors have been the natural enemies of their predecessors. Thus a young hawk, able to take only short flights, was made to hover over a hen with her first brood, then about a week old.

In the twinkling of an eye, says Spalding, most of the chickens were hid among the grass and bushes. The hen pursued it, and scarcely had the hawk touched the ground about twelve yards from where she had

been sitting, when she fell upon it with such fury, that it was with difficulty that I could rescue it from immediate death. Equally striking was the effect of the hawk's voice when heard for the first time. A young turkey which I had adopted when chirping within the uncracked shell, was, on the morning of the tenth day of its life, eating a comfortable breakfast from my hand, when the young hawk, in a cupboard just beside us, gave a shrill chip, chip, chip. Like an arrow the poor turkey shot to the other side of the room, and stood there motionless and dumb with fear, until the hawk gave a second cry, when it darted out at the open door, right to the extreme end of the passage, and there, silent and crouched in a corner, remained for ten minutes. Several times during the course of that day it again heard these alarming sounds, and in every instance, with similar manifestations of fear.

Facts of the kind above cited enabled Douglas Spalding to deduce the following all-important conclusions:—(1) That young chickens can display an intuitive perception by the eye, of the primary qualities of the external world, as well as an appreciation of the distance and direction of sounds on the occasion of the first exercise of the ear; (2) That chickens instinctively bring into action muscles that were never so exercised before, and perform a series of delicately adjusted movements ending in the accomplishment of a definite act—*independent of any antecedent experience, and, therefore, of any “conception” of such act*; (3) That “in the more important concerns of their lives, animals are guided by knowledge which they individually have not gathered from experience.”

In concluding this chapter, Dr. Bastian objects to the dictum “*nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu*,” unless the “*intellectus ipse*” added by Leibnitz be understood to include ancestral inherited aptitudes. But Leibnitz's addition is quite unnecessary, according to the true meaning of this much misunderstood dictum. That dictum does not mean that there is nothing in “ideas” which were not in “sensations,” nor that the faculty of intellect is not of a fundamentally different nature from the faculty of sense. What it really means is, that in external objects and in the activity of sense, there is objectively present that which the intellect, when it is brought into play, is able to elicit and apprehend. It means especially that the intellect is not cramped in subjective “forms of thought,” but is able to apprehend the “objective realities of things,” and by a process of reasoning to find “sermons in stones and God in everything.”

The thirteenth chapter, entitled “Consciousness in Lower Animals,” contains a statement of many interesting facts, but need not detain us. It should be noted, however, that where Dr. Bastian uses the word “consciousness,” what he means is “consentience.” He notices, by the way, some researches of

M. Cyon with respect to the three semicircular canals of the internal ear, which he regards as one organ for appreciating the three dimensions of space. In the next (fourteenth) chapter, the interesting question as to the Nature and Origin of Instinct is entered upon.

He introduces the consideration of Instinct by reviewing purely reflex and automatic organic actions, such as the beating of the heart, the movement of the lungs, and those of the alimentary tube, and he asks why such actions are performed with such undeviating regularity, and at the instigation of mere unconscious impressions? He tells us (p. 221) :

During untold ages, in which organisms have existed with food-taking propensities and alimentary canals, contractions of the intestines have been ensuing at short intervals, in response to the stimulus supplied by food. Since contractile hearts were first evolved, they have never ceased to beat in the lineal descendants of inconceivably numerous generations of slowly modifying animal types. The contractions of oviducts or of the womb, as well as the movements concerned in respiration, also had their beginnings in forms of life whose advent is now buried in the immeasurable past.

But how did these arise? How did the first pulsation of vessels, or expulsion, or indeed formation of ova, take place? Was it due to the voluntary choice of the incipient organisms which first performed them? Such a conception is, of course, absurd, but if they did not so take place, they must have been due to the spontaneous activity of the individual psychical principle which informed such organisms. Such psychical principle itself must have been directly created by God, or else have spontaneously arisen in matter (which had attained a proper degree of preparation)—i.e., have been first potentially created therein by God “in the beginning.” There is no possibility of explaining such original organic impulses by merely physical forces. The attempt so to do merely results in “calling names”—i.e., in using words in non-natural senses—an empty juggling with epithets devoid of true meaning.

We have one or two notable instances of verbal self-deception in the present chapter. Speaking of the alimentary canal, the author says (p. 22)*: “Its particular stimulus is not ever present like that of the heart, or only occasionally absent, as with that of the respiratory organs; it has mostly to be sought. *Hence* it is that the habitually recurring need reveals itself as a definitely returning appetite for food. *Much of the same kind of origin* is to be ascribed to the sexual appetite.”

What does Dr. Bastian mean by the word “*Hence*?”

* The italics are ours.

It seems, according to him, that the habitually recurring need for food reveals itself as a definitely returning appetite for food, because the alimentary canal's particular stimulus is neither "ever present" nor "only occasionally absent." One would like to know in what guise it would reveal itself if the stimulus were "only occasionally absent." It seems the "need for food" would not then show itself as an "appetite for food."

After this very lucid and satisfactory *explanation* of the origin of the alimentary appetite, we feel we should seem somewhat exacting if we were to ask for some more definite account of the "*origin*" of the "*sexual appetite*," and professed ourselves dissatisfied with being told it was *much* of the same kind.

But far more interesting is the question as to how "*conscious intelligence*" comes first upon the scene of unconscious organic life. The very next page tells us all about it. Dr. Bastian says: "An appetite for food, or a desire to find a mate, commonly suffices to call certain sense-centres into a state of keen receptivity to impressions, and *thus* affords conscious intelligence an opportunity to come into play for the mind; and the guidance of the animal, &c." "*Conscious intelligence*" in animals is then, it appears, a thing apart, ready and waiting to come on the scene as soon as a state of keen receptivity has been induced in certain sense-centres by some appetite or desire. We thought that, according to Dr. Bastian, "*conscious intelligence*," even in ourselves, was but the energizing of certain complex sensations! Even, however, if the mode of entrance of conscious intelligence had been really explained by the words to which Bastian refers in saying "*thus*," its origin would still remain as great a mystery as ever.

Our author tries, like Herbert Spencer, to explain (p. 225), Instinct as "*serial aggregations of reflex acts*." He fails, however, to show how the instinctive actions which insects perform with a view to the mode of life of a progeny they have never seen, and are never to see, have been brought about; and indeed he ignores (as Spencer and others ignore) all instances of the kind, such as the instinct of the carpenter bee. He quietly observes (p. 235): "There *can be little doubt* that if our means of knowledge were greater than it is, we should be able to explain these and all other instincts by reference to the doctrines of '*inherited acquisition*' and '*natural selection*,' either singly or in combination." All we can say is, we should vastly like to read his explanation as to how these abstractions (or any realities they stand for) are to bring about such wonderful concrete results. We strongly suspect that in such an attempt we should meet with more than one "*hence*" and "*then*" as little really explanatory as are those in the passages just passed in review.

The perfection of instinct and its intimate connection with structure is well shown by an experiment performed by Mr. Spalding (p. 230). He placed some young unfledged swallows "in a small box not much longer than the nest from which they were taken. The little box, which had a wire front, was hung on the wall near the nest, and the young swallows were fed by their parents through the wires. In this confinement, where they could not even extend their wings, they were kept until after they were fully fledged." The birds were then liberated, and their actions carefully watched. Of two young swallows which had been confined in this manner till their wings had grown, Spalding says: "One, on being set free, flew a yard or two too close to the ground, rose again in the direction of a beech tree, which it gracefully avoided; it was seen for a considerable time sweeping round the beeches, and performing magnificent evolutions in the air high above them. The other, which was observed to beat the air with its wings more than usual, was soon lost to sight behind some trees." He adds: "Titmice, tomtits, and wrens, I have made the subjects of a similar study, and with similar results."

Dr. Bastian contends for a certain plasticity of instinct. We cannot grant him the possibility of such a thing, but we very willingly concede (what comes to the same thing both for him and us) that the sensuous cognition of animals practically modifies actions which are mainly instinctive. Some interesting examples of such modification have been given by Mr. Romanes. His account is as follows:—

Three years ago I gave a pea-fowl's egg to a Brahma hen to hatch. The hen was an old one, and had previously reared many broods of ordinary chickens with unusual success, even for one of her breed. In order to hatch the pea-chick, she had to sit one week longer than is requisite to hatch an ordinary chick. . . . The object with which I made this experiment, however, was that of ascertaining whether the period of maternal care subsequent to incubation admits, under peculiar conditions, of being prolonged; for a pea-chick requires such care for a very much longer time than does an ordinary chick. As the separation between the hen and her chickens always appears to be due to the former driving away the latter when they are old enough to shift for themselves, I scarcely expected the hen in this case to prolong her period of maternal care, and, indeed, only tried the experiment because I thought that if she did so, the fact would be the best one imaginable to show in what a high degree hereditary instinct may be modified by peculiar individual experience. The result was very surprising. For the enormous period of eighteen months this old Brahma hen remained with her ever-growing chicken, and throughout the whole of that time she continued to pay it unremitting attention. She never laid any eggs during this lengthened period of maternal supervision, and if at

any time she became accidentally separated from her charge, the distress of both mother and chicken was very great.

Eventually the separation seemed to take place on the side of the peacock. . . . In conclusion, I may observe that the peacock reared by this Brahma hen, turned out a finer bird in every way than did any of his brothers of the same brood which were reared by their own mother ; but that, on repeating the experiment next year with another Brahma hen and several pea-chickens, the result was different, for the hen deserted her family at the time when it is natural for ordinary hens to do so, and, in consequence, all the pea-chickens miserably perished.

Mr. Romanes also relates the following singular circumstance :—

A bitch ferret strangled herself by trying to squeeze through too narrow an opening. She left a very young family of three orphans. These I gave, in the middle of the day, to a Brahma hen, which had been sitting on dummies for about a month. She took to them almost immediately, and remained with them for rather more than a fortnight, at the end of which time I had to cause a separation, in consequence of the hen having suffocated one of the ferrets by standing on its neck. During the whole of the time that the ferrets were left with the hen, the latter had to sit upon the nest, for the young ferrets, of course, were not able to follow the hen about as chickens would have done. The hen, as might be expected, was very much puzzled at the lethargy of her offspring. Two or three times a day she used to fly off the nest, calling upon her brood to follow ; but upon hearing their cries of distress from cold, she always returned immediately, and sat with patience for six or seven hours more. I should have said that it only took the hen one day to learn the meaning of these cries of distress : for after the first day she would always run in an agitated manner to any place where I concealed the ferrets, provided that this place was not too far away from the nest to prevent her from hearing the cries of distress. Yet I do not think it would be possible to conceive of a greater contrast than that between the shrill piping note of a young chicken and the hoarse growling noise of a young ferret. On the other hand, I cannot say that the young ferrets ever seemed to learn the meaning of the hen's clucking.

During the whole of the time that the hen was allowed to sit upon the ferrets, she used to comb out their hair with her bill, in the same way as hens in general comb out the feathers of their chickens. While engaged in this process, however, she used frequently to stop and look with one eye at the wriggling nestful, with an inquiring gaze expressive of astonishment. At other times, also, her family gave her good reason to be surprised, for she used often fly off the nest suddenly with a loud scream, an action which was doubtless due to the unaccustomed sensation of being nipped by the young ferrets in their search for the teats.

It is further worth while to remark that the hen showed so much uneasiness of mind when the ferrets were taken from her to be fed,

that at one time I thought she was going to desert them altogether. After this, therefore, the ferrets were always fed in the nest, and with this arrangement the hen was perfectly satisfied, apparently because she thought she had some share in the feeding process. At any rate, she used to cluck when she saw the milk coming, and surveyed the feeding with evident satisfaction. . . . Altogether, I consider this a very remarkable instance of the plasticity of instinct. The hen, it should be said, was a young one, and had never reared a brood of chickens. A few months before she reared the young ferrets, she had been attacked and nearly killed by an old ferret, which had escaped from his hutch. The young ferrets were taken from her several days before their eyes were open.

The fifteenth chapter of Dr. Bastian's work, treats of "Nascent Reason, Emotion, Imagination, and Volition," and is occupied by three corollaries deduced from the views antecedently put forward as to rational and reflex action. The first corollary is, (1) that all the definite acts of the lowest organisms resemble reflex or simply instinctive actions—which is most true. The two other corollaries are (2) that the actions of creatures with lowly developed brains are mainly instinctive, and but little due to anything like reason (which is also true); and (3) that the actions of creatures with higher brains are less instinctive and more rational—which is also true, if we mean by "reason" "sensuous cognition." Dr. Bastian quotes from Sir John Lubbock many interesting instances of the natural and thoroughly instinctive action of bees—in spite of the wonderful tales which credulous naturalists have related.

After two chapters on the brain structure of beasts, we come to one on "the mental capacities and powers of higher brutes." As to this we must express regret that the author has not exercised a little judicious scepticism. He reports a variety of more or less wonderful tales, half of which we do not believe to be facts, while what may be true is falsified by fanciful interpretations *ad libitum*, of which the following passage* (p. 328) may serve as a specimen: "When Dr. Hermes left the gorilla on the previous Sunday the latter *showed* the doctor his tongue, clapped his hands, and squeezed the hand of the doctor, as an indication, the latter *believed*, of his recovery." The touchingly simple faith of Dr. Hermes is edifying; and, no doubt, were he called in with Dr. Bastian to investigate a miraculous cure, or to the bedside of some holy ecstatic, it would be necessary to caution them earnestly against being carried away by a pious credulity. Our author's faith, however, is not unaccompanied by the other theological virtues. He remarks, in concluding: "If the anthropoid apes, possessing, as they do, such a well-defined basis of intelligence

* The italics, as usual, are our own.

and emotion, were endowed with articulate speech, so that they might benefit and mutually instruct one another—even merely by oral traditions and communications—how great a progress in the degree and range of their intelligence might be expected after a few hundred generations had lived under the influence of such conditions.” The hopeful charity evinced in this passage is unfortunately somewhat marred by the fact of its being a truism. No doubt, were anthropoid apes men, they would act and develop in a human manner. The remark is of course far from being a truism in its author’s eyes; but this is due to the fact that Dr. Bastian, as so many other kindred spirits, does not understand what language really is.

The nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first chapters are occupied by a description of the development and anatomy of the human brain, matters which, though replete with interest, space does not permit us to enter into. Moreover, such questions are not those which most concern us; so we pass to the following chapter, which has the very promising title, “From Brute to Human Intelligence,” and which ought to contain the very essence of a book the main object of which is to prove the essential bestiality of man, and the consequent folly of his entertaining any hopes as to a future lot different from that of the beasts which perish. It is a disappointingly short chapter of but seventeen pages—a small space indeed for a writer so wordy as is Dr. Bastian. Short as it is, however, he has managed to make it the vehicle of spreading a not inconsiderable number of errors and sophisms, while yet conceding to his opponents all they need demand.

The hypothesis he supports is, that rational language is but a further development of the emotional language of brutes, and that articulate speech having arisen, it generated reason—the first articulate words having grown out of sounds intentionally emitted to imitate the noises made by various natural objects. This is the view of Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Romanes, and of the whole school which deems man to be a mere development from the brute. We, of course, maintain that intellect is anterior to language—*i.e.*, the concept to the articulate sound—the *verbum mentale* to the *verbum oris*: not but what there is the most intimate connection between the two, since in a rational animal language of some kind follows rapidly and immediately upon the possession of intellect, which intellect is strengthened and developed by the use of language.

The author quotes (p. 414) the following passage from Dr. Mansel:—

In inquiring how far the same process can account for the invention of language, which now takes place in the learning it, the real question

at issue is simply this: Is the act of giving names to individual objects of sense a thing so completely beyond the power of a man created in the full maturity of his faculties, that we must suppose a Divine Instruction performing precisely the same office as is now performed for the infant by his mother or his nurse; teaching him, that is, to associate this sound with this sight?

Dr. Bastian himself adds: "This question may be asked in the interests of a human race naturally evolved, with as much cogency as in reference to the hypothetical man created in the full maturity of his faculties." But this is not true. That a rational animal should give forth rational language spontaneously is what we can understand, but that an irrational animal should do so amounts to a contradiction in terms. If such a creature were to give it forth it would *ipso facto* be rational.

The whole question lies in a nutshell. The question is: Can the irrational psychical principle of a mere animal become an intellectual principle by any mere force of incident forces, including those which spring from a gregarious habit?

Our author quotes some excellent and interesting passages from Dr. Thomson's (the highly-gifted and very estimable present Archbishop of York) book on the "Laws of Thought." He does not, however, quote certain passages in which that prelate defends the essential intellectuality of language, and the superiority and antecedence of the *verbum mentale* to the *verbum oris*. Then Dr. Thomson says (p. 44):—"Without language all the mighty triumphs of man over Nature which science has achieved would have been impossible. But this does not prove that man might not, without speech, observe objects, gather them into groups in his mind, judge of their properties, and even deduce something from his judgment." The view he defends as to the origin of language he thus expresses (*l. c. p. 45*):—

The Divine Being did not give man at his creation actual knowledge, but the power to learn and to know; so he did not confer a language, but the power to name and describe. The gift of reason once conveyed to man, was the common root from which both thought and speech proceeded, like the pith and the rind of the tree, to be developed in inseparable union. . . . In the fullest sense, language is a divine gift, but the power and not the results of its exercise, the germ and not the tree, was imparted. A man can teach names to another man, but nothing less than divine power can plant in another's mind the far higher gifts the faculty of naming.

The very essence of our contention is that there is an absolute necessity of supposing that in some, to us necessarily unimaginable, way this rational nature was introduced into the world. We contend that reason makes it certain that no mere natural process could have brought this about, but only a Divine influence,

and that consequently there is a most profound difference of kind between brute and human nature. Strange to say, this essential position Dr. Bastian (unless he says what he does not mean) surrenders, without seeming to see that his whole contention is thereby utterly refuted. He says (p. 415) :—“An endowment like Articulate Speech, when once started—whether by some *hidden and unknown process* of natural development, or as a *still more occult GOD-SENT GIFT TO MAN*—was by its very nature almost certain to have led its possessors by degrees along an upward path of cerebral development.”

We will go further than he does, and say it is not “almost” but *absolutely* certain so to have led.

Dr. Bastian shows, as might be expected, that apparent utter absence of any comprehension of the meaning of ethics which infallibly accompanies a superstitious belief in man’s bestiality. After speaking (p. 416) of the sympathetic feelings of dumb animals, he says :—“In such exercise of mere brute sympathy, we have one of the most important germs of those altruistic feelings which attain so much breadth and power in higher races of man.” No doubt this is true; but such developments—“feelings”—afford not the slightest clue to the genesis of moral *perceptions*, which alone constitute “conscience.” He continues—

Equally important, however, among savage races, are those limitations which “expediency” compels the individual to recognize, as imposed by his fellow-men upon the freedom of his own actions. Such consideration, in concert perhaps with a strengthening sympathy, gradually tend to build up within him an inward monitor, or “Conscience,” at the same time that there arise embryo notions of Right and Duty, constituting the foundations of a dawning “Moral sense.”

So that, according to Dr. Bastian, each ethical movement of the mind is a mixture of sympathy and selfishness—a pursuit of pleasures and temporal gains for ourselves a little more remote and enduring than those which first present themselves for choice; such calculated postponement of pleasure (that it may be the greater) being aided by a blind feeling of sympathy, such as some attribute to brutes.

This is by no means all that has to be animadverted upon in the passage quoted. He tells us that these impulses “tend to build up ‘Conscience,’ at the same time that there arise embryo notions of Right and Duty.” Thus, according to Dr. Bastian, “Conscience” is one thing, and “a perception of Duty” another thing. What, then, does he deem “Conscience” to be? There is yet a further confusion. He speaks of “notions of Right and Duty constituting the foundations of a strong ‘Moral sense.’” Thus we have a “*feeling*” built upon “*perceptions*.” We should much like to know what the author means by that

chimæra, "Moral sense," which thus "dawns" upon such curious "foundations?" But, in fact, Dr. Bastian here really gives up his own position. "Observe!" he says, "that while sympathy and selfish feelings are combining to build up our altruistic feelings (for such feelings as that he seems to mean by 'Conscience') there arise 'at the same time,' and independently, embryo notions of Right and Duty." Therefore, such notions (i.e., ethical perceptions or conscience) really arise spontaneously from an unexplained origin, and Dr. Bastian turns out to be an ethical intuitionist after all! Why, then, did he write this book and fancy himself an evolutionist of the Spencerian school? "*Que diable allait il faire dans cette galère?*"

We much fear, however, that these apparent admissions are merely slips of the pen, the meaning of which their author did not realize; for he evidently does not believe in Virtue or Conscience, but only in a combination of Sympathy and enlightened selfishness. Deeming, as he does, that our ethical judgments have the origin he assigns them, he naturally adds (p. 416): "Having such an origin, the impulses of such a 'faculty' cannot fail to harmonize with prevalent opinions and influences." No doubt if they *had* such an origin they *would* so harmonize; but, as it is a plain fact that they do not so harmonize, we may take his assertion as evidence that such want of harmony shows they must have had a different origin. Has Dr. Bastian never met with the words, "The noble army of martyrs praise Thee"?

We now turn to the question as to the priority of speech or thought. As to this, Dr. Bastian does not hesitate. He tells us (p. 417): "Language is, however, indispensable, not merely to the communication, but to the formation of Thought, since it favours the Birth of Concepts or General Notions, and is essential both for their 'preservation' and 'familiar use.'" But how can anything (A) which favours the birth of another (B) be indispensable to the *formation* of the latter, even though it should be essential to the "preservation" and use of B?

A nurse may favour the birth of an infant, and be essential to its preservation; but the nurse does not "form it"! To support himself, he quotes (p. 418) one of the many foolish passages in Dr. Mansel's "Prolegomena Logica." It is as follows: "In the child learning to speak, words are not the signs of thoughts, but of intuitions: the words *man* and *horse* do not represent a collection of attributes, but are only the names of individuals before him. It is not until the name has been successively appropriated to various individuals that reflection begins to inquire into the common features of the class. Language, therefore, as taught to the infant, is chronologically prior to thought, and posterior to sensation."

Now, words are neither the signs of "thoughts" nor of "intuitions," but of "things as known by concepts." The words *man* and *horse*," or the terms "*bow-wow*" and "*gee-gee*," addressed to an infant, do not, either in the mind of the adult or of the infant, mean merely the individuals pointed out. This every father knows. Every father who cares to observe must note with what extreme facility his child forms true universals after making use of sounds to denote far more extensive classes than they properly serve to denote. These first terms are certainly not true and explicit universals, but neither are they true singulars. They are as yet indeterminate, neither one nor the other actually, though virtually they are already universals. It is an absurdity of which both Dr. Mansel and J. S. Mill ought to be ashamed, to think that a child uses such words as *horse* or *gee-gee* as the name of an individual. It could not conceive the idea "individual" without at the same time having the idea "general." A child very soon rises to the highest universals, as is shown by its exclaiming, "What is that thing?"

Of course, in one sense, "language, as taught to the infant, is chronologically prior to thought;" for it must exist in the teacher before he begins to teach the child. But this trivial meaning is not, of course, Dr. Mansel's.

Dr. Bastian quotes much from the writings of the late Mr. G. H. Lewes, whose loss he deplores. We deplore it no less. We have always had much sympathy with, and much esteem for, Mr. Lewes. An exceptionally well-read man, a clear thinker—as far as he went—and one who appeared honestly to follow out his convictions, without undue deference to men who have gained popularity, we greatly hoped he would live to tackle the problem of the genesis of language and intellect. Had he done so, we are confident his candid mind would not have rested satisfied with such assertions as those thrown out by him of late years. He clearly pointed out many of the distinctions between human intellect and brute cognition. He said, "Animals are intelligent, but have no intellect; they are sympathetic, but have no ethics; they are emotive, but have no conscience." Dr. Bastian tries to explain this away (p. 423) and says animals are "guided to action by judgment; they adapt their actions by means of guiding sensation, and adapt things to their ends." So do bees, so it appears do even the Foraminifera; but this does not show "judgment." It shows, indeed, a power of "associating impressions;" but judgment—in the proper sense of that term—is necessarily an intellectual operation due to a power of abstraction.

Mr. Lewes has well said:—

The absurdity of supposing that an ape could, under any normal circumstances, construct a scientific theory, analyze a fact into its

component factors, frame to himself a picture of the life led by his ancestors, or consciously regulate his conduct with a view to the welfare of remote descendants, is so glaring that we need not wonder at profound, meditative minds having been led to reject with scorn the hypothesis which seeks for an explanation of human intelligence in the functions of bodily organs common to men and animals.

He adds, however, a passage quoted approvingly by Dr. Bastian, but which is profoundly untrue. It is as follows :—

The savage is not less incompetent than the animal to originate or even understand a philosophical conception; the peasant would be little better than the ape in presence of the problems of abstract science. . . . Nor are the moral conceptions of the savage much higher than those of the animal. His language is without terms for justice, sin, crime; he has not the ideas. He understands generosity, pity, and love little better than the dog or the horse does.

Our own personal experience enables us to categorically contradict the assertions here made, and the work done at the Benedictine Abbey in Western Australia affords ample evidence of their untruth even as applied to, perhaps, the very lowest of the human race.

To this chapter, which is the climax of the book, succeed other chapters which treat of the structure of the brain and the functional relations of its parts, subjects which it would be beside our purpose here to refer to. They, however, contain one or two passages which may interest our readers.

One of the points which he has to consider is the mode of origin of that crossing of the optic nerves which takes place in back-boned animals—and which, of course, on his principles, has to be accounted for by minute accidental changes and natural selection. He tells us (p. 480): “The elongation of the head of a fish, together with the lateral position of its eyes, may have had something to do with the fact of the occurrence of a decussation of the budding optic tracts in some of the early forms of fishes. . . . The cross relation between the halves of the brain and the body may have been initiated in some fishes in a quasi-accidental manner.” We hope our readers may now understand how this practice was brought about; but for our own part we should very much like to understand what Dr. Bastian means by a “quasi-accidental manner.” Unfortunately, the ignorant are too easily imposed upon by obscure verbiage such as has just been quoted.

Our author, however, delivers his testimony against a belief in “double-consciousness,” saying (p. 492) that no appreciable advance has been made in establishing it since the publication of the late Sir Henry Holland’s “Medical Notes and Reflections,” in 1840.

The merely accidental connection which exists between the cerebrum (as the minister to phantasmata) and intellect is supported by instances of the persistence of intelligence in spite of great destruction of that organ. He cites (p. 493) an instance of a man the right hemisphere of whose cerebrum was entirely destroyed, he still retaining all his intellectual faculties.

Dr. Bastian regards the cerebellum as "a supreme motor centre for reinforcing and for helping to regulate the qualitative and quantitative distribution of outgoing currents, in voluntary and automatic actions respectively" (p. 509).

The result of Dr. Ferrier's experiments on monkeys are detailed ; but Dr. Bastian says (p. 530) that, though Ferrier supposes his experiments to "support the notion that 'perception centres' limited in area and topographically distinct, exist in the cortex of the cerebral hemisphere," yet "his facts do not necessarily carry with them any such interpretation."

Our author considers (p. 543) that the term "muscular sense" ought to be abolished in favour of the expression "sense of movement" or "Kinæsthesia;" because he regards the activity of motor-centres and nerves as forming no part of "mind," and because he deems the feelings called "muscular" to be really not such, but sense impressions which follow and result from, but do not accompany, outgoing currents and motor energy. He does this in the face of Bain's opinion, that if we abandon the belief that an "active" mode of sensibility is directly dependent upon motor nerves and motor centres, then "the most vital distinction within the sphere of mind is bereft of all physiological support."*

If there is one thing of which plain men are and may be certain, it is the reality (whether free or not free) of their own will ; but for this all-important activity no physiologist is able to show any definite organ. Accordingly, the real existence of that of which we may be of all things the most certain is denied by a materialist like Dr. Bastian. He says (p. 569) :

How is it that the initiating idea, the desire for a related "end," and the twofold conception of the necessary movements, as co-operating stimuli, are enabled to influence the corpora striata, so as to evoke the movements in question ? The obscurity prevailing in regard to this problem cannot at present be removed. We possess no real knowledge on the subject, and merely suppose that Intellect as it passes over into action—whilst seeming to engender a *psychological ghost* named "WILL," operates by transmitting suitable stimulations, &c.

In considering "voluntary movements" he adverts to other experiments on apes carried on by Dr. Ferrier. These interest-

* "Senses and Intellect," 3rd edition; p. 77.

ing experiments tend to show that the cerebral cortex so often supposed to be the organ of *intellect* is, at least, largely an organ of bodily motion. Dr. Bastian admits (p. 578) that they, together with other previously known facts, tend to show "that in higher forms of life the cerebral hemispheres, with the corpora striata, gradually take on some of the functions which in lower animals have been discharged through the intermedium of medullary and spinal centres. The cerebral hemispheres in higher animals come to exercise, therefore, a large proportionate share of influence in the execution even of the common movements needed for locomotion."

Dr. Bastian mentions a case (from his own experience) which proves the belief that the faculty of rational speech is so implanted in man potentially from the first, that even without hearing it might be exercised as soon as growth has made the organism sufficiently mature.

He tells us (p. 606) that in the year 1877 he was consulted concerning the health of a boy, twelve years old, and subject to fits at intervals. When five years old he had never spoken a word, and physicians were consulted in regard to his "dumbness." Before the expiration of another twelve months, however, on the occasion of an accident happening to one of his favourite toys, he suddenly exclaimed, "What a pity!" though he had never previously spoken a single word. He was then again silent for two weeks, but thereafter speedily became most talkative. A distinguished physician assured Dr. Bastian (on being informed of this case) that his daughter had not walked a step or tried to walk up to the age of two years, but that then, upon his placing her one day in a standing position, she forthwith walked from one side of the room to the other. Supposing these cases to be accurately reported and confirmed by others, Catholics should bear them in mind in estimating the miraculous character of various sudden cures of deafness and lameness.

Dr. Bastian, in his twenty-ninth chapter, gives many instances of Amnesia, Aphasia, Agraphia, and Aphemia, or various forms of defect in verbal memory. Such details are of course very interesting to the physician, but have no bearing upon questions which concern us. Knowing well, as taught by the scholastic philosophy, that every thought and volition must have its accompanying physical correlative (to minister to the requisite phantasmatæ), we know, *a priori*, that with such mental defects there must be some corresponding physical defects, while their exact nature is for us a matter of indifference. Were it not so, however, we should not feel greatly enlightened by reading (p. 638), that in the case of a certain deficiency in speech, "we probably have to do with some grave defects in the auditory word-

centres, or in the kinæsthetic word-centres," all these centres being as yet only matters of speculation.

We now come to the thirtieth and last chapter of the work, one entitled, "Further Problems in regard to the Localization of Higher Central Functions."

Herein it is interesting to note that Dr. Bastian proclaims himself an opponent of Professor Huxley's absurd doctrine that men are "conscious automata," and that neither thought nor sensation can intervene in the endless chain of physical causation.

We read, with much pleasure, Dr. Bastian's repudiation of this error, hoping to be able to claim him as a brother, and to be able therefore to condone many previous offences against rational philosophy. As we read on, however, we found to our great regret, either that Dr. Bastian does not know what "conscious automatism" means, or else that he holds the curious and also materialistic view (which as yet we have never met with any one mad enough to hold), that thoughts and sensation, AS SUCH, are "motions"—not that they are generated by molecular motions, but that they themselves actually ARE physical motions.

As usual, we have to protest against obscurity of expression. As before we desiderated a clear exposition of his meaning in using the term "quasi-accidental," so here we greatly desiderated an explanation of the vague term "kinship." His words are (p. 688) :

It must be conceded that if Conscious States or Feelings have in reality no bond of *kinship* with the Molecular movements taking place in the Nerve centres; if they are mysteriously appearing phenomena, differing absolutely from, and lying altogether outside, the closed "circuit of Motions" with which they co-exist, no way seems open by which such Conscious States could be conceived to affect or alter the course of such Motions. The logic of this seems irresistible. The conclusion can, indeed, only be avoided by a repudiation of the premises; and this the writer does. He altogether rejects the doctrine that there is no kinship between States of Consciousness and Nerve Actions, and consequently would deny the view that the "causes" of Conscious States lie altogether outside the circuit of Nerve Motions.

What can he mean by this passage? Who, in the name of wonder, *does* affirm that there is no kinship between states of consciousness and nerve actions. Certainly we do not, and most certainly Professor Huxley does not. In this we agree, widely as we differ generally. Professor Huxley and his school hold, as we supposed Dr. Bastian to hold, that states of consciousness are the concomitants of certain nerve actions upon the existence of which they depend for their existence—as the luminosity of the wire transmitting a strong galvanic current depends upon the existence of that current for its own existence. The assertion of

"kinship," therefore in no way interferes with the maintenance of the doctrine of automatism. Neither does the denial of "kinship" necessarily favour that doctrine. We admit "kinship" in so far as thought, *hic et nunc*, requires sensuous phantasmatæ and these require nerve action; but we deny kinship altogether in the sense in which Professor Huxley would assert it, and *a fortiori* in the extreme sense in which Dr. Bastian seems to affirm it.

But though we hold that all nerve affections ("molecular motions," if Dr. Bastian fancies that somewhat foolish and unmeaning term), are fundamentally and absolutely different in nature from thought, we none the less affirm that the latter intervenes in the chain of physical causation. We cannot indeed, see any difficulty in the conception of one complex nature being like a ring formed of two metals, which expand differently with heat; and so the complex whole may be bent one way and another by the action of either one of its constituents.

Dr. Bastian continues (p. 688): "Consciousness or Feeling must be a phenomenon having a natural origin, or else it must be a non-natural non-material entity." Why so? Why may it not be a natural non-material entity? Such we are convinced is really its nature.

To elucidate his views he compares "Consciousness" with "Heat," saying (p. 689): "Heat has no abstract and isolated existence as an entity. Consciousness, also, is a result of a something which moves. But just as it is the very material motions on which Heat depends which do the work ascribed to Heat, so do the very material motions on which Consciousness or Feeling depends, do the work which we ascribe to Feeling." But this is just what Professor Huxley and every conscious automatist would say. Dr. Bastian here contradicts himself, and absolutely excludes feeling from the "closed circuit of motions." But yet he goes on:—"These particular motions enter as components into the 'circuit of motions,' constituting pure actions, and may, therefore, easily co-operate as real motors. Hence it is that States of Feeling may, in very truth, and in accordance with popular belief, react upon Nerve Tissues so as to alter the molecular motions taking place therein." And this amazing statement is made after he has just told us that "material motions do the work which we ascribe to Feeling." He must then mean that the very feelings themselves, *qua* feelings, are really nothing but "motions." If he does not mean this, what he says has really no meaning—it is only comparable with some of the phenomena detailed in his 29th chapter. If he does mean it, he maintains so absolutely isolated and preposterous a view that argument about it would be altogether thrown away.

Dr. Bastian concludes his interesting but very disappointing

work by characterizing the doctrine of Automatism as “one in which all notions of Free-will, Duty, and Moral Obligation would seem to be alike consigned to a common grave.” This is the most painful passage of the whole book; for, coming from him, it is, “objectively,” “materially,” “deceptive,” and all our charity is put on the stretch not to believe it to be “subjectively” and “formally” deceptive also. Dr. Bastian is no believer in Free-will, a belief in which would be fatal to his whole philosophy, and he has himself spoken of “Will” as a “psychological ghost.” His views, however, as the reader is now in a position to see, are special and peculiar. By them “Free-will, Duty, and Moral Obligation” are certainly not consigned to a “common grave,” but to a very *uncommon* one. Dead and buried, however, they are, and must remain, in every region where the idealistic-materialism which Dr. Bastian promulgates exercises its intellectually enfeebling sway.

ART. III.—THE BENEDICTINES IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

1. *Memorie Storiche dell' Australia, particolarmente della Missione Benedettina di Nuova Norcia.* Per Monsig. Dom RUDESINDO SALVADO, O.S.B., Vescovo di Porto Vittoria. Roma. 1851.
2. *La Nouvelle-Nursie; Histoire d'une Colonie Bénédictine dans l'Australie Occidentale (1846-1878).* Par le R.P. Dom THEOPHILE BERENGIER, O.S.B. Paris: Lecoffre. 1880.

THE history of a missionary enterprise possesses a singular charm. We cannot read about the devoted zeal of men who have sacrificed the comforts and security of civilization for a life of hardship and peril, in their simple-minded endeavour to sow the seed of truth in the heart of savage nations, without a thrill of admiration, and perchance without being stirred up to imitate in our measure the high purpose of such lives. Sometimes the narrative of missionary work has an interest of a special kind, as, for instance, when the circumstances of the enterprise bear a resemblance to those under which our forefathers were won from heathendom to Christianity, and received at once the light of faith and of civilization. A charm of this kind is attached to the history of the Benedictine colony of New Nursia, which is presented to us in the two volumes named at the head of this article. As

we read the vivid account here given of the heroic labours of the Benedictine missionary among the aborigines of Western Australia, we might fancy we were perusing a page in the history of European civilization. To-day the Sons of St. Benedict are accomplishing in a new world what their ancestors did by the same methods in the Old World a thousand years ago. What St. Anschar was to Denmark, St. Boniface to Germany, and St. Willibald to Friesland, that the Spanish Benedictine fathers are to the savages of Australia. What Ely and Peterborough did for England, Fulda for Germany, St. Denys for France, or any of the numberless monastic colonies for the countries in which they were planted, that the Benedictine settlements are doing for the civilization of the native Australian population.

The principle of "stability" which St. Benedict introduced into the religious life his sons made use of on their missions. Fixed habitations and the cultivation of the soil they considered absolutely essential steps to a civilized life; and the experience gained by the colonization of ancient Rome proved that these methods were the most certain of success. The history of almost every European nation has shown that their theory was correct; and there has been no instance of a race of men who lived by the chase, and possessed no fixed dwellings, becoming civilized whilst remaining in that state. The Benedictine Apostle, on first coming into a country to be converted, sought out some suitable spot for a rude chapel and a few surrounding cells. Here he and his companions lived and laboured, and they preached as much by the example of their virtues and daily toil as by word of mouth; and thus, little by little, the savage people were enticed to relinquish their wild and wandering life, and imitate the quiet settled life of their apostles. Then, by degrees, round the monastery walls there sprung up the huts of the new converts, till in a few years a town or city had been formed. In this way the zealous and heroic Spanish missionary monks, who are doing such a good work in the British colony of Western Australia, have succeeded in their efforts to civilize the native inhabitants. Though the Italian work descriptive of these missions was written by the earnest Benedictine Bishop, Dom Salvado, as long ago as 1851, and though they are known in France by the publication of some articles on the subject in the "Missions Catholiques," by Dom Berengier, which were afterwards collected in the handsome volume called "La Nouvelle Nursie," the labours of these devoted men, carried on in a British colony, are little known in England; and a brief account of this monastic settlement cannot fail to be of interest to a large section of our readers.

Autumn storms carry seeds from cultivated lands only to repro-

duce a new vegetation in less favoured places. So the political tempest which burst over Spain in 1835, and drove the monks from their monasteries, was the instrument under Providence by which the savages of Australia obtained the blessings of civilization and Christianity. Two Spanish Benedictines, of the monastery of St. Martin, at St. James of Compostella, named Dom Joseph Serra and Dom Rudesind Salvado, took refuge from the revolution in the Italian Abbey of La Cava. Here they lived for some years, and Dom Salvado became renowned as a musician, people coming even from Naples to hear him play on the great organ of the monastery church. After ten years of exile they began to despair of ever returning to Compostella, and determined to devote their energies to some missionary work. With this intention they set out for Rome, and having stated their desire to Mgr. Brunelli, the Prefect of the Propaganda, they were accepted by him as missionaries for the Swan River district in Australia.

In late years Australia has been almost entirely explored, and the number of its states, its towns and its settlements has increased with astounding rapidity. But about the year 1850, which was the date of the first foundation of the colony of New Nursia, there existed in the vast continent only five centres of civilization. On the east was New South Wales, with Sydney as its capital; on the south-east was the colony now known by the name of Victoria, with Melbourne for its capital; South Australia, with its government at Adelaide; Western Australia, with its chief town Perth; and the northern division, in the centre of which was Port Victoria. Our attention may be confined to Western Australia, as it is there that the two Benedictine monks began and carried on their work of the conversion and civilization of the aborigines.

Various attempts had been made by adventurers of different countries to take possession of the vast tract of country known as Western Australia; but it was not till 1829 that Captain Sterling established the first colony, in the name of England, on the banks of the Swan River. He was a native of Scotland, and called the new town, of which we shall presently hear more, Perth. In size Western Australia is equal to about eight times the area of the United Kingdom, and the settled district at the present time extends over an area fully as large as France. The early days of the colony were very unpromising, and for ten years very little advance was made. The inhabitants, in the year 1850, asked that Western Australia should be constituted a penal settlement. Their request was promptly acceded to, and the Swan River district was made into a convict station. In the nine following years some 11,000 persons, either themselves convicts or the

families of the prisoners, were introduced into the colony. After this time, with the other colonies, as they experienced the evil effects of the system of transportation, they appealed to the Home Government to discontinue transportation to Western Australia.

Governor Weld thus describes some of the natural features of this part of the world :—

The whole country, from north to south, excepting the spots cleared for cultivation, may be described as one vast forest in the sense of being heavily timbered; sometimes, but comparatively seldom, the traveller comes upon an open sand plain, covered with plants and shrubs in infinite variety and exquisite beauty, and often, especially in the northern and eastern districts, low scrubby trees and bushes fill the place of timber; but taking the word "forest" in its widest sense, as wild, woody, and bushy country, Western Australia, as far as I have seen, is covered with one vast forest stretching far away into regions yet unexplored.*

The soil consists of vast tracts of sand and scrub, with much land suitable for grazing and farming purposes. In the north there are extensive grassy downs, capable of feeding large numbers of sheep, and the territory round about Victoria plains, where the Benedictines fixed their colony, is said to afford perhaps the best pasture in Western Australia. The soil is admirably adapted for the cultivation of fruit trees, vine-growing, and corn. In all these the native settlements of New Nursia have excelled, and some of the best corn in the country is raised on the Benedictine farm. The capital of the Western colonists was, as we have remarked, Perth, situated on the western bank of the Swan River. In 1850 this town was very far from having attained the splendour of Sydney or Melbourne. Its streets, however, could boast of well-built houses and offices, the chief among which were the Governor's house, the Colonial Office and Court-house, a Protestant and Methodist chapel, and a small, poor Catholic chapel, near to which was a convent of Sisters of Mercy.

Up to this period the Catholics of Australia generally, and particularly those of the Western division, had very little assistance in the practice of their religion. The arrival of Dr. Ullathorne, the present Bishop of Birmingham, in Sydney, in 1832, was the beginning of a better time. Even at that date the vast continent had no bishop of its own, being under the charge of the Vicar-Apostolic of the Island of Mauritius, who had appointed Dr. Ullathorne his Vicar-General. Three years after this, however, the representations of Dr Ullathorne and of the Catholics of the country obtained the appointment of Dom Bede Polding, then engaged in the work of teaching at Downside College, as Vicar-Apostolic of Australia.

* "The Australian Handbook," p. 184.

In 1843 a letter from the Catholics of Western Australia, addressed to Dr. Ullathorne, whom they thought to be the Bishop of Sydney, induced Archbishop Polding to send the Rev. John Brady as missioner to that district. This zealous priest, having commenced the building of a church at Perth, and having worked indefatigably for two years, set out for Rome to beg that this district, situated some 3,000 miles from Sydney, should be made into a distinct diocese. His request was granted, and, on the refusal of Dr. Ullathorne to accept the dignity, Dr. Brady himself was named the first bishop of Perth, and was consecrated at Rome in 1845. It was at this time that the two monks, Dom Serra and Dom Salvado, came to Rome to offer themselves as missionaries, and Dr. Brady at once obtained their services for his diocese.

On June 5, 1845, the new bishop took the two monks to the Vatican to take leave of the Holy Father, Gregory XVI. The Pope, having spoken kindly to the Bishop, turned to the two Benedictines and addressed them in these memorable words:—“Remember, my sons, that you belong to the great family of our glorious patriarch, St. Benedict, your father and mine. You are about to enter on the path trodden by the illustrious apostles who were our brethren. They have converted a great portion of the people of Europe to the Christian faith, and procured for them the blessings of civilization; while by their preaching and labours savage peoples have been transformed into cultured nations. Go then and do honour to the habit you wear, and may Heaven bless your zeal and render your apostolate fruitful.”

Two days after this audience the missioners set out from Rome. At Paris, where they halted for awhile, they were joined by a Benedictine novice from Abbot Gueranger's monastery; and in a letter written by him to his Superior in France, and published in the “Annals of the Propagation of the Faith” for 1846, he gives an account of the landing of the small band of missioners on the shores of Australia.

On Thursday, January 8, 1846, his Lordship said mass for the last time on board. At half-past nine, I recited the Litany of the Saints on deck, with Dom Serra. A short time afterwards we quitted the ship, and during the passage to the shore Dom Rudesind Salvado chanted the Litany, whilst we all answered the petitions. Then, when the Litany was finished, we sang the *Benedictus* It was ten o'clock when we reached the shore, where some fifty people were assembled. His Lordship immediately intoned the *Te Deum*, which we all sung together, and at the verse, “*Te ergo quæsumus*,” we prostrated on the strand. A few paces behind us was the sea, and before us stretched the vast expanse of land—an island which deserves rather the name of a continent.

After the short stay of only one day at Freemantle, which is in reality the port for Perth, they embarked on the Swan River for the latter city. In their brief stay, however, they beheld for the first time some of the savages among whom their lot was to be cast. It was not a pleasant introduction, and their hearts sank on beholding the depth of degradation to which these wretched beings appeared to have fallen during the short time of their intercourse with the European population. Some little distance from the mainland, at Freemantle, lies a small island called Rolnest; and this, at the time of the landing of these Benedictine missionaries, formed a prison for the wretched aborigines of that district, who were relegated to it for the least fault. On the day of their arrival at Freemantle, the missionaries saw a band of twelve savages pass through the town on their way to the island. They were chained one to the other, and were of all ages. Mere children were fastened to men far advanced in years; but even the young had the brand of crime on their countenances, and their acquaintance with vice was proclaimed in their manners. What struck our missionaries most of all, amid so much that was new, was the sight of these aborigines, who wandered through the streets of Freemantle, like dogs, in quest of food. They appeared to be always on the verge of starvation, and lived from hand to mouth. Their only idea of supporting themselves was by the chase, never having domesticated any animal but the dog. Flocks and herds they never possessed, and thus had to depend on whatever Providence sent to them. When they were fortunate enough to obtain a good meal they gorged themselves, and like wild animals moved about again only when hunger compelled them to prosecute another search. Their appearance was repulsive to those accustomed to a European population, and, if the truth be told, they were, in the days of which we speak, treated by the white settlers more as dogs than as human beings. For the most part the English looked upon the native Australian as a mere animal, and used him as such; and so far from contact with a civilized world having tended to improve his sad condition, it had taught him only the vices of modern society. It was openly asserted that the aborigines were utterly irreclaimable, and sprung from so low a type of humanity that they had absolutely no faculties to receive moral and spiritual truth. It is hardly possible to credit the brutality with which these poor savages were treated by those who boasted the possession of civilized habits. Up to 1827, and even later, they were ranked in the lowest category of animal life, and were almost universally disposed of as we should get rid of vermin. Poisoned food was given them, and clothes which were infected with every form of disease. They were hunted down like wild beasts, and dogs were even trained

for this particular kind of barbarous sport. "Last week," says the *Colonial Times*, July 6, 1827, "a party of our citizens killed a large number of savages. They surprised them seated round their fires, and having placed themselves on some rising ground near, shot them down with a carbine without running any risk themselves." To such an extent was this wholesale butchery carried on, that in 1845 there were only four aborigines left in the entire district of Sydney; and it was not till many years later that a colonial judge, in spite of a vigorous outcry, condemned a white man to death for the cruel murder of a native Australian.

Very few serious attempts had been made by the Colonial Government to civilize the native population, and a general feeling appeared to prevail that, the sooner the aboriginal race was got rid of, the better for all concerned. In Western Australia, it is true, a small school had been opened by the Government for native children, but little good resulted from the attempt, which at the time of the landing of Dom Serra and Dom Salvado had been almost abandoned. It was left to these Spanish Benedictines to prove how utterly false was the English estimate of the savage character, and how much a little patience and perseverance, mingled with faith and charity, could do for the souls and characters of the aborigines.

For above a year after their landing in Australia, Dr. Brady kept the two missionaries in Perth. He appeared to have little faith in any real good being done among the savage inhabitants of the bush, and he and other friends did what they could to dissuade the two monks from undertaking a mission so full of danger. Every imaginable difficulty was placed in their way, and it was not till the beginning of 1846 that they were allowed to carry out their desires.

On the 16th of February (says Bishop Salvado) taking our little possessions on our backs, with a crucifix on our breasts and sticks in our hands, we betook ourselves to the church, where Dr. Brady was waiting for our arrival. The whole colony, informed of our intended departure, filled the humble cathedral of Perth; for Protestants as well as Catholics wished to say "good-bye" to us, as they quite thought it would be for ever. The Bishop addressed us in terms which greatly touched those who were present; and having received his blessing and the kiss of peace, we quitted Perth, being accompanied on our way by a large portion of the population. The moon shed its soft light on our path, and behind followed two carts containing provisions, a change of clothes, some agricultural implements, and a portable altar.

For the first five days the missionaries travelled along a good road, in a direction north-east of Perth; and they then arrived at a farm some sixty-eight miles from the city, which was the furthest outpost of civilization. Here they halted three days to

recruit their strength before entering the vast unknown region which stretched out before them. Starting once more, they soon had to experience great suffering from want of water. After many hours of intense anxiety, however, they came upon a supply which satisfied their wants; but this was only the first of many days of similar suffering experienced by them during their wanderings in the bush. On the day following the drivers whom they had hired in Perth refused to go a step further into a country so difficult and dangerous to travel in, and in spite of all remonstrances deposited the contents of the carts under a tree, and turned their backs on the Benedictine Fathers and their two assistants. To be left alone in the woods, without means of transporting the little store of goods they had brought from Perth, caused the missionaries great anxiety. They, however, as it was the first Sunday in Lent, made an altar under a wide-spreading tree, and offered up their masses to obtain God's protection and blessing on the work they were thus beginning. They then set to work to construct a rude hut of branches, and whilst thus engaged did not at once notice a troop of savages which had gathered about them. Their looks were not reassuring, as they leaned upon their long spears and eyed the strangers attentively. The missionaries, however, manifested no sign of the distrust they certainly felt, and went about their work as if no one was near. Having finished their hut, they lit a fire, and then quietly sat down by it and sang their compline, as if they had been in their monastery at Compostella. The night passed without much sleep for them; and the following day, understanding from the looks of the savages that they were about to attack them with their lances, they anticipated the movement and advanced towards them, making signs that they meant only peace, and offering sugar and rice cakes. This completely disarmed the savages, and by these little presents they succeeded in making them friends.

For a time the missionaries and their savage allies remained near the rude hut they had contrived, until, all the provisions the monks had brought from Perth being consumed, hunger obliged them to go in search of food; Dom Salvado and his companions went also on these hunting expeditions, and shared the labours and fatigues of those they wished to convert. Often when the women were tired, the missionaries took their turn in carrying the children of the party on their backs. When the men brought into camp a kangaroo or other large animal they held a feast. They had no thought of the morrow till it came with its own necessity. Many a time they had to content themselves with a few roots and wild fruits, or perhaps with a lizard or two or a few earthworms. This was indeed a hard life for those who had been accustomed to civilized ways; but they made good use of their

wanderings in the woods to note each new word and expression, in order to form some knowledge of the language which was to enable them to speak the message they came to deliver to these savage people.

This novel mode of life had many other discomforts than those occasioned by the nature of the food and their ignorance of the language. The reflection of the sun on the parched soil of that country caused the missionaries most intense suffering, and for a time it appeared likely that all except Dom Salvado would lose their eyesight. One day, when they were very ill and in great pain, Dom Salvado went off into the woods to try if he could obtain anything with which to make the sick some soup. After wandering about for some time he came to a part of the woods which appeared alive with parrots. At once the idea suggested itself to him that if he could obtain one of these birds he would be able to give his companions a great treat, and without further thought he took a stone and, aiming carefully, was delighted to see a fine bird drop to the ground; but his delight was of short duration, for immediately he found himself attacked most vigorously by the whole number of parrots, and had the greatest difficulty in fighting his way back to the camp, without his bird and very much injured by the beaks of his numerous adversaries. The constant want of water to drink was a terrible trial to the missionaries also, as it produced an almost intolerable thirst, which their constitutions were not fitted to bear.

After enduring these hardships for three months, they began to see that it was impossible and useless for them to continue as they were; and Dom Salvado, the strongest of the party, offered to return to Perth for assistance in their need, and thus to enable them to continue longer with their savage friends. He set out under the guidance of a youthful savage of the tribe, named "Bigliagoro."

On the road (says the Bishop) we ate anything we could find, which was often only lizards and earthworms. Bigliagoro always left me the best part of what we caught, but my stomach often revolted against what was required of it. At the end of some days, however, I could eat anything; and I must say that a grilled lizard, a boiled maggot, or a steak of possum cooked in a handful of green leaves, with an earthworm or two, are not the most disagreeable of food, particularly when one has fasted since the morning.

On the arrival of Dom Salvado in Perth, Dr. Brady, the bishop, tried to prevent his return to the bush, and endeavoured once more to make him abandon a mission so full of danger and hardship. With great firmness the monk withheld all entreaties, and refused to give up a work once begun. For some time he

had the greatest difficulty in getting money to enable him to buy the things he and his fellow-missioner stood most in need of. At last, however, it struck him that he would turn his talents as a musician to account, and give a concert in Perth. The idea was approved of by every one, and people of every form of religion assisted him to make it a success. Dom Salvado appeared on the platform in his Benedictine habit, or rather such part of it as remained after his wanderings in the bush.

My tunic (he says) was in tatters, and only came down to my knees ; my stockings, which I had tried to mend with any kind of thread, presented the most strange appearance as to colour ; as to my shoes, they were broken in numberless places, and displayed my feet as much as they covered them. Add to this a beard which had been allowed to grow wild, a face black as that of a collier, and hands like those of a blacksmith. I thought I should be an object at once of compassion and laughter. Loud applause, however, greeted me and gave me courage.

For three hours Dom Salvado delighted his audience with an exhibition of no ordinary musical skill ; and what was more to him, the collection made at the end, added to the price of seats, formed a good round sum with which to make his purchases. He soon got together a supply of clothes, provisions, seeds, and a plough, and with these all packed in a waggon he had bought he set out to return to his companions. He hoped to have a quick and easy journey, but the wet season had unfortunately set in, and he experienced the greatest difficulty in finding his road. On the second day he was overtaken by a severe storm, during which he lost his path. For some time he travelled on in ignorance of his mistake. "It was a terrible moment," he says, "when I first discovered my error. The thought of finding myself alone, without a guide, in this vast solitude, and in such a season, troubled me more than I can say. I knew not which way to turn, so I threw myself on my knees, and raising my hands and eyes to heaven called upon God to help me. My short prayer gave me confidence, and taking my oxen by the horns I turned them, and began to retrace my steps. After an anxious march of many miles I regained my first tracks, and continued my journey."

A few days after this, whilst crossing a marshy piece of ground, the cart sunk in the mud down to the axletrees, and the oxen, after making one or two attempts to move it, gave up the struggle, and no amount of persuasion on the part of Dom Salvado could urge them forward. "I thought," he says, "that in such an extremity I might be excused if I were to employ the most energetic means ; I consequently gathered a bundle of dry leaves and sticks, and, placing them under the animals, set them on fire. The oxen, on feeling the flames on their hair and skin,

made the most desperate efforts to escape, and dragged the cart out of the mud."

Even then he found himself but little better off, for the animals so obstinately refused to be yoked again, that there was nothing to be done but to place the load on their backs and to abandon his waggon. This, with great reluctance, he did, and having placed on his own head a cage full of fowls, he slung across his shoulders a sack containing a cat intended to make war upon the multitude of mice which, in the bush, infested every encampment and eat up all they could reach, leading by a string a big dog and his sole remaining goat, he drove his oxen before him, and pushed on for the place where he had appointed to meet his companions.

Their meeting was not so joyful as he had anticipated, since he found that one of the three, Gorman, the Irish catechist, had died, under the hardships of their life, only a few days before his arrival. On the arrival of Dom Salvado they consulted together and came to the determination of making some fixed habitation in a place where they could easily procure water. Having found a suitable spot, in the month of August they constructed a rude hut and set about bringing the land round about them into some sort of cultivation. Dom Serra led the oxen, while Dom Salvado guided the plough; and so well did they work that in a month they had sown several acres with corn, and planted a great number of fruit trees. During this period of labour they still constantly studied the language of the aborigines, and little by little gained such an influence over them that they many a time were able to interpose in the continual fights the tribes had one with another. Providence also enabled them often to work most wonderful cures, by means of very simple remedies, in favour of the people they desired to influence. Gradually the example of these two Spanish monks, working silently in the fields, and devoting their lives to works of Christian charity, added to these wonderful cures they effected, had the desired influence on the minds of the savages. At first they regarded them with wonder, and then began to look upon them as superhuman beings, and were ready to listen when they wished to speak about religious subjects. The great difficulty they experienced was the method of life led by the native Australian. The savages were obliged to be ever on the move in search of food, and even then seemed to be perpetually on the verge of famine. The only means of appeasing their hunger known to them was by hunting, and the missionaries felt that it was not possible to civilize such a people whilst they continued this mode of life. They had tried to follow them to their hunting grounds, but the result of their experience was that this labour and all the hardships they had braved

had been thrown away. Moreover, they remembered the old traditional monastic method of evangelization. Europe, they knew, had never received the faith in the way they at first attempted: St. Austin of Canterbury, St. Willibrord of Utrecht, St. Boniface of Mayence, and all those other great monk missionaries, had begun their work by the foundation of a monastery, which in time became the centre of religious and civilized life. The experience of their forefathers in religion had proved that savages would in time be induced by example to copy the method of a civilized and pious life begun in their midst. And thus Dom Serra and Dom Salvado resolved to imitate, in the Australian bush, a policy which had been successful in Europe.

Full of their scheme they returned once more to Perth to solicit the approval of Dr. Brady. After some time they obtained what they asked, and having bought more clothes and seeds, they set out once more for the bush in the December of 1846, expecting to find that the fields they had sown and their fruit trees were ready to return them their labour. Great, however, was their disappointment when, on their arrival at the scene of their labours, they found that a "mob" of wild horses had utterly destroyed everything. These herds of wild cattle, and "mobs," as they are called, of wild horses, all of course descended from stock that had been at one time imported by the colonists, are the causes of great destruction to the property of the settler. Mr. Trollope says that it is by no means an uncommon thing for a man to drive four or five hundred horses into an enclosure and there slaughter them to rid himself of what is one of the greatest pests to the squatter. It was one of these wild herds that swept over the little patch of cultivated ground the two monks had prepared so carefully and planted so successfully, and which left it an entire wreck. At the same time they received a notice from the British authorities that they could not be allowed to settle upon the land they had themselves cleared and rescued from its native wildness. They were discouraged, but were, however, so fully persuaded of the ultimate success of their schemes, that they determined to begin once more. Having obtained some forty acres of land on the banks of the River Moore, at a place called Victoria Plains, they commenced at once to prepare the land for cultivation. A number of French and Irish colonists from Perth came to their assistance, and they began to build a spacious house of stone and a stable for their animals. In fifty days the wild solitude of that portion of the River Moore had completely changed its aspect, and a stranger, had he gazed upon the scene, might have thought he beheld the well-kept homestead of a farm in England. They led a busy life those fifty days. The monks ploughed up the ground and scattered the seed in the furrows. The colonists built up the

walls, and the savages, coming at first to look on, stopped to aid in cutting down the trees in the clearing, while their children watched the flocks. They called their settlement by the name of New Nursia, in memory of the little town in Italy which is honoured as the birthplace of the Patriarch of monks, St. Benedict. It was on April 26, 1847, that they took possession of their little monastery with great joy. "We imagined," says Dom Salvado, "that we were again possessed of our grand old abbey of St. Martin at Compostella."

A wonderful instance of the manner in which Providence assists those who rely upon it is recorded of the period when the monastery was being built. A dog named Pompey had long before this time been given to Dom Salvado, in Perth, for the purpose of hunting the kangaroo. Up to this date, however, he had not been of much use; but when the building of the monastery had begun, and the services of every one were required for the work, each morning of his own accord Pompey would go off into the woods, and return in the evening with the native who had followed him, bringing into the camp a kangaroo he had caught. This, strange as it may appear, was always large enough for the whole party. And what is still more strange, perhaps, is, that as the work was being brought to a conclusion, and the number of workmen lessened, the size of the kangaroo caught by the dog grew smaller, and the day the work was finished was the last time he went out to hunt.

In a very short time the calculations of the monks began to be realized. The aborigines at first came from all parts to look at buildings which were so strange to them. They admired them greatly, and soon some endeavoured in a rude way to imitate the work of the monks, and fixed their huts near the new monastery. This was what the missionaries had hoped for; and a new concession of land being obtained, many of the savages asked to be allowed to aid in getting it ready for cultivation, and later on joined the monks in gathering in the harvest. The time of rest necessary during the heat of an Australian summer was devoted to instructing the savages in the truths of religion. At this time one of the aboriginal assistants, being mortally wounded, was the first to receive baptism at the hands of the Benedictine fathers.

During the first harvest, another incident, which shows the protection of Providence over the little colony, is recorded. The monks had given great offence to a certain savage by protecting his wife from his brutality. After vainly attempting to frighten Dom Salvado into giving the woman up to his blind anger, he went off into the woods threatening revenge. It was soon clear what he intended to do, as shortly afterwards the bush was

reported to be on fire, and the flames, driven on by a strong wind, rapidly approached the mission. All efforts to stay the progress of the conflagration proved useless, and not only their new building, but their entire harvest was threatened. In their extremity, Dom Salvado ran to the chapel, took from the altar a picture of the Madonna, and carried it in the direction most in danger. In a moment the wind, which had for some days been blowing from the same quarter, changed and drove the flames back upon their first track, and not the slightest damage was done to any of the monastic property. This wonderful event, which was witnessed by so many of the natives, made a deep impression on their savage minds, and led to numerous conversions. Even the savage who had attempted the injury was so struck by this manifestly supernatural interposition, that he came and acknowledged his crime, and afterwards became one of the most useful and respected of the assistants of the mission. Knowing the value of a proper road from their new settlement to Perth, the missionaries had no sooner gathered in the harvest than they determined to begin this work. Dom Salvado undertook to superintend the gang of fourteen natives who had volunteered for the labour. They finished the forty miles which lay between New Nursia and the nearest colonial settlement in three weeks; and during this time the Benedictine father, whilst so constantly living and working with the aborigines, was able to learn a great deal about their customs and language.

In the year that followed they opened a school for the children of the native Australians, who were beginning to see the advantages a quiet settled life had over the wandering and uncertain life of the chase. With the consent of the parents, three of the youthful savages received baptism, and came to live in the monastery and share the life of the monks. It was a great happiness to the good and zealous monks to listen to the young Australian neophytes joining their voices in the choir duties, and to see them, dressed in cassock and surplice, devoutly serving at Holy Mass. At the same time the number of families that came permanently to settle near the monastery was constantly increasing, and almost daily one or more of the converted savages received the waters of baptism. Each morning the monks, at a certain hour, gave away a basin of soup to any one who would come for it; and at this hour they could always be certain of an audience to whom they could speak on religious matters. This practice, which is still preserved, resulted in very great and lasting benefits to the mission. Matters progressed so rapidly that in January, 1848, Dr. Brady held a Synod of the Diocese of Perth at New Nursia; and the result of a year's experience of this Benedictine method of conducting the Australian mission work being considered so

satisfactory, the monks were authorized to buy of the Colonial Government some 2,560 acres of land. To obtain funds for the purchase of this territory, and also if possible to procure additional assistants, Dom Serra set out for Europe, taking with him a young savage who had been baptized Benedict. Dom Salvado remained at New Nursia, and commenced the second year of his work by assigning a piece of land to each of the savages who had aided in the building and cultivation of the soil. The aborigines were delighted to think themselves the real possessors of a portion of land, and at once began to clear and sow it. The missioner next tried the effect of payment for work done, explaining carefully how money saved up would purchase in time something they might desire very much—a sheep, a pig, an ox, or a horse. The idea was grasped more quickly than he anticipated, and, with Dom Salvado for a master and adviser, they speedily learnt to appreciate, not only the value of money, but the advantage of labour which could obtain it for them. Another happy effect of this was that it brought the aborigines into commercial relations with the European settlers, and tended to eradicate the very unjust estimate the colonists had formed of the native Australian.

Whilst Dom Serra was in Europe, Dom Salvado enlarged the monastery very considerably, in order that it might be able to accommodate any assistant labourers Providence might send them from Europe. At this time also he obtained from the English Government letters of naturalization for himself. This proved most useful in many ways, and particularly in gaining for him an increase of respect and authority from the natives. As an English subject he was allowed to plead before a magistrate; and he soon made use of this privilege to defend a poor Australian native who had been charged with sheep-stealing, but whom he knew to be innocent. His intervention obtained the acquittal of the poor prisoner, and made a great impression on the mind of the savages, who more than ever learnt to regard the zealous monk in the light of a powerful protector.

The harvest of this summer was most abundant; and, under the teaching of the indefatigable missioner, the aborigines quickly became skilful reapers. A portion of the corn was stored in the monastery granaries, and what they were not likely to want themselves was taken into Perth and exchanged for other necessities. The savage nature was gradually becoming tamed, and the aborigines now very seldom sighed for the roving life of the chase, but desired to live quietly near the monastery walls.

During the heat of the Australian summer it was necessary to drive the flocks away into the bush in search of food. This, which was necessary for the sheep, often caused Dom Salvado and the natives the most intense suffering, as water was everywhere

most scarce ; but one happy result of bush life was that it tended to attach the aborigines more than ever to their friend and father, Dom Salvado, and to make them sigh for the comforts of their home life.

The following year, 1849, Dom Salvado learnt that Dom Serra had been made Bishop of Port Victoria. Shortly afterwards Dr. Brady earnestly entreated Dom Salvado to proceed himself to Europe on business of the Diocese of Perth. With great reluctance he complied, and, accompanied by two young converted aborigines, Conaci and Dirimerà, he landed at Swansea. Making only a short stay in England and France, he took his young converts to the Pope at Gaeta, who with his own hands clothed them in the habit of the Order of St. Benedict. The King of Naples engaged to pay for the support of the two youths at the monastery of La Cava, which they entered as students for New Nursia.

Shortly after Dom Salvado's interview with the Pope, he learnt that Dom Serra had been appointed coadjutor to Dr. Brady, and that he himself was destined to be Bishop of Port Victoria. His efforts to escape from the burden and dignity were of no avail, and Cardinal Fransoni consecrated him on August 15, 1849. Meantime, Dom Serra had been in Spain, and had got together a large number of subjects for the Australian mission, who, on the arrival of Bishop Salvado in Barcelona, all, to the number of twenty-eight, received the Benedictine habit. A sad disappointment was in store for Bishop Salvado. On the very eve of the departure of the band of missionaries for Australia he was informed that the English Government had completely suppressed the colony of Port Victoria, and that he was thus left a bishop without subjects. The city of Port Victoria had only been of quite recent creation. It was situated some 1,800 miles to the north of the Benedictine colony of New Nursia. In forming it, the Government had expected that it would quickly become a centre of civilization and trade ; but in both these respects they were doomed to disappointment. Navigation to it through the Straits of Torres was found to be difficult and dangerous ; and while it impeded the growth of trade in other towns, there was no reasonable prospect of its own ultimate development. When, moreover, it became known that the district was certainly an unhealthy one, and quite unsuited to the conditions of European life, the English Government, though they had sanctioned the appointment of Dom Salvado to the new see, promptly determined to disperse the whole colony. Thus Bishop Salvado found himself with a mere title, and charged with a place which had ceased to exist, and which could hardly be ranked even with sees "in partibus infidelium." In this difficulty he was obliged to delay his departure

from Europe to obtain some instructions from Rome, and he had reluctantly to allow Mgr. Serra to set out for Australia without him. This Dom Serra did, accompanied by his large band of missionaries. He was received with great joy at the mission, though the delight of the natives at his return was somewhat modified by the absence of Dom Salvado. This latter was long detained in Europe, in almost daily expectation that something or other would be settled as to his future work. He, however, made good use of his forced detention away from his colony, where his heart was, to compose his most interesting "Memorie Storiche."

In 1853 he returned once more to his beloved mission, which had suffered much during his long absence, but which, on his return, grew and developed in every direction by reason of his marvellous energy and the extraordinary life and enthusiasm with which he was capable of inspiring those who aided him. In 1854 Mgr. Serra was compelled by reasons of health to return definitely to Europe, and for some time Bishop Salvado acted as coadjutor to Dr. Brady, his wonderful strength enabling him to do the work of two men. After three years, however, he asked that a coadjutor should be appointed, and from this time he has devoted himself exclusively to his colony. A large monastery and spacious church of stone have been completed, and two schools are well attended. Round about the monastic buildings, as in the old days of Europe's early civilization, cluster the neat houses of the native Australians—storehouses, workshops, enclosures for cattle and horses, fields brought under the finest cultivation, such is the picture presented by New Nursia of the present day. The newest improvement is a steam threshing-machine, which has been the admiration and wonder of the natives. Last year a cricket eleven went from the settlement to try conclusions with an eleven of white men at Perth, and, if we remember right, they returned victorious. The Abbot-Bishop is the life of the place, its father and oracle. Nothing can be done without him; his advice is sought about the most minute details of the colony, and to him all the sick of the settlement are brought for medicine and advice. During the years 1877 and 1878, which brought famine to India and China, on him devolved the anxious task of providing food for his numerous family.

The entire population is governed by a very strict code of customs. They rise with the sun, and while the monks, two and two, go to their office in the church, the villagers pour in for their morning prayers, after which they scatter over the fields to work. Office over, the religious join them in their labour, and it is a very ordinary thing to see a tall muscular savage leading a team, while a monk in his black habit holds the plough, and directs it with no ordinary skill.

Bishop Salvado does not attempt to keep his native converts always at the mission or labouring in the cultivation of the fields. "From time to time," he says, "I send them, the men converts and the young people of the mission, for a week or two into the bush, with only a very small bag of flour. They must find the rest of their food by hunting, and must lie on the ground in huts of branches which they have made. By these little excursions I obtain two excellent results—I strengthen the constitution which a too confined life in this generation would undermine, and I teach them by contrast all the advantages of a family life in New Nursia."

The following account of the school founded by Bishop Salvado for native children, as it now exists, is of considerable interest. It is taken from the ninth chapter of Dom Berengier's interesting volume:—

The school at present contains upwards of fifty children of both sexes. The boys and girls have separate school buildings, where they receive from the missionaries a religious and liberal education. They are taught to read and write, and have a good knowledge of arithmetic and sacred history. They rise with the sun, at the sound of the monastery bell. The Benedictines have recognized that to form the entire man the family life must be united with that of the citizen. They consequently make all the children spend the night with their parents in their own homes. When dressed, they betake themselves to the church, whither their parents soon follow them. Then comes mass and the Laudate, after which they go to their respective refectories for breakfast. Breakfast over, half an hour is given for recreation, which is followed by some work suitable to their age; some help the shepherds to lead their flocks to the pastures, some work in their parents' gardens, others in shops of different trades. The little girls assist their mothers and sisters in cooking, or learning to sew, &c. At eleven all work for the children ceases, and they troop off to their studies for the hour before dinner. At twelve this is served to them by the monks, and consists of simple but abundant food. Then again comes recreation, always joyous and noisy, and a visit to their parents, so that they may see and know each other once more; from two to four in winter, and three to five o'clock in summer come studies and class work, which is followed by manual labour till sunset. After this they have their supper and evening hours with their parents at home, followed by prayers altogether in the church, and then to bed in the winter at eight and at nine in the summer.

Bishop Salvado's one desire has been for a long time to be allowed to pass the remainder of his life in the midst of the family he has gathered round him, and to which he is everything. At one time he was nominated to the Bishopric of Perth, and was obliged to come to Europe to escape the burden. He was

able, to his great relief, to persuade Cardinal Barnabò, then Prefect of the Propaganda, that his special mission was to be with his beloved savages, and the remarkable results his energy had achieved in New Nursia procured for him a singular mark of approbation from the Supreme Pontiff. Pius IX. on the feast of St. Gregory the Great, 1867, published a Bull by which he erected the monastery into an abbey "nullius diœcesis," thus forming the colony and adjacent territory into a real diocese distinct from that of Perth. Monsignor Salvado was named as the first perpetual abbot and bishop, and it was declared that these dignities should descend to his successors. We have only to add that, after assisting at the General Council, and making an attempt to found again the Benedictine Order in Spain, which was unhappily frustrated by the revolution, and after a short sojourn among his Benedictine brethren in England, Monsignor Salvado returned once more to his colony, where he still continues the labours to which he has devoted the best years of his life. Though some few settlements have of late years been formed between New Nursia and Perth, it still remains the most advanced outpost of civilized life in Western Australia. For this Bishop Salvado is particularly thankful. He has no wish that the first generation of his civilized aborigines should have too great an intercourse with the European population. At one time he had great fears that his endeavours to keep his new converts from contamination by the vices of those who belonged to an ancient civilization would not be long possible. Gold was discovered in small quantities at a place not above twelve miles from New Nursia, and the district was at once overrun with gold-seekers. The "find," however, proved to be so small that the number of diggers soon dwindled down, and Bishop Salvado was spared what he considered a very great misfortune.

Protestant and independent testimony is not wanting to the remarkable success of the Benedictine mission—the success of the work undertaken by the Spanish monk. A Protestant clergyman wrote to his bishop—"What I saw at the Spanish mission of Perth reminded me of the early days of the Church." Miss Florence Nightingale, of Crimean reputation, after her visit to the colonies, wrote—"The necessity of allowing the habits of civilized countries to penetrate gradually into savage nations, by means of education, seems to me to be nowhere understood except in the Benedictine monastery of New Nursia." A Protestant paper, *The Perth Gazette*, in 1867, wrote the following:—

Preaching alone will not produce the civilization of the savages of Australia. The first thing is to make them upright, laborious, and industrious. This is a more difficult thing than to make them Christians

only in name. So far, the only true success has been obtained by the Catholic colony of Victoria Plains. In this mission of the Spanish monks, the natives were very happy, educated to work, and to recognize the advantage of it. . . . The success obtained by the Benedictines of New Nursia shows us clearly the only means by which a happy result may be obtained. But for Protestants it will always be difficult to establish and maintain a similar institution, with our habits of comfort, and above all to find a like number of men so full of self-abnegation, patient, persevering, and entirely devoted to this work of civilization.

We cannot finish without calling the attention of the reader to the very different estimate of the character of the aborigines, and of the possibility of civilizing them, formed by the self-sacrificing Bishop Salvado and the ordinary English writer on Australia, of whom Mr. A. Trollope may be taken as a fair specimen. In the fourth chapter of his work on Australia, which he devotes to the "Aborigines," he paints their character in the darkest hue—

They were, and are (he says) savages of the lowest type. They were in total ignorance of the use of metals, they went naked, they ill-used their women, they had no houses, they produced nothing from the soil. They had not even flint arrow-heads. They practised infanticide. In some circumstances of life they practised cannibalism. . . . Their sagacity, especially in the tracking of men or cattle, is very wonderful. The skill with which they use the small appliances of life which they possess is very wonderful. But for years, probably for many centuries, they have made no progress, and the coming of the white men among them has *had no tendency to civilize—only a tendency to exterminate them.* . . . It might be possible to teach a dog to carry a mutton chop without eating it; and perhaps an aboriginal might be found who, after many lessons, would not do so either. . . . Of the Australian black man we may certainly say that he has to go. That he should perish without unnecessary suffering should be the aim of all who are concerned in the matter.

The whole of Mr. Trollope's chapter should be read to appreciate the difference between his view of the native of Australia and that taken by Bishop Salvado, and proved by the success of his work. Six or seven years ago the Bishop wrote a small pamphlet in English to defend the character of the Australian savages against the unjust criticism of English writers, amongst whom were some of the Government agents. His defence was considered so valuable that it was ordered to be printed and published at the expense of the Colonial Government. In reality, however, the best defence is to be found in the history of the colony of New Nursia itself. Bishop Salvado and his Benedictine brethren have succeeded in doing what we are so constantly told cannot be accomplished—changing the savages of the bush into useful Christian citizens.

A letter written by the Bishop, in April, 1878, speaks as follows :—

The Australians received and instructed in our monastic colony never return to a savage life, as the Protestant neophytes almost always do, and this though for one reason or another they leave New Nursia. Last year some of my baptized savages left the mission, but not to dis-honour our teaching. The first went to establish himself as a shoemaker in Perth ; it was the trade he had learnt at New Nursia. His skill and steadiness is remarkable, and the Perth journals say that he is the best shoemaker in the colony. . . . Another savage, civilized by our Fathers, is gone to work for an English colonist, and has taken his Australian wife with him. The colonist is so pleased with their fidelity that he has built them a house and given them a garden. The man is general servant, groom and gardener, and his wife the cook and laundry-maid. A third native took service with another colonist. He soon learnt to appreciate the services of this converted savage, and, not satisfied with giving him £3 a month, besides his board, has lately made him his butler : the other servants, English and Irish, have now to obey him.

Can these be the men, we are led to exclaim, who have been declared utterly incapable of any kind of civilization ?

ART. IV.—TRACTARIANISM AND RITUALISM.

1. *Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching Considered—I. In Twelve Lectures addressed to the Party of the Religious Movement of 1833 ; II. In a Letter addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on occasion of his Eirenicon.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, of the Oratory. Fifth Edition. London : Burns & Oates. 1880.
2. *Anglican-Ritualism, as seen by a Catholic and Foreigner : a Series of Essays, with an Appendix, on the Present Position of the Church in France.* By Abbé P. MARTIN, D.D., Professor of Holy Scripture in the Catholic Institute of Paris. London : Burns & Oates. 1881.
3. *The Church under Queen Elizabeth : an Historical Sketch, with an Introduction on the Present Position of the Established Church.* By the Rev. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.D., Vicar of All Saints, Lambeth. Two vols. London : W. H. Allen & Co. 1880.

A NEW edition of Cardinal Newman's Lectures on "Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching" has lately been issued, to which, at the present moment, it may be useful to call attention. They were addressed thirty years ago to a generation

now fast passing away; and although containing much that is valuable for all times, may, as being only a reprint, escape notice in an age when the fact that a book is new seems to carry a recommendation disproportionate to its intrinsic merit.

Yet, there are especial reasons why those who are interested in the religious life and thought of England should not allow these Lectures to be forgotten, or to become the property of mere theological students; for perhaps no writings of Cardinal Newman's exemplify his almost prophetic genius more completely than these words of warning, addressed in 1850 to the High Church party in the Establishment. What he here tells us would happen, as a fact, has happened: dangers he foresaw, weakness he suspected, untruth to first principles in the future which he then saw to be inevitable in those whom he addressed—we can already point to in the past. The tense alone requires to be changed; for the future let us put the past, and we have the history of the Tractarian Movement during the last thirty years.

The Twelve Lectures now before us are divided into two portions. In the first, Cardinal Newman assails and seems to destroy the *locus standi* of those of whom he had so lately been the distinguished leader; in the second, he defends that "mighty mother" in whose bosom he had at length found the fulfilment of his aspirations after the doctrines of the fathers and the devotion of the saints, and explains certain prejudices and misunderstandings likely to prove a hindrance to Englishmen in joining her communion. In both may be found much that cannot but interest even non-theological readers—theories which adjust apparent contradictions; stray ideas opening out long vistas of thought, seemingly thrown out from the mere exuberant wealth of his rich mental store, and all in language which, were the matter nought, would alone be sufficient apology for commanding our attention. But the matter is far from being nought, and may with all earnestness be again brought to the notice of those who stand, or rather who claim to stand, where Cardinal Newman's audience then stood.

We question, however, whether any party in the Establishment can be considered as now fairly representing the principles first advocated in 1833. There are those who claim to do so; but, if holding an identical position means holding identical principles, would those who startled Oxford fifty years ago own as their legitimate successors the modern Ritualists? Looking back, we see position after position, and positions once deemed essential, abandoned as the exigencies of facts made them untenable, till, to use an old simile, first the handle was changed, and then the blade and then the handle, till the identity of the High Church-

man of to-day seems hardly one with that of the High Churchman of 1833.

In 1850, Cardinal Newman tells the party that it "will be most inconsistent if with (its) views and principles (it) remains in the Establishment" ("Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching," page 108). He admits, "You *may* knowingly abandon altogether what you have once held, or you *may* profess to hold truths without being faithful to them" (*ibid.* p. 109). But, he concludes, "My brethren, I think too well of you, I hope too much of you, to fancy that you can be untrue to convictions so special and so commanding. No; you are under a destiny, the destiny of truth—truth is your master, not you the master of truth—you must go whither it leads. You can have no trust in the Establishment or its Sacraments and ordinances. You must leave it, you must secede; you must turn your back upon, you must renounce, what has—not suddenly become, but has now been proved to you to have ever been—an imposture. You must take up your cross and go hence" (*ibid.* p. 109).

Many no doubt thus addressed did not refuse the cross offered; and the result we can to some extent see in the different standing of the Catholic Church in England in 1850 and in 1880. In their very lifetime the cross has become a crown, and success following on their efforts is seen at every corner in churches, convents, schools; in priests, missions, and conversions; till what was but an aristocratic sect seems fast growing into a popular power. Nevertheless, in a large party the number of those who fully realize the logical consequences of their views is small; and even amongst these all are not fully prepared to make the great sacrifices which they may demand. So many are led to take up ideas because this or that of their accidents pleases them, from personal influence or chance association. Had they known whither these ideas led, they would have let them alone; and they feel as if more than they had bargained for was being asked, when the principles which they had intended should merely embellish, refine and give a grace and a poetry to their life, demand their very life itself. They rebel when asked to sacrifice on the altar of consistency friends and home, early associations, all

The tender memories of the past,
The hopes of future years.

And this, not on the certitude of mathematical demonstration, but to the logical following out of their first principles—a logic which may now and then elude them—and at the risk (so they would despairingly argue) of deserting an appointed post, of failing where God had meant they should stand, and of succumbing to trials of His sending. For the certitude of faith follows, but does

not always precede conversion. Considerations such as these no doubt weighed with many in the eventful years 1845-1850, and lessened the numbers in the exodus from the Church of England that then took place. As Cardinal Newman says elsewhere, "God has not chosen every one to salvation : it is a rare gift to be a Catholic." It can therefore be no matter of surprise that all whom we may judge ought then to have entered the Church did not as a fact become Catholics.

A number sufficient to continue the Tractarian party in name and form were unmoved by Cardinal Newman's words and remained where they were. It is their fortunes, as affected by the principles with which they started, that we propose to follow. They and their successors claim the position of those who were the life of Oxford from 1833 to 1850. They are the modern Ritualists, who insist on being the legitimate successors of the Tractarians, and who claim to have continued the work begun, and which, even amid present discouragement, they refuse to acknowledge has failed.

None has a better right than Cardinal Newman to be accepted as an authority, when he tells us of the leading idea which animated himself and his friends when the party started in 1833. It was, briefly, to catholicize England by means of the Establishment. This was the end, and as a principal means to its accomplishment, the out-rooting of Erastianism by means of exalting the Episcopate. Let us consider how the prospects of such a task have fared after fifty years, during which many earnest and enthusiastic men have devoted their lives to the work. It is a melancholy retrospect, as the record of entirely wasted energy must always be. It is a long history of gallant endeavours to do the impossible, and of failure, which is perhaps only the more touching from often being unsuspected by its victims ; of endeavours, which have only helped the enemy they went forth to combat ; of efforts, which have merely precipitated the latitudinarianism which they were working to destroy.

We could, however, feel more sympathy with the Ritualist of to-day and his disappointments, had "Anglican Difficulties" never been written. In these Lectures Cardinal Newman so prophetically warns the party of the inevitable results of remaining within the Establishment, of the impossibility of using a Protestant Church practically against itself, to catholicize a nation (an attempt which Cardinal Newman can only liken to "endeavouring to evangelize Turkey by means of Islamism") : he exposes the weakness of Tractarianism so unsparingly ; he enunciates its principles and their failure when tried by facts so clearly ; he so generously grants all the most sanguine would claim, and even then shows its nullity, and, worse than all, cuts the

ground so mercilessly from under the few consolations with which a Ritualist may comfort himself—as, in the words of the Apostle, to “leave them without excuse.”

At this date, we are sufficiently far removed from the Tractarian movement to be in a position to judge it without prejudice. When calmly looked at, ought its failure to surprise us? Did it not from the very beginning start wrong? The Catholic theory is that the Church teaches individuals: did not individuals in 1833 attempt to teach the English Church? Not that the leaders at the time would have acknowledged this; they repudiated with energy the idea that their teaching was at all influenced by their private judgment. Cardinal Newman expounds to us precisely the foundation of their principles: “The movement was based on submission to a definite existing authority, and private judgment was practically excluded” (“*Anglican Difficulties*,” p. 117). Their appeal lay immediately to the Prayer-book and to the bishops of the Establishment, remotely to antiquity.

The authority, however, of any written word seems fated sooner or later to prove as wanting in solid foundation as the fabulous tortoise which supported the globe. Whether it be the authority of Bible, Prayer-book, doctor, or father, the question of who is to interpret the word sooner or later arises. In this instance the prayer-book was proved by a catena of English divines, and the authority of the English divines by the writings of the Fathers; and here for awhile, it was believed, firm ground was reached. What the Fathers meant it was supposed none could dispute, their teaching was so distinct as to preclude the possibility of any use of private judgment. Here the Anglo-Catholics were safe, and Protestantism was condemned. “The present Church declared what her divines had declared; and her divines declared what the Fathers had declared; and what the Fathers had declared was no matter of private judgment at all, but a matter of fact, cognizable by all who chose to read their writings” (*ibid.* p. 131). “Judge, then, of their dismay, when, according to the Arabian tale, on their striking their anchors into the supposed soil, lighting their fires on it, and fixing in it the poles of their tents, suddenly their island began to move, to heave, to splash, to frisk to and fro, to dive, and at last to swim away, spouting out inhospitable jets of water upon the credulous mariners who had made it their home” (*ibid.* p. 132).

An imposing building had been raised, but on what did it rest? On the Prayer-book, which rested on the Anglican divines, who rested on the Fathers, was the answer. The Fathers were appealed to in order to crush Protestantism, and they did it effectually; only too effectually. No more was asked of them; and at this point they *ought* to have stopped short. They were appealed to

as teaching apostolic succession, Church government, baptismal regeneration, and they taught them all. But, unfortunately for the Anglican theory, they taught with even greater persistence such "Romish corruptions" as Papal supremacy and purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the veneration of relics. If we appeal to an authority, we are bound to accept all he says; we cannot quote him as all but inspired in one text, and refuse to listen to him in the next. This the leader of the Tractarians at any rate could not do; he could not "accept the lesser evidence and reject the greater" (*Newman's "Development of Christian Doctrine,"* p. 24). He has himself told us his feelings at the discovery that the Fathers he had called on to destroy Protestantism, so to say, overdid their work. "They *would* protect Romanists as well as extinguish dissenters. The Anglican divines *would* misquote the Fathers, and shrink from the very doctors to whom they appealed. The bishops of the seventeenth century were shy of the bishops of the fourth, and the bishops of the nineteenth were shy of the bishops of the seventeenth" (*"Anglican Difficulties,"* p. 133).

The appeal to antiquity may therefore be said to have failed; there remained the second basis, which ought to have been identical and one with the first, the living voice of the Church. The bishops of the Establishment, it was argued, must agree with the Fathers; and the Fathers thus supported might have propped up Tractarianism. But apparently, in their hurry to condemn the movement, the bishops hardly paused to examine what support it really derived from antiquity. They were bishops of the National Church (Anglo-Catholic, if you please, but National first), and it was plain "the National Church cared little for primitive Christianity, or for those who appealed to it as her foundation" (*ibid.* 134). The principle of the Tracts was to "exalt our holy Fathers as the representatives of the Apostles and the Angels of the Churches." For a moment, the "Angels of the Churches" were silent, recovering perhaps the shock of finding themselves the objects of such unusual veneration. It was, however, but the lull before the storm; "external authority" at length spoke out with no measured or hesitating voice; an essentially undogmatic Church for a moment almost seemed to grow dogmatic in order to condemn. "Bishops spoke against them, bishops' courts sentenced them, universities degraded them, the people rose against them, from that day their occupation was gone" (*ibid.* 134). It was the beginning of the end. "Let us go hence." must now be the cry of all who had mastered, and were prepared to stand by, the principles of 1833.

The cry, "Let us go hence," came as a mighty wave well nigh engulfing the party—a shock from which the Establish-

ment is still staggering, sweeping into the waters of one broad deep ocean nearly all of the learning, the poetry, the graceful refinement and the dogmatic power of the movement. There for awhile they lay, recovering breath, by no means having relinquished the hope of Catholicizing England, but owning that the attempt to do the impossible had failed; that Turkey would never be converted to Christianity by means of Islamism; "that if you would make England Catholic you must go forth on your mission *from* the Catholic Church;" that the one and only duty its members owed to the Establishment, was to leave it. Meanwhile, so feebly had the party really touched the life of the National Church "that the huge creature shook itself and went about its work as of old time" (*ibid.* p. 10). What had appeared a powerful limb had been amputated; but so little had it been really part of her body, that, except to rejoice, she heeded little its loss.

If, however, we look closer along the shore so lately swept by the wave of consistency, we see here and there a solitary being clinging to a rock; here and there a figure who, though bruised and battered, yet has somehow contrived to keep his feet; and as the wave recedes further and further, and those it engulfed are lost to sight, these to some extent recover themselves, begin to look around them, and to consider if indeed all is lost. No doubt there must be discouragement; commanding voices that once spoke for them will now speak against them; energy once directed to propping up the Establishment will now work to uproot it; but the remnant, not having allowed their principles to get the better of them, determine, in spite of all, to go on much as if nothing had happened. They will still appeal to principles, only they will remember to stop short of their fatal conclusions. The Episcopate shall still be exalted in theory, but unheeded in practice. England shall still be catholicized by means of, and yet in spite of, the Establishment. A Church that has proved herself Protestant, and is teaching Protestantism, is in possession, and the nation accepts that teaching; their work shall yet be to force the Church to teach Catholicism and the nation to embrace it.

"Of what consequence the annoyance of a few heads of houses and the condemnation of local ephemeral authority?" asked Mr. Bennett, in "The Church and the World" (second series, p. 18). Of what, indeed, if our principle is to do what is right in our own eyes? Very much, if we eschew all private judgment and appeal to external authority. And it is the fact that the appeal to authority is now withdrawn that cuts off the Ritualist of to-day from the Tractarian of thirty years ago. "A bishop's lightest word, *ex cathedrā*, is heavy," said the Tract—the most

direct reproof, the most earnest request now falls unheeded on the Ritualist's ear. An indirect censure arrested the Tracts—a positive command now fails to remove a picture or a vase from a Ritualist church. The leading idea of the Tracts was to destroy Erastianism by exalting the Episcopate. Erastianism is no doubt still to be destroyed, but in the ritualistic programme no longer by the combined strength of bishops and clergy against the State, but by the individual opposition of individual priests to both bishops and State. Cardinal Newman tells the fate of the movement at the hands of the bishops thirty or forty years ago : "They fearlessly handselled their Apostolic weapons upon the Apostolic party. One after another in long succession they took up their song and their parable against it. It was a solemn war-dance, which they executed round their victims, who by their very principles were bound hand and foot, and could only eye with disgust and perplexity this most unaccountable movement on the part of their ' holy fathers, the representatives of the Apostles and the Angels of the Churches'" ("Anglican Difficulties," p. 133). The war-dance is still in process of execution, but its solemnity is, we fear, now somewhat marred; indeed, we are not sure that a free fight is not a better word to describe the warfare of to-day. The victims are not bound so tightly as their predecessors; principles can be, if we choose, very elastic, and have been in this instance widely stretched, till, as the bishop of London now tells us, "reasons have been found sufficient to satisfy the consciences of those who are unwilling to obey, in disobeying the bishop himself to whom obedience has been sworn, the diocesan or provincial courts in which a learned layman alone presides, and the Crown itself in last resort, advised by bishops and learned lay judges, together in Council."

We are sometimes told in answer to such objections that, had the voice of authority been heeded, the movement would have been nipped in the bud; this we can readily grant. But, we may ask, which nips the more effectually—the frost that attacks the root or the flower? The censure that destroys the spirit or the letter? From the moment that authority pronounced against the movement, its spirit died; it was the episcopal condemnation itself that killed it. If we fail to see this, it is because we confuse accident with essence, and mistake a galvanic movement for a healthy growth. Had the essence of the Tractarian movement consisted in restoring churches and organizing parishes, in adorning ministers and embellishing services, in founding sisterhoods and works of charity, even in deepening piety and arousing devotion in individuals—and is it not to triumphs of this nature that the Ritualist points?—Wesley alone had shown us how much can be done in opposition to an outside authority. But it was not for

this that the movement started—these were but accidents ; the essence lay deeper and farther from the control of the originators of Tractarianism. They could and did influence individuals ; but the great corporate body of the English Church was unmoved by their preaching.* She has not indeed been stationary these fifty years, but each step she has taken has but served to widen the gulf which already lay between her and the principles of 1833.

The perpetration of what latitudinarian laxity has the High Church party hindered ? Could it preserve to the Anglican Church her ancient seats of learning, or her doctrine of baptismal grace, or of eternal punishment, or of the inspiration of Scripture ? Could it hinder the elevation of the abettor of those who denied these last, to a seat amongst the successors of the Apostles ? or prevent the scholar, whose delight it was to honour a Unitarian, from gaining the guardianship of the most interesting of her abbeys, the most beautiful of her spoils from the Catholic Church —prior only, perhaps, to seeing it thrown upon a still wider market, and scrambled for amongst the sects—a further transfer that the High Church party will be unable to hinder, should the nation will it. Even the one legal triumph of Ritualism, the Bennett judgment, when examined more closely, proves to be but the widening still further of the latitudinarianism already existing in the English Church, touching her doctrine of the Eucharist. One more contradictory “view” is thereby sheltered in the Establishment ; and its advocates are now safe from legal penalties. But, where is the gain ? Surely it is even less perplexing that a Church should teach a false doctrine, than that it should teach every doctrine—that we should hear both yes and no from the same voice, and taste both sweet and bitter water proceeding from one fountain.

We are not anxious to deny that, to those who look without thinking, there may be much that is attractive in a Ritualist

* Ritualists will not dispute the truth of the text. Archdeacon Denison has lately written in “Notes of my Life” :—“What then is the issue of the last fifty years ? It is this—that the Establishment of England, representing for the time the Church of England, has been overcome by the world of England, and lies prostrate at its feet. I am not forgetting here, nor am I unthankful for, that revival of religion within the Establishment which has been manifested during the above period in individuals and in congregations. But of the corporate life of the Church of England, as represented by the Establishment—that life by which it stands or falls—I say, it has been overcome by the life of the world of England. The logic of facts is not to be overcome.” And again :—“The move of the Church corporate, as measured by its relations to the Civil Power—relations which lie at the door of bishops, priests, and people, quite as much as at the door of an indifferent Civil Power—is not upwards ; nor, as far as I am able to see, is there any prospect of its taking that direction” (p. 373).

church and congregation. The buildings and ornaments are often beautiful, and the people are devout. Indeed, the devotion of the Ritualist party is often hardly to be distinguished from that of Catholics; its members use many of the same prayers, observe much of the same ritual, and, so far as we can judge, follow the service in the spirit of Catholics. It is even sometimes boasted that the imitation is so perfect as to surpass the original. All this is the work of fifty years' study of Catholicism; and no doubt, had the bishops been listened to, it would never have been accomplished. But now that it is accomplished, what does it profit? Is it not all like a "feast of flowers"? It gratifies a few not very wise people, as a set-off against exasperating the body of the nation.

That we do not exaggerate when we say the nation is not only still contemptuous of Catholic principles, but enraged at finding them in her midst, is clear from the circumstances under which the Public Worship Regulation Act was passed, an Act avowedly intended to "put down Ritualism." Parliament is a fairly exact mirror of national feeling; and after forty years' trial of its principles, not one voice amongst its members was bold enough to defend the party, not one vote was given to resist the effort to crush it. The very bishops of the Establishment banded themselves together to help the work, and sacrificed their jurisdiction rather than allow a Ritualist to find a chance loophole of escape in the complicated and expensive process of an antiquated law system. Facts are stubborn things, and dispel impressions. Before the year 1874, Ritualists may have believed themselves to be a power; since 1874, they must own that they have touched the nation even less than their fore-runners the Tractarians.

The chronic antagonism existing between the clergy and their bishops places Anglicans in a position which it is very difficult to defend from a Catholic standpoint, and which is a source of perplexity and positive distress to many devout people, living outside the din and excitement of the actual combat, yet not ignorant of the matter in dispute. They constantly find the observance of two Catholic duties, and often duties of practical daily importance, to be simply impossible. We may safely affirm that the casuist never yet lived who could harmonize, on a Catholic basis, the devotions and religious duties of many devout men and women now living.

However rebellious the Ritualist clergy may be, and anxious as the Ritualist laity often are to believe and act with the clergy, yet they *know* that obedience to their bishop is of the very essence of Catholicism; the stumbling-block which has proved

fatal to the many sectaries they scorn. Yet, when we come to the daily life of an English Churchman, with how many of his Catholic devotions does not the episcopal voice interfere? We need here mention but two—two, however, which are the more important as belonging to that sacramental system which he holds, and holds rightly, to be the very life of a Catholic's devotion, and of his union with God. For instance: he is fully conscious that a Christian's first need is to be cleansed from sin, and he knows that the Catholic's means to this end is the sacrament of penance, including the practice of confession to a priest. He believes in its efficiency; the gift bestowed by our Lord on His apostles he never doubts remains yet with their successors. He may have already been soothed and found grace in the healing words of absolution, and is wishful to hear them again.* But at this point there is something that arrests him. An accident has happened, an unforeseen event, a discovery—somebody has been indiscreet. Upon this a storm arises, the nation is alarmed (showing once more how little the masses are leavened by the Tractarian principles of 1833), the press is disingenuous, and the people enraged; indignation meetings are held all over the country, and confession is denounced. All this, however, touches a High Churchman not at all. He is safely entrenched within the purity of his own conscience, and can view with amazement the ignorance, and with disgust the spiteful virulence of an excited mob. God knows His own, let the heathen rage as they will, and he is content to leave all to Him. But, alas! soon, and apparently inevitably, his fathers in God bestir themselves. They are appealed to by the multitude, and one by one, as occasion offers, answer: "Confession is dangerous," says one; "Most sad in its consequences," says another; "Contrary to the spirit of the Church of England," says a third; "I can say nothing stronger in reprobation of the practice than I have already said," replies a fourth—till they unite at length in a solemn synodical condemnation of the sacrament, issued by the whole Anglican Episcopate, meeting in formal conclave and entirely untrammelled by the State. His "director" may bid a

* The text must not be supposed to support the idea that any actual forgiveness of sin or grace can be conveyed *directly* by an Anglican clergyman using a certain Catholic form of words. *Indirectly* an English Churchman may benefit, as he supposes, by the words, as a fact, by the earnestness and humility with which he has prepared himself for what he believes to be an ordinance of God, but for what in reality is merely an imitation of that ordinance—an exercise in which it is difficult to say whether the penitent or the minister is the more deceived. See Cardinal Newman's third Lecture, "The Life of the Movement not derived from the National Church," for an explanation of the working of grace outside the Catholic Church.

High Churchman slight such a serious remonstrance ; yet surely it cannot but carry weight.

Once more. A practice has of late arisen in some few churches in the Establishment of celebrating daily the Anglican communion office ; and so long as the number of communicants required by statute law is forthcoming, we believe authority has not felt it necessary to interfere with this practice. A natural consequence of this custom has, however, not equally escaped episcopal condemnation. We must remember that the past fifty years of endeavour to catholicize the English nation have not left it ignorant of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. It has been preached far and wide, in season and out of season. The real presence of our Lord on the altar has been insisted on, and the true efficacy of the sacrifice there offered has been loudly taught ; the very Catholic phraseology is in common use, and we hear of an English clergyman "saying mass," and we hear of Anglican laymen "hearing mass." We need not be surprised that to an Anglican, who is still in perfect good faith, there should be much that is gratifying and consoling in such a service. He goes at stated times to communion, but during the interval craves for something that will touch him more intimately than the mere morning and evening service of his prayer-book ; for something in which he can feel himself more at one with the wide Catholic Church outside his own little island, of which he believes his own communion to be a part ; for something, too, which will link him to the past and make him feel himself one, not only with the Christian world of to-day, but one with the Church of the fathers, of the catacombs, of the Apostles. Here, too, the teaching of the Catholic Church and of antiquity seem confirmed by his experience. He is taught that his prayer, joined to the Eucharistic sacrifice, has more power with God, that his devotion has more fervour and efficacy, and he owns that so it is. Imagination can do so much, can even force a fancied reality into shadows, and bring forth solid results from the veriest of shams. He seems to grow week by week in grace, in self-conquest, in love of God and of his neighbour ; and this growth he ascribes to the daily office he attends. He could be so happy, would the bishops but allow him ! But here again the episcopal voice comes with warning tones, if not to arrest the custom, at any rate to disquiet the conscience. It would be simply tedious to enumerate the many episcopal censures of what is termed "non-communicating attendance." One which has appeared very lately in the Bishop of London's charge will suffice. Amongst tracts and books of devotion sown broadcast, and which he fears are undermining the more orthodox teaching of his clergy, he mentions, only to condemn, such as teach—"There

(on the altar) He is specially adored . . . uttered in such Presence and while the Eucharistic sacrifice is being offered, prayer has a more prevailing efficacy ; and attendance at holy communion, though without communicating, is the highest act of Christian worship."

All this the poor Anglican feels to be so true—doctors and fathers, liturgies and hymns, agree that it is true—but his bishop tells him it is heresy ; and details all his consolations and experiences only to condemn him and to warn others.

Are not these instances in which it may truly be said, Catholic duties clash ? Nor is it obvious which has the better claim to be considered a good Catholic—the Anglican who "hears mass" and goes to confession, or he who, in obedience to his bishop, abstains from both. The merit of Ritualism is to raise up as the ideal of its disciples the system of the Catholic Church, its discipline and devotions. The demerit of the Church of which it forms a fraction, is to crush this ideal at every turning ; to stay the natural conclusion of every premise ; to grant, perhaps grudgingly, still to grant, a doctrine, only to stifle the devotion which is its natural development. As Cardinal Newman says: "No member of the Establishment can believe in any *system* of theology without doing violence to the formularies. Those only go easily along articles and prayer-book who do not *think*" ("Anglican Difficulties," p. 25).

This was true of the members of the Establishment as Cardinal Newman knew them. But a different system obtains now, one for which the early Tractarians had hardly sufficient audacity, and which constitutes another essential difference between the High Churchman of the Tracts and the Ritualist of to-day. We refer to the manner in which the letter of the Prayer-book is handled.

No doubt in 1833 the great body of the English clergy fell far short of observing the plainest directions of the Prayer-book, and one effect of the High Church movement has been a marked improvement in this respect : we have no wish to grudge this small triumph to the High Churchmen who have remained in the Establishment. Had the Ritualists been content with observing the literal directions of their formularies, none could have complained. But there exists at present a practice of adding to, of reading forced meanings into,* of what is called "supplementing

* As an example, we may instance an argument which the Ritualist's organ, the *Church Times* (August 15, 1879), put forward when defending the custom of using wafer bread in the Anglican communion service. A clergyman was condemned for the practice in a law court, as the wording of the rubric in the prayer-book is distinct : "it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten." To this the *Church Times* gravely replies

the Prayer-book from ancient sources," which seems even less defensible than the neglect of fifty years ago. The Ritualist maintains that the Prayer-book is the minimum of obligation, and he claims the liberty to enlarge on it in any and every direction as his Catholic proclivities may lead him. This at least you must grant him, for his public ministrations in the fabrics actually belonging to the nation. For his semi-private functions in the chapels belonging to sisterhoods, schools, and charitable institutions, he insists on still greater license; and so long as certain devout and excellent women are gratified, every law of Church or State, canonical or parliamentary, seems unheeded. The result of this principle is, that even in public the letter of the Prayer-book is often painfully strained and sometimes disregarded; and that unauthorized services have been introduced. We need only mention as an instance of this, the public consecration in a parish church of oil on Maundy Thursday by seven clergymen of the Establishment.* In rubrical details, too, the positive directions of the Prayer-book are disregarded, often perhaps in points which may appear trifling in themselves, but which gain importance from the fact of their being attempts at minute imitation of that Church from which the mistress whom the Ritualist serves has deliberately cut herself off. Such, for example, are these—the point in the service at which the remains of the consecrated elements are consumed; and the manner in which some of the laity are communicated. Indeed, when we consider how absolutely he disregards both letter and spirit of the Prayer-book, we can only wonder at a Ritualist's comparative moderation in public; we are at a loss to discover what law holds him, and prevents his doing all in a church that he does in a chapel; a self-restraint which merely exposes him to the taunt of doing that in private that he dares not venture to do in public. Why should he not allow his congregation as well as his sisterhood to enjoy the privilege of worshipping (as he believes) the Blessed Sacrament reserved in a tabernacle; or deny to the former what he grants to the other, the Catholic offices of Exposition, Benediction and the *Quarant'ore*, which follow naturally from the custom of

(we will not allow ourselves to believe that it considered so solemn a service a fit subject for joke)—"As if wafer-bread after all were not, as a matter of fact, 'such as is usual to be eaten'—with ices." What sense may not be put on directions, if words so foreign to the minds of their framers, may thus be added to the rubrics, and form the basis of argument and the ground of action?

* A bishop was not forthcoming, and therefore the clergy were in this instance obliged to prefer the rites of a schismatical and separated communion to those of the Catholic Church, for which last, to do them justice, when possible, they show a preference.

reservation? It really requires some self-command to write seriously of men whose consciences are so sensitive to Church law on some points and so lax on others; who will convulse the Establishment rather than give up a dress, custom, or posture which they and they alone consider obligatory, and then habitually celebrate a sacrament unknown to and unlicensed by a bishop, in an unlegalized room; who will risk their lives in a fever hospital rather than go unfasting to communicate the sick, and then reserve the sacrament in a private chapel after a fashion for which even a local Catholic bishop has no authority or power to give permission. Surely, the text of all others on which it would profit a Ritualist to meditate is, "Obedience is better than sacrifice." The battle of Copenhagen may have been a noble naval achievement; but it was not the ideal victory of a Christian minister, nor was the spirit that gained it one which is likely to make good Catholics. Apparent triumphs in a Catholic direction, won in defiance of all legitimate authority, will not really forward the cause a Ritualist has at heart.

When taxed with his irregular proceedings, it is no excuse for a Ritualist to answer that others do as bad or worse—that if he says the *Confiteor*, which he is not directed to say, a broad Churchman omits the Athanasian Creed, which he is directed to read; or that a Low Churchman says but once to a railfull of communicants words which he is ordered to repeat to each individually. What can a system be worth, the defence of which in plain terms is, "If I am bad, you are worse"? High claims make deep responsibilities. We must remember the Ritualist proclaims himself the sole authorized representative of God's Church, our Lord's Spiritual body, in England. Is it possible for such an one to banter reproaches on an equal footing with heretics and Protestants? Surely, those who go forth to battle for law and Church must themselves be free from all reproach of breaking the law or of failing the Church.

This answer is obvious and lies on the surface. Cardinal Newman, however, enunciates a theory as to the true position of the nation and the Establishment, which gives us a profound and more satisfying reason for refusing to allow the Ritualists to shelter themselves behind such a plea as the above. This theory at once adjusts much that is perplexing in the English Church, and explains the injustice of which the Ritualists complain—an injustice which we own *seems* sometimes to exist, but which vanishes at once when we have grasped the truth as to the nature and position of the religion deliberately set up in England when she cut herself adrift from the See of Peter.

In his first Lecture, Cardinal Newman tells us the Establishment is merely "one aspect of the State or mode of civil

governance." As he proceeds to prove this, many of his audience must have listened with positive pain, so clearly did he show that the ideal Church they were living in was entirely unresponded to by any outward facts, and was plainly but the mirage of their fancy. The events of the last thirty years have afforded further evidence that the explanation he then offered was a true one; many have seen the literal fulfilment of his prophecies. He foresaw them even then, when the nation had but lately awoken from its long lethargic sleep; he saw it was becoming religiously active, and he had no doubt as to the direction its activity would take.

The English are without doubt a self-governing people. Our army, our navy, our home government and our law courts exist only how and when and where the English people choose; and religion is not allowed to be an exception. God too shall be worshipped, not as He may have revealed He would be worshipped, but as the English people may think fit that He shall be worshipped; and it is at their peril that any venture to put forth abstract ideas of right and wrong in the matter. The nation knows what it wants in religion as in everything else; and what it wants it secures. Nor is it only to-day and now for the first time that the English people has itself determined the character of its religion. It began to choose for itself at the Reformation, and so it has chosen ever since; as the nation has changed, so has its Church changed. In this we find the explanation of the Catholic character of some portion of the Prayer-book. It was framed at a date when the nation was far more Catholic-minded than it is to-day; before the Protestantism which it was then embracing had done its work and leavened the people. The nation then willed a semi-patristic, semi-Protestant religion, bearing here and there a certain external resemblance to the Church it was deserting; and what the nation wanted, it got. Some Catholic doctrines were retained and others were denounced; and perhaps as long as the nation continued in its partially Catholic frame of mind, it allowed the Catholic portion of the Prayer-book to bear a Catholic sense. Indeed, those who advocated the Catholic sense were for a while strong enough to vanquish their Puritan rivals; though these in their turn have gradually and quietly supplanted their conquerors, and won a more solid, if less obvious, victory than that which terminated the warfare two hundred years ago.

The nation even now, sooner than be agitated and worried by formal religious changes, has no objection, apparently, to sanction a certain amount of Catholic teaching, as long as it lays hidden away, printed in small type, in that portion of the Prayer-book at which it never glances. But, let such teaching venture into

public and meet the nation face to face, she makes short work with it in her law courts. She created the Establishment—neither apostle, pope, nor bishop ; but king, parliament, and people—and if it venture to cross her will, her only feeling towards it is that of an indignant mistress towards a rebellious slave. She pays it and pampers it ; but in return, and above all things, it must be obedient.

Is not this the true explanation of the injustice with which the Ritualist complains that he is treated ? We may, probably, take for granted that no body of men are in these days treated with conscious injustice. The Ritualist tells us that he is the single exception : that a Low Churchman or a Broad Churchman breaks the law unrebuked, only that the accumulated blame of all shortcomings may be vented on him. He does not realize that the master he serves cares nothing at all for the irregularities of these others, whilst abhorring what is often his own *literal* obedience. He fails to see that the average Briton dislikes, let us say, hearing a fast-day announced (an announcement he himself actually orders), and enjoys the unauthorized prayer before his sermon. He must accept the certain but unpalatable truth that, “The nation that imposes the doctrine imposes its sense ;” that he cannot serve two masters, the Catholic Church and the English Establishment ; and then the anomalies and injustice of which he believes himself the victim will vanish. The nation allowed certain parts of the Prayer-book to bear a Catholic character at the Reformation, because then the nation was partially Catholic-minded ; but we cannot argue from then to now, and conclude that because it so acted at that date, it will act so to-day. The nation has changed and is daily changing, and is becoming more and more Protestant, and the Anglican formularies being “but the expression of the national sentiment, are necessarily modified by it.” Has not the Establishment proved itself the nation’s property, and are not the shiftings of the nation’s belief the true basis of its teaching ? It is not only in the Prayer-book that we find unrepealed yet unheeded laws and penalties ; our statute books are said to abound with them. “Moralists lay down, that a law loses its authority which the lawgiver knowingly allows to be infringed and put aside ; whatever, then, be the abstract claims of the Anglican cause, the fact is that the living community to which they belong has for centuries ignored and annulled them.” (“Anglican Difficulties,” p. 16.)

If this be sound morality, is it not also common sense, and the law by which from very childhood upwards we guide our actions ? Does not the youngest child, capable of reason, argue that if he does to-day openly and unrebuked what his father yesterday forbade, the original prohibition is repealed ? We feel an apology

to be due to our readers for insisting on what is so obvious ; our excuse is that the Ritualists have failed to catch an explanation which makes all that is obscure and unjust in their present position clear. They start with their false theory of being part of the Catholic Church, and being governed by Catholic bishops ; and the result is a series of anomalies and heart-burnings, a sense of injustice and of undeserved suffering. Let them realize that the Establishment is only the religion which the nation chooses for the moment to endow, and that the bishops are merely the officers whom it chooses shall rule, and then facts and theories will correspond and their troubles will cease.

The English bishops are all but faultless as officers of the Establishment. Are they to blame if they fail in their character of "Bishops of the Catholic Church"—a character *they* lay no claim to, but which the Ritualists persist in assigning to them? Where lies the fault, if confusion is the result of this twofold view of their office? Surely, with the Ritualist, who *will* see only that in the bishops which the bishops ignore, and then blames them if they fall short of the character with which he and he alone invests them. In none of their duties as bishops of the Establishment can the Anglican episcopate be said to fail. Do they not ordain, confirm, consecrate churches, interest themselves in education, and take part in works of charity? All this and much more they do zealously. But, because they will not "pontificate at high mass," "consecrate holy oil for the sacrament of unction," "license confessors for the sacrament of penance," and sanction every other conceivable custom and rite that their formularies disallow and their people abominate—those who in theory invest them with the highest supernatural power God has bestowed on creatures, absolve themselves from the duty of following their advice or of heeding their commands.

The hope of reaching the Catholic Church whilst starting from the platform of the Establishment, is about as visionary as would be that of a traveller who wishing to go to Spain takes the road for Norway. In vain does he interpret every stray sunbeam as an approach to the south, every rare flower and tree as a fore-runner of its rich vegetation ; the sun will grow colder and the flowers rarer the longer he travels ; till he finds himself at length hopelessly stranded on the ice-bound coasts of the north. In vain does the Ritualist sing his *Agnus Dei*, array himself in cope and chasuble, brighten his altar with candles and flowers ; the nearer he flatters himself that he is approaching the Church, the further he is really receding—the bishop's condemnation becomes severer, and the penalties of the law courts become heavier, till outraged common sense and popular fury combine to consign him literally to a prison. He ruins himself without advancing his cause.

Surely the world is already sufficiently out of joint without adding one other to its anomalies. This Neo-Catholicism, the very "newest fashion in religion," though loudly proclaiming itself the oldest, whose apostles despise their bishops and are in communion with heretics; who oust a Protestant from his Church, only in their turn to be succeeded by another Protestant; who swear by authority and follow private judgment; who profess to form part of the National Church, and yet "do not follow its bishops, disown its existing traditions, are discontented with its law courts, shrink from its laity and outstrip its prayer book" (*ibid.* 140). "In some points (they) prefer Rome, in others Greece, in others England, in others Scotland; and of that preference their own private judgment is the ultimate sanction" (*ibid.* 141). To this heavy indictment, even truer to-day than it was thirty years ago, we may now add the birth of a brand-new Episcopate, hidden away in a portion of the party, coming no one knows whence, and working no one knows where; the object of which is to repair the doubtful and broken links of the Anglican succession, and from which we believe it is hoped a united Christendom will eventually come forth in the full-blown strength of oneness, and from its inherent beauty take possession of God's heritage! Truly, as Cardinal Newman says, "Life is not long enough for such trifles."

If it is asked why the Establishment yet retains in its midst a body of men so clearly antagonistic to itself, why does it suffer them to remain "cumbersome with their presence what they are not allowed to serve," we believe the answer to be, because they are good to the poor and zealous in works of charity. Within certain wide limits the Establishment cares little for doctrine; but it cares very much for its people, that its starving should be fed and its naked clothed; and for this it utilizes the Ritualist whom it elsewhere disowns and despises. But it was not to train an efficient band of relieving officers that the movement of 1833 was started (though no doubt active charity is a natural outcome of Catholic teaching)—it was to reassert the lost dogmatic principle, to teach that "dogmatism which is a profession of its own reality as contrasted with other systems." That the Establishment is sufficiently latitudinarian to endeavour to retain every shade of opinion that can be induced to rest within its bosom, is nothing new. High Churchmen, in remaining Anglicans in their persons after their principles have vanished, have played its game exactly, and have helped to win the battle for the enemy they went forth to fight.

We have no need to be told that all remonstrance addressed to the Ritualist clergy is vain labour; we do not dream that where the bishops fail a periodical is likely to succeed. The clergy

are *so sure* they are right, that should they study these Lectures it will be not to discover where Cardinal Newman may be right, but to assure themselves how often he is wrong. But amongst the laity are there no victims whose eyes may yet be opened as to the true nature of their position? We who have escaped feel as those must feel who have been saved from drowning waters, and only just saved, leaving others still in danger. We view with sympathizing pity those still struggling in the flood, with still deeper pity those who assure us there is no struggle, that they are at peace in God's ark, and are riding safely into the haven where they would be. We feel that we cannot rest till we have pointed to the strong hand which rescued us, that we must make one effort to bring home to others Cardinal Newman's earnest and convincing words. We must also remember that a party, though to some extent owning a personality, is but a succession of units; and even if we grant that the party is one with that to which Cardinal Newman lectured, the individuals have changed. Many of those who heard his spoken words are now at rest, but the problems he helped them to solve still face each fresh generation; Anglican difficulties are as sure to arise to-day as in 1850—indeed, to High Churchmen they must be surely now even more urgent than then. Let the voice which then smoothed the road for so many, smooth it for these to-day. It is only with the hope of inducing others to look for themselves that we have ventured, on what is itself in us a presumption, to draw attention to Cardinal Newman's warning words. Our aim is merely to be a pointing road-post to these Lectures, which from experience we know are not at this date much studied by English Churchmen.

Touching this, and perhaps accounting for it, we have one more word to say. We feel sure that if an Anglican asks his clergyman's permission to read these "Lectures on Anglican Difficulties," it will be refused, for he too has his *index expurgatorius*. But before accepting his "director's" refusal as final, let him consider if it may not be based on reasoning of the following nature, and if he can or ought to submit to it:—

I began myself with doubting and inquiring, I departed from the teaching I received; I was educated in some older type of Anglicanism; in the school of Newton, Cecil or Scott, or in the Bartlett's Buildings school, or in the Liberal Whig school. I was a Dissenter, or a Wesleyan, and by study and thought I became an Anglo-Catholic, and then I read the Fathers, and I have determined what works are genuine, and what are not; which of them apply to all times, and which are occasional; which historical and which doctrinal; what opinions are private, what authoritative; what they only seem to hold, what they ought to hold; what are fundamental, and what ornamental.

Having thus measured and cut and put together my creed by my own proper intellect, by my own lucubrations, and *differing from the whole world in my results*, I distinctly bid you, I solemnly warn you, not to do as I have done, but to accept what I have found, to revere that, to believe that, for it is the teaching of the old Fathers, and of your Mother the Church of England. Take my word for it, that this is the very truth of Christ ("Lectures on Anglican Difficulties" p. 142).

Would his obedience be evidence of his oneness with the movement of 1833? Ought he not rather to ask himself, with Cardinal Newman, "whether a party formed on such principles can in any sense be called a genuine continuation of the Apostolic party of (fifty) years ago. The basis of that party was the professed abnegation of private judgment". . . . the Ritualist "is the professed exercise of it." Is he content to acquiesce in this, for he cannot deny it? Will he not rather follow his first principles to their one legitimate conclusion, abandon shadows for realities, exchange the city of strife for the "true home of souls and the valley of peace," and again be one with those "who are so full of joy they wish all around them to be partakers of it."

Is it possible that there is a resurrection even upon earth that the severed shall unite? Look at us, my brethren, from our glorious land; look on us radiant with the light cast upon us by the saints and angels who stand over us; gaze on us as you approach and kindle as you gaze. We died, you thought us dead—we live; we cannot return to you, you must come to us *and you are coming.*

Since the above paper on "Anglican Difficulties" by Cardinal Newman was written, the attention of the writer has been directed to two other volumes which are named at the head of this article. The first-mentioned, by Abbé Martin, has only just been issued from the press; the second, by Dr. Lee, has been before the world for a year. Both books, however, in their several ways, are works of importance in the present controversy with Anglicanism, and are works of value in themselves. They are noticed in another part of this number. It is also proposed that they shall form, with other cognate volumes, the basis of a more minute and careful analysis in the following number in April next.

In the meantime, we hasten to express the gratitude of all Catholics to Abbé Martin for the reprint of his searching and scholarly articles from the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Contemporary Review*, supplemented as they have been by other original essays. And we wish also to express the satisfaction which Catholics must feel at the publicity once more given, or for the

first time directed, to the revelations contained in Dr. Lee's volumes—and that from a source beyond suspicion—upon the early history and avowed principles of the Anglican Reformation.

One remark is applicable to both these volumes. Few persons who were not previously acquainted with the name of either author, his position or his nationality, would probably discover that the one was a distinguished French abbé and professor, and that the other was an accomplished parochial clergyman of the Established religion. The minute and in general the accurate knowledge which the French ecclesiastic displays of the past history and present condition, not of a sister Church, but of a small section of one party in a severed and heretical body, is surprising to anyone who may have watched the career of the Ritualistic movement. The frank candour and the critical freedom with which the Anglican incumbent exposes the secrets and displays the falsities of his own communion, is, if perhaps we except Dr. Littledale's well-known Lecture on his spiritual Fathers, the English Reformers, without a parallel. In these aspects the two books are perhaps unique.

One question may be asked in regard to both volumes. Will those who ought to be most deeply interested in the books, and who are most gravely compromised by them, read these contributions towards the Anglican controversy by Abbé Martin and Dr. Lee? The answer may be given, with conditional emphasis, *Certainly not*, if the organs of the High Church party and its foremost members can prevent it, whether by ignoring the volumes in public, or by forbidding those whom they can privately control from studying them. Fortunately for both authors, they appeal to a wider constituency than the narrow limits of the Ritualistic school of thought; and we therefore hope that they will be widely read and pondered.

ART. V.—THE POSITION OF CATHOLICS IN THE
UNITED STATES.

IT is not the social instinct alone which causes man to take delight in being one of a multitude. His self-importance is heightened when he contemplates himself in association with millions of his fellow-beings. To be a great man in a little country is like being famous in one's own village. Nowhere is this delight in numbers keener than in the United States. The marvellous growth of our population is a theme of which we do not weary. The unexampled rapidity of the increase is doubtless

one reason why it is found to be interesting ; another is the fact that ours is a government by numbers, in which majorities rule. It is no ordinary thing to have grown within a century from 3,000,000 to 50,000,000 of people. The circumstances which have made this possible certainly seem to be favourable to human life and happiness. Populousness is as pleasing to the Catholics of the United States as to other Americans. They are proud of the growth of their country, and of the spread of their faith, which has been even more rapid than the general increase of population. The little flock of 25,000 has become, within a century, a great fold, whose numbers are counted by millions. No one had dreamed of such progress, but now that it is a fact we turn from it to something higher. We are numerous enough to be able to perceive that numbers do not suffice ; that it is possible to be as populous as China and yet to be effete.

The increase of Catholics in the United States is due chiefly to immigration ; and hence a casual view leaves the impression that there is here no real gain, but merely a change of domicile. There is, however, much more than this, and the actual condition of Catholicism in the United States is the outcome of struggles and triumphs which will ever remain memorable in the history of the Church. The British Colonies of North America were dedicated to Protestantism. All the forces by which public thought and sentiment are moulded were antagonistic to the Catholic faith. The successful issue of the War of Independence heightened the self-consciousness of the Americans. They were a new people in a new world, destined to create a new civilization, and they inevitably fell a prey to the ignorances and delusions of the young. They saw no good in the past, and looked with contempt upon the Old World and its ways. Their political opinions intensified their religious prejudices. They hated the Catholic faith, not only because they thought it a degrading superstition, but not less because in their minds it was associated with the abuses and tyrannies of the Governments of Europe. Its antiquity was only a reason for thinking it false and obsolete, its imperial organization was an argument to prove its incompatibility with republican institutions, and its symbolical worship was but the plain revelation of its idolatrous character. So that from whatever point of view this new people looked at the old Church they could discern in it only an unsightly ruin, given over to decay and become the habitation of doleful creatures.

That the Church, in the face of such opposition, should have been able to assert herself at all, is certainly an evidence of remarkable vigour ; but that she should have grown in a single century to be the most numerous, the most thoroughly organized,

and the strongest religious body in the United States, is little less than marvellous. Still more surprising is it that this progress should be coeval with the decay and disintegration of American Protestantism. There are not less than 7,000,000 Catholics in the United States, and the numbers of all the Protestant sects are reckoned at about six millions. The Protestant masses have fallen away from active communion with the churches in which their fathers believed, and are in a state of religious indifference which is scarcely distinguishable from infidelity. And among those who belong to the various denominations there is observable a constant approach to habits of thought and sentiment that are less and less Christian. Dogmatic faith seems to have lost all hold upon them, and hence the authority of the churches in doctrinal matters is simply ignored. An eloquent preacher in any of our great cities may not only defy his sect with impunity but is sure to gain popularity and influence by his rebellion. Religious doctrines are held to be matters of opinion about which nothing can be certainly known, and hence no importance whatever is attached to them. The teaching of such doctrines in the public schools is strictly prohibited; and this feature of the common school system is, in the eyes of the people, its chief merit. Each generation, as it issues forth from these schools, is less Christian, the descent to mere secularism is rapid, and nowhere is there manifest any serious disposition to return to the creeds of the Protestant sects.

That the position of the Catholic Church in the United States is altogether more favourable there can be no doubt. Her growth is rapid, and her losses comparatively few. Nowhere is the authority of the Pope more respected and nowhere is greater liberty of action granted to the bishops. Our grievance is the school question. We are taxed for a kind of education of which we cannot avail ourselves. Apart from this our freedom is perfect. The traditional prejudices are disappearing, and a very considerable portion of the American people are quite as friendly to Catholics as to Presbyterians or Methodists. They believe in freedom, and if freedom proves to be on the side of the Church, it is not probable that in this country public opinion will appeal to tyranny. To dwell at length, however, upon what is consoling in the state of the Church in America would be foreign to the purpose of the present writing, and we must address ourselves to a less pleasant task.

When we contrast the Church with the sects we are filled with confidence, but when we consider her condition without reference to the surrounding religious organizations, our eyes are opened to the existence of many evils and even grave dangers. Fortunately we are strong enough to bear the sight of our weak-

nesses. For half a century after the close of the War of Independence observant minds were in doubt as to what would be the outcome of the efforts to build up the Church in this country. The bishops and priests, few and scattered, were overwhelmed by the incoming tide of immigration, and were wholly unable to provide for the spiritual wants of the ever-increasing multitudes of Catholics, who spread throughout the land and settled down in the midst of Protestant populations. Thousands died from exposure, and their children were lost to the Church; other thousands, deprived of the sacraments, sank into indifference, and their descendants soon forgot that their fathers had been Catholics. Where a congregation was gathered together, the intermingling of different nationalities generally produced discord, and the priest, who was often alike ignorant of the character of the people and their language, was powerless to make the spirit of Christian charity prevail. Indeed, he was himself, in many instances, turbulent and insubordinate. The authority of the bishops was weak and uncertain. The laity showed a disposition to hold the title to the property of the Church, and thus virtually to keep in their own hands the appointment of pastors. The Catholics were, for the most part, poor and uneducated, and their troubles and sorrows only served to confirm the Americans in their traditional prejudices against their faith. Their leaders were brave men, but, in the midst of such trials, they could not look to the future with great confidence. Bishop England, whose boundless energy and sanguine temperament should have inspired hope, yielded to gloomy thoughts and even exaggerated our losses.

The days of this discouragement have been left far behind; but it is not to be imagined that the bad effects of those evil times have all disappeared. Much has been done for primary and secondary education, but nothing at all to promote Catholic culture of the higher sort. Schools and colleges have multiplied an hundred-fold, but the quality and degree of education is hardly higher than it was fifty years ago. The number of priests has grown within half a century from two hundred and thirty to six thousand, and yet the number of really able men in the Church was probably not only relatively but absolutely greater at the beginning than at the end of this period. The intellectual training given in our seminaries, which are probably very like the same class of institutions in Europe, is of the most elementary kind. It fits young men for the routine work of the ministry, and this may be all that the most of them should be expected to do; but, if we are to take part in moulding and directing the thought of the age, a higher and more thorough mental culture must be provided for those at least whose natural endowments

are excellent. This cannot be done by adding another year to the ordinary seminary course; nor can it be hoped for from an American college in Rome, or Louvain, or elsewhere in Europe. It is well that the elementary course of theology should be lengthened to four years; and it is altogether proper that we should have a college in Rome; but it is a fatal mistake to imagine that nothing more is required in order to raise the standard of clerical education in this country to a height which will enable us to take a respectable part in the living controversies of the day. In order to do this we must create upon our own soil a centre of intellectual life and culture. There is here a great people, whose thought is eager and intense, whose character is well-defined, whose activity is boundless, whose institutions are the natural outcome of social conditions which are not found elsewhere. There is a disposition to call all things in question and to look at nothing from ancient points of view. There may be few among us who have the best education, but nowhere else are there so many who are quickwitted and intelligent, and nowhere else is there such blind faith in mental culture. The people tax themselves for the maintenance of the common schools; and no other tax is supported by such overwhelming public favour. There may be said to be a kind of common consent among Americans that the best use which can be made of money is to employ it to diffuse knowledge and to strengthen and sharpen the intellect; though it must be confessed that, when the intellect is sharpened, this same common consent seems to be unable to find any higher work for it than money-making. No form of benevolence is so popular here as the founding of colleges and the endowments of chairs of learning. Benefactions of this kind among non-Catholic Americans are often of a princely character, and all that money can do to create centres of high culture and science is being done by them. Hence they have institutions which, if not yet fully equipped as true universities, are making constant approaches to such an ideal. In this matter the Catholics of the United States have done little or nothing. There is not even the beginning of a Catholic University, though, in the absence of the real thing, several Latin Schools have taken occasion to assume the name. In consequence, American Catholic literature remains inferior; our writers are few and second-rate; our participation in the highest thought of the country is nominal or casual; and our apologists still wander over the waste places of Protestant controversy and rattle the dry bones of a sectarianism that is long since dead. The impossibility of obtaining the best education in which the Catholics of this country are placed is not, however, the most serious evil from which they suffer. If the condition of our people in other respects were

satisfactory, there can be no question but a University would very quickly be created ; and so long as this condition remains unchanged it is not probable that anything could save the Church from very serious losses in the United States.

The great bulk of our population is crowded into the large cities and industrial centres, while comparatively few are engaged in agriculture. The Catholic farmers of the United States do not equal in numbers the Catholic population of the city of New York alone. Only about eighty in every thousand of our Irish Catholics cultivate the soil ; the remaining nine hundred and twenty are living in the great cities, or the factory towns, or the mining districts, or are in the employ of the railway companies, or are engaged in some other kind of service. The proportion of German farmers is somewhat greater, but the masses of the German Catholics are also in the cities and the towns. Among the French and Italians who emigrate to this country, a farmer is almost as rare as among the Jews. Even the Canadian Catholics, an agricultural people at home, huddle together in the factory towns when they come to the United States. The masses of the Bohemian immigrants are congregated in the Western cities, and are already infected with Socialism. The Poles, too, are chiefly in the cities or in the mines.

Is it well for the Church in this country that the Catholics are massed together in the principal centres of population ? It is not to be denied that she has thereby gained certain immediate advantages, more or less real. This circumstance has brought her more prominently before the public, it has enabled her to build more costly and showy religious edifices, it has placed the devotion and zeal of the Catholic peasantry of Europe in strong contrast with the coldness and indifference of the Protestants of our American cities. The surging multitudes that fill the Catholic churches of New York four and five times on Sunday were trained to this religiousness while, in far-off lands, they knelt around rustic chapels, and kept alive under the thatch-roofed cottage the ancient traditions of purity and reverence. Their faith and earnestness are most certainly not attributable to their present surroundings ; they are the result of their past history and not of this actual mode of life ; and, if the influences to which they are now subject are unfavourable to the preservation of these virtues, it is small compensation for such loss that the Church has acquired a momentary prominence. She builds for eternity and not for the passing hour. Her interests are identified with the welfare of her children, and what is hurtful to them cannot be good for her.

Now, in a country like this, where it has been, and is still,

easy for even a poor man to get a farm of his own, only some fatal and inexplicable blindness could have kept the multitude of Catholic immigrants in the cities and towns, where they and their children are condemned to drudgery and hired service and are exposed to dangers to which great numbers of them must inevitably fall a prey.

The life of a farmer is more conducive to religion and morality than that of an operative; it is more healthful, it is more independent, it is more conservative, more equable, less exposed to temptation. In the country the family life has a sacredness of its own, and its sanctity is protected by special safeguards which are denied to the poor in cities. Ancestral traditions are handed down from father to son, and ancient manners—sure defence of wholesome laws—are held in reverence. The voice of God's minister is more distinctly heard and more willingly obeyed. "The growth of cities," says Buckle, "has been a main cause of the decline of ecclesiastical power." "The city population of France," says Michelet, "which is but one-fifth of the nation, furnishes two-fifths of the criminals." Special causes have depressed the moral character of the lower agricultural classes in England, but their superior morality elsewhere, both in Europe and America, is undeniable. The percentage of illegitimacy in the city is double that in the country, and in the matter of divorces the same proportion holds good, while the city is notoriously the hotbed of prostitution and drunkenness. The number of suicides among the industrial classes is nearly twice that of farming populations.

This moral decay has as its concomitant physical deterioration, and, as a consequence of the one and the other, there is a diminished frequency and fruitfulness of marriage, which, were it not for the constant intermingling of country blood, would necessarily result in the extinction of the industrial classes.

Now, it is to these classes that three-fourths of the Catholics of the United States belong, and the evils peculiar to this mode of life are felt by them in an exceptionally great degree. The old saying, "Qui trans mare currunt, coelum, non animum mutant," is not true of the multitudes who leave Europe to come to America. The change which comes over their thoughts and sentiments is generally greater than the difference of climate between the New and the Old World; and sudden changes of this kind are critical. It is trying to the moral and religious character to break up old associations, for they are interwoven with habits of thought and action which are a very part of ourselves. Those who sever ties of country and home, but continue in some other part of the world to lead the life to which they have hitherto been accustomed, must be of the better sort if they

do not suffer some injury from the change; and the risk of degeneracy is necessarily greatly increased when in a strange land they enter upon a mode of life for which they are wholly unprepared. And this is what has happened to the masses of our Catholics here in America. In Europe they were peasants, simple-minded, frugal and reverent; and landing here they are plunged into the excitement and turmoil of a corrupt city. They are spellbound by the eager reckless life around them, and, when they find that they can get employment at good wages, they rent a room in a tenement-house and take no thought for the future. "I deliberately assert," said one who had made a careful study of the subject,

That it is not within the power of language to describe adequately, much less to exaggerate, the evil consequences of this unhappy tendency of the Irish to congregate in the large towns of America. . . . It is easy enough to explain why and how those who should not have remained in the great cities, did so; but it is not easy to depict the evils which have flowed, which daily flow, which, unhappily for the race, must continue to flow, from the pernicious tendency of the Irish peasant to adopt a mode of livelihood for which he is not suited by previous knowledge or training, and to place himself in a position dangerous to his morals, if not fatal to his independence.*

And we may with equal truth apply this language to the German, Italian, Bohemian, Polish, and Canadian Catholics who have emigrated to the United States. The greater part of all of them have settled down where they and their children are most exposed to dangers and evils of every kind. In New York, Boston, Providence, and other American cities, the Catholics are the poorer classes; they live in squalid quarters, in overcrowded and unhealthy tenements, in which the privacy of family life is destroyed and the influence of the parents over their children is greatly weakened. These children, for the most part, frequent the common schools, and are trained to religious indifference; others go to Catholic schools, but the class-room can effect little when its lessons are counteracted by home example and the associations of the street. The parents have no power to select their children's playmates, and warnings against the da
evil company are almost meaningless in neighbourhoods wheree the virtuous and the depraved are necessarily intermingled. The young are all taught to read; and nowhere else is such abominable stuff prepared for the exercise of this capacity. They cannot remain in their overcrowded rooms, and on the street they are made acquainted already in their tender years with every form of sin. The rum-shop and the drunkard are on every corner, the

* The late John Francis Maguire, in his "Irish in America."

dance-house is not far away, blasphemy and obscenity are in the air, and the white bloom of innocence loses its freshness and fragrance, like a delicate flower in a frosty night.

Many other causes of ruin, to which the poor are especially exposed, exist in our American cities. The political contests, which are carried on by bribery and by appeals to ignorance and passion, are a never-failing source of demoralization. Then the labour associations and trades-unions, in which the Catholics are largely represented, generally exert a harmful influence upon their members. They tend to create hatred and envy, they destroy contentment and faith in the power of persevering industry, and fill the minds of the poor with visionary schemes of reform, which partake more or less of the character of Socialism. The trades-union little by little supplants the Church. The periodical strikes, also, together with the enforced idleness and want which accompany them, are occasions of ruin to thousands of Catholics in the manufacturing and mining districts. It is unnecessary, however, to dwell upon the dangers to which the industrial classes are exposed, or to describe the miseries of the life to which they are condemned, but it may be well, in this connection, to quote the words of Dr. Engel, Director of the Royal Statistical Bureau of Berlin, who is an authority in such matters :

This (he says) is the judgment passed upon the modern industrial system, especially as it exists in great cities, by the most enlightened statesmen and by others who are most thoroughly acquainted with society as now constituted:—it is, in spite of the philanthropic efforts of individuals and the heroic endeavours of many employers, the immolation of human beings to Capital—a consumption of men which, by the wasting of the vital forces of individuals, by the weakening of whole generations, by the breaking up of families, by the ruin of morality and the destruction of the joyousness of work, has brought the civilized world into the most imminent peril.*

The condition of the great body of the Catholics of England is doubtless very similar to that in which the Catholics of the United States are placed. They, too, live almost exclusively in the great commercial and manufacturing centres, and are victims on the altar of Moloch. But for them there is no alternative so long as they desire to make England their home, and their sufferings attract less attention because they are inevitable. Something, indeed, can be done by employers and by legislation to improve the lot of the factory slave; but when the utmost has been done he is still unfortunate, for misery is inseparable from the mode of life to which industrial populations are condemned.

* “ Jahrbuch Berlin’s von 1868.”

In the United States this problem presents itself under more favourable conditions. Here, those who sympathize with the poor do not find themselves restricted to measures of relief that are merely palliative; for on this side of the Atlantic a Land of Promise is yet within the reach of the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. And it is the knowledge of this fact that has led to the Catholic colonization movement, the object of which is to encourage and promote the settlement of Catholics upon the cheap lands of the United States. The Americans are a nation of colonizers, sprung from colonists, and developed into a mighty people through the power of a great and wise system of internal colonization. The policy of the Government, the interests of the country, the spirit of the people, and the character of the climate and soil, all combine to ensure the success of undertakings of this kind. We are a nation of farmers, and the growth of a farming population, of whatever race or religious belief, has never excited public suspicion or jealousy, but has, on the contrary, invariably met with approval. If the Mormons are tolerated it is because they are farmers who have brought the desert under cultivation. The rapidity and extent of our agricultural progress are without a parallel in the world's history. The ten States now known as the Western States, with a population of over 17,000,000, were, at the beginning of the present century, unbroken prairies and primeval forests. The annual value of their farm products is now \$1,500,000,000. Their average annual yield is 950,000,000 bushels of corn and 281,000,000 bushels of wheat. This stupendous agricultural development, which has affected the markets of the world, is the work of the last thirty or forty years. These fertile lands were to be had for nothing, or at a nominal price, when the Catholics of Ireland began to pour into the United States. It would have been easy then to found great Catholic agricultural communities in Michigan, Illinois, and Iowa; but the golden opportunity was allowed to pass by unused, while the immigrants remained huddled together in the tenement-houses of New York and in the factory towns of New England, or were employed to build railroads or dig canals. And now, in these wealthy and populous States, they own only patches of land here and there. Half of the Irish Catholics of Illinois are in Chicago, and are in no better condition than if they had settled in New York or Boston; and there is no present prospect that any considerable portion of the land of this State will ever be owned by Catholics. It is not possible to think of these lost opportunities without bitterness of soul; but, even while we think, other opportunities of the same kind are passing away. The States and Territories farther to the west are rapidly filling up. During the last

six years two millions of people have left the older States to seek homes on the cheap lands of the Far West. From 1875 to 1878 Kansas alone received 200,000 immigrants; and in Nebraska over 2,000,000 acres of Government land have been taken up during the last three years. For the year ending June 20, 1878, the General Land Office of the United States disposed of 7,166,974 acres; and for the twelve months ending June 30, 1879, 8,650,119 acres of Government lands passed into the hands of settlers. If to this we add the millions of acres which, during the same period, have been sold by the great railway companies, we shall be able to form an idea of the mighty movement of population which is rapidly filling up the newer States and the Territories of the American Republic. An impetus was given to this movement by the commercial crisis of 1873. The misery brought upon the labouring classes of the cities and towns, by the loss of work or the lowering of wages, directed the attention of great numbers to the cheap lands of the West; and since the Catholics are largely represented in these classes, many of them were inevitably drawn into this westerly current, and made settlements in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and other States. This movement, as a matter of course, met with encouragement from the Western Bishops, who were happy to see the fertile lands of their new and thinly-peopled dioceses pass into the hands of Catholics. They hastened not merely to provide for their spiritual wants, but in several instances also took practical measures to promote colonization. It has been the policy of the Government to make land grants to financial corporations as an inducement to build railways in unsettled parts of the country, and it is upon these lands chiefly that the recent Catholic colonies have been established. The companies sell these lands at from two to five dollars an acre and allow six or seven years for payment. The railroad brings the settlers within reach of a market, so that there is never any difficulty in disposing of the products of their farms. The country is an open prairie, gently undulating and very fertile. There are no trees to be felled, no roads to be built, and what is known as the "Herd Law" does away with the need of fences. The cost of a cottage sufficient to accommodate a family is from \$100 to \$300. The farming is of such a simple character that little skill is required to do the work, the chief products being wheat and corn. The new settler is generally able to raise, even the first year, enough to supply his wants. The climate is healthful, the death-rate in Minnesota, Nebraska, and Dakota being probably lower than in any other part of the country. These Catholic colonies are invariably under the direction of a priest, chosen for his aptitude for such work. He is on the ground to receive the first settler, and the first building erected

is the church. Disputes concerning titles and bounds are rare, thanks to the admirable land-survey of the Government. A mile square is a section which contains 640 acres, and the land is sold in sections, half-sections, and quarter-sections: the amount generally taken by the poorer colonists being a quarter-section or 160 acres. In order to begin with a fair prospect of success, the settler should have from \$300 to \$500, though there are many examples which go to show that courageous and energetic persons may succeed with less and even when they commence in absolute destitution. In travelling through the colonies one meets with individuals who some three years ago arrived without anything, and who now own a farm and a comfortable dwelling free of debt. But cases of this kind are necessarily exceptional. A single crop often sells for more than the entire cost of the land. An acre which costs, say five dollars, will raise from fifteen to twenty-five bushels of wheat, worth from seventy-five cents to a dollar a bushel. All the Catholic colonies of the Western States are in a prosperous condition, and it has been stated on the best authority that in Minnesota not one per cent. of the settlers have abandoned their farms: and this will doubtless also hold good in the other states. This is the more remarkable from the fact that many of the colonists have come from the Eastern cities, the factory towns, and the mines, and have never before, or not for years, lived in the country. The "Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States," which was organized about a year-and-a-half ago, has already done much to extend and strengthen this movement. This is a joint-stock company, with a capital of \$100,000, which has so far founded two colonies, in Minnesota and Nebraska. This, however, is the least part of the good it has accomplished. It has brought the subject of colonization before the Catholic public of this country in a very effective manner. The organization itself is in fact the best advertisement of the work, composed as it is of archbishops, bishops, priests, and prominent Catholic laymen. It has caused public meetings to be held in many of the cities and towns of the country for the purpose of awakening an interest in the movement among the masses, and as a result the question has been treated of in pamphlets, reviews, and newspapers. The Catholic press especially has taken up the advocacy of the good cause with zeal. Through its central office in Chicago the Association is prepared to give full and trustworthy information concerning available land in all parts of the country, and to answer all questions as to climate, soil, crops, cost of settlement, and other points, which emigrants may desire to investigate before making choice of a home. The attention of Catholics in Europe even has been attracted, and as

a result a Belgian colony has been begun in Minnesota. An Irish Catholic gentleman also has bought 20,000 acres of land in the same State, upon which he is founding a colony organized upon the plan adopted by the Association. Probably the greatest service which this joint-stock company has rendered to the cause of colonization is to be found in the practical demonstration that capital may be safely and profitably invested in this good work, and if this feature could be properly shown to the wealthy Catholics of Europe, there would doubtless be no difficulty in getting them to put money into enterprises of this kind.

To encourage Catholics to emigrate from Europe to America is, however, not a purpose of the Association; nor is it the opinion, it would seem, of its directors that efforts of this kind are desirable. They are, to say the least, uncalled-for, since this country must necessarily, for many years yet, be the chief goal of those who are tired of Europe. From September, 1879, to September, 1880, 457,257 immigrants arrived in the United States, which is the highest number ever reached in our history, with the single exception of 1873. Of the immigrants who landed during the past year 144,876 came from Great Britain and Ireland; 99,706 from British America and Canada; 84,638 from Germany; 12,904 from Austria; 12,329 from Italy; 6,156 from Switzerland; 4,373 from Hungary; 4,313 from France; 2,177 from Poland; and it is consequently evident that a very large proportion are Catholics. These migrations are too vast to be affected by the efforts of individuals or associations. Concerted action of the Governments of Europe, were it possible, could do little more than retard for the moment this flight of countless multitudes from home and country and all that men are supposed to cherish most tenderly. That those who value the soul above everything else should look with sorrow upon this scene is not strange; but to seek to stop the on-rush by depicting the ruin and danger to which the faith and morals of the emigrants are exposed in this new world is a hopeless task. Nowhere has the priest more authority than in Ireland, and the priests of Ireland uniformly discourage emigration to this country; but to no purpose. And yet, with the facts before their eyes, it is not easy to see what other course was open to them; for they saw that the masses of their countrymen stopped in the cities, and it was plain that in New York and the factory towns of New England, as in London and Liverpool, multitudes of Irish Catholics were more hopelessly miserable and abandoned than it was possible for them to be even in the worst parts of Connaught.

If the Catholics of Europe are to continue to pour into America only to sink into the squalid quarters of the cities and towns,

the loss there will not be a gain here ; and yet there can be no question but this immigration will increase rather than diminish. It is not possible to check it, but is it not possible to guide it and turn it into proper channels ? This is a question which does not concern us here in the United States alone, it is of moment to the whole Church ; and if efficacious means are to be devised to give a right direction to Catholic emigration, the Church in Europe must co-operate with the Church in America. The work of preparation, which is the most important, can be done only in the countries from which the emigrants come. In communities where large numbers annually go forth to seek homes in distant lands, the pulpit could hardly take up a more religious or opportune theme than that of colonization. In fact, the best way to diminish emigration would be to show the fatal consequences of acting blindly and thoughtlessly in so important a matter. Thousands who have gone to ruin in the cities would have sought homes in the country had they known, upon their first arrival, of our homestead laws, which give 80 or 160 acres of land to actual settlers who declare their intention of becoming citizens, or had they been made acquainted with the favourable terms upon which the cheap railroad lands may be bought. The Scandinavians, in spite of poverty and ignorance of the language, have taken advantage of these opportunities, and the masses of them are already prosperous and independent farmers. Our people would have acted in a similar manner had they not been permitted to land here in total ignorance of what it was best for them to do. Those who have made their way to the cheap lands have generally been led thither by accident rather than from a knowledge of their own interests. They followed, as labourers, the railway lines and the canals, and when the work was finished they not unfrequently found themselves in fertile regions where homes were to be had almost for the asking, and so made use of the opportunities which chance had brought in their way. If the consequences of this ignorance affected merely the temporal welfare of the people the evil would still be grave enough ; but this is the least harm that results from the lack of guidance in the selection of homes and occupations by the Catholic emigrants that flock to the United States. The dangers to which they are exposed in the cities, where the masses of them remain, have already been pointed out ; and those who have settled upon the land have, in innumerable instances, from want of proper direction, placed themselves and their children in the midst of surroundings in which the loss of faith is almost inevitable. As there were no Catholic colonies, and only here and there a Catholic community of farmers, the emigrants who went in search of land took it wherever they got it

on the most favourable conditions ; and only when too late came to realize that they had placed themselves beyond the reach of priest and Church. In this way, isolated Catholic families, or groups of families, too small to be able to build a church or support a priest, have been scattered throughout the whole Western country, and have almost invariably fallen into total religious indifference or strayed into the Protestant sects. The parents, indeed, rarely became Protestant, but the children, brought up in complete ignorance of Catholic faith, fall an easy prey to the spirit of proselytism. They also necessarily intermarry with Protestants. Mixed marriages—which are unquestionably a chief source of loss to the Church in this country—are inevitable in communities where a few Catholics dwell in the midst of large numbers of Protestants ; and they must be numerous also in cities and towns where people of different faiths are thrown together and intermingled. But in the Catholic colonies such unions will be rare, and when formed will be less dangerous on account of the predominant Catholic spirit of the surrounding society. Nor is this merely an inference : it is confirmed by the history of the descendants of the Catholic colonists of Maryland, who, in their progress towards the newer States of the Union, have held together and formed communities of their own, in which mixed marriages are exceptional, and very frequently lead to the conversion of the Protestant party.

There is yet another consideration which shows how intimately the subject of colonization is connected with the progress of the Church in this country. Among Catholics there is no longer any question as to the vital importance of religious education. Upon this, more than upon any other one human influence, the future of the Church depends. In America the schools provided by the State, for the maintenance of which Catholics are taxed, do not furnish such education, and there is no reason to think that, in our day at least, the present system will be changed. The building and support of Catholic schools is consequently attended with special difficulties, so that many even of the large parishes of the cities have hitherto been, and are still it would seem, unable to undertake this work. Now, if there is any one class that more than another stands in need of thorough religious school training, it is the children of the poor who live in cities and in manufacturing towns ; for they, as a class, are deprived more than others of those home influences which are more powerful than all else to fill the soul with faith and reverence, and at the same time they are exposed more than others to evil example, which is so fatal to the innocence of the young. But the arguments which go to show how indispensable in the case of such children religious schools are, prove also that but little good

can be hoped for even from the best schools, when the home-influence, which precedes and interpenetrates the process of school instruction, is not favourable to virtue and intelligence. It is a delusion to believe that the children of people who have no homes can be rightly educated in any kind of school. The education that moulds character is given by the family, and a home is as indispensable to the family as is a sanctuary to religion. But the poor in our cities and factory towns have no homes, for lodging-houses where people eat and sleep are not homes; hired rooms which are changed from year to year, and often from month to month, are not homes. One must hope against hope to feel any confidence that the children of this floating population can be saved if they are only sent for a few years to parochial schools. They may do well enough up to the age of twelve or thirteen years, while they are preparing for first Communion and Confirmation, but what is to become of them when, with a little world-knowledge and feeble habits of virtue, they leave the classroom to enter the workshop, or the factory mill? They will almost fatally fall into evil company and be led along the easy descent until they are made the helpless victims of vice. For the young men especially, the street and the cheap newspaper, with their lessons of profanity and filth, become more and more the sole educators. Let the pastors of the city parishes tell us where are the boys who, eight and ten years ago, left the parochial school for the shop and the street. Has not the education of the street and the shop undermined that of the Christian school?

In Catholic agricultural communities, on the other hand, more wholesome influences abound and the dangers are fewer. The possession of the soil tends, of itself to beget a provident and orderly way of life. "It is not to the intelligence alone," says John Stuart Mill, "that the situation of a peasant proprietor is full of improving influences. It is no less propitious to the moral virtues of prudence, temperance and self-control. The labourer who possesses property, whether he can read and write or not, has, as Mr. Laing remarks, 'an educated mind; he has fore-thought, caution and reflection guiding every action; he knows the value of restraint, and is in the constant and habitual exercise of it.'" The father of the family owns his home, and the mother is able to exercise her God-given ministry in the education of her children. She can control their associations, shield them from the contaminations of evil company, and form them to habits of piety and order. They will grow up in the midst of a stable population, with fixed notions and habits; they will be surrounded by examples of industry and frugality; they will learn to be patient, and will not lose holy shame, which, together with justice, Plato says, "the gods have sent to adorn States and

strengthen the bonds of peace." Catholic customs and traditions will prevail upon their young hearts; the fear of God will give them understanding, and as they walk in the way of righteousness they will be taught by experience that they who obey the commandments of God and the Church, need no arguments to prove that their lives are in harmony with truth. Increasing years will bring increase of love for the spot where first they saw the light. The friends of their childhood will be still around them, and their dearest wish will be to settle down in such neighbourhood that they may live as their fathers have lived. In the Catholic colonies of the West an industrious farmer may reasonably hope to see all his children living upon their own land and gathered about him to encircle his old age with honour and peace. And a family which is once so enrooted in the soil will have historic growth and survive through generations; whereas in floating populations the family has no continuity, no history; it forms and breaks like the waves of the ocean: "labitur et labetur." It is needless to add that family traditions of honour and religion furnish strong motives to lead a worthy life. They are like anchors which in the turbulent sea of modern society hold the soul steadfast to the ancient faith. Where the family life is thoroughly Catholic the children will be so, even though they should not be within reach of a Catholic school. In the colonies, however, the school funds are in the hands of Catholics, by whom also the teachers are appointed.

From whatever point of view we consider this subject, its intimate connection with the future of the Church in this country, as well as of the Catholic immigrants themselves, is revealed to us.

It might be imagined that, because wages are higher, the condition of the working classes is better in America than in Europe. But in this connection the price of labour is a much less important consideration than the habits of the labourers. "The unwise use of a large salary," says Renouard, "is the cause of more misery than low wages." Though the operatives of this country receive more for their work than those of France or Belgium, it is not probable that, as a rule, they save more. The masses of them at the end of ten or twenty years are where they began—in a hired room or a wretched cottage, dependent for their bread upon their day's work. The closing of the mill, or sickness, leaves them in want, and the almshouses of Massachusetts and Rhode Island are filled with these people. The records of the New York Almshouse show that, of the 75,560 inmates received during the last twenty-five years, 46,239 were Irish. A strike in Fall River never fails to reveal the fact that thousands of the operatives there are but a step from actual want. Economy is not in the habits either of the people of Great

Britain or of this country ; and yet this is the one virtue without which the lot of an operative is hopeless, no matter how high his wages may be. In the factory towns of New England it is too often the case that the only Catholics who make money are the saloon-keepers, and in the large cities the liquor-sellers are frequently the most wealthy members of the Church. Drunkenness has done more harm to the cause of Catholicism in the United States than all other evils, and, so long as the people continue to live in the unhealthy and overcrowded tenements of the cities, all efforts to root out this plague will prove ineffectual. The whisky shop is excluded from the Catholic colonies by the people themselves, and drunkenness is unknown.

It is not a purpose of the Colonization Association, as has been stated already, to encourage emigration from Europe ; but its object is to induce the poor Catholics who are already living in the United States to leave the cities and factory towns and to settle down in communities on the cheap lands which still abound. It is plain, however, that an undertaking of this kind can at best meet with only very partial success. The vast number, in spite of all that can be said or done, will remain where they are ; and, if the movement is destined to be of real importance, its best work will be found to be the awakening of interest in this subject among the bishops and priests of the countries from which our emigrants come. The education of the people in this most vital matter lies in their hands. Nor is it enough to give them just views and correct information on the subject. There is need of organization if the work is to be effectually done. Societies should be formed to take charge of Catholic emigration ; or associations already existing, as in Germany, should add to their other works a care for the emigrant. There should be an agent in each port, to give information concerning the colonies. He might be provided with tracts and pamphlets which would furnish useful reading during the voyage, and accompany the exiles, like the voice of a friend, with pleadings not to commit themselves and their children to the dangers of the city. It would be difficult to exaggerate the good which an effective organization of this kind would accomplish. Trustworthy and detailed information concerning those parts of the country where cheap lands may still be had would be gladly furnished by the bishops within whose jurisdiction they lie, who would also assist, through the priests in charge of the various missions, those who might be directed to them in the selection of suitable homes. And in this way the commendatory letters of the early Church might be revived, to serve as passports to introduce tens of thousands of the simple faithful peasantry of Europe to a haven of peace and security.

What is to become of the 12,000 Italian peasants who have come to the United States during the last twelve months? They have all settled down in the slums and alleys of cities, or have been hired as labourers by the contractors who build railways or undertake public works; and in either case their lot is almost hopeless. There are a few so-called Italian churches here and there in the great cities, but, when we come to examine into the matter, we generally find that the worshippers are Irish; and there can be little risk in affirming that the increasing multitudes who leave Italy for the United States will not add strength to the Catholic cause here, unless something is done in Italy itself to guide and control this emigration. In Texas and Arkansas there is abundance of cheap land; and the climate of these States is not more severe than that of the Italian Peninsula, especially in the north, from which a considerable portion of the emigrants come. They belong to the agricultural classes chiefly, and are as industrious, as frugal, and as persevering as any peasant population in Europe; they are religious and moral, but they are wholly unprepared to encounter the dangers to which they are inevitably exposed in an American city, and yet they all remain there because there is no one to guide them to anything better, and their ignorance of English renders them helpless. If there were anywhere in the United States even one agricultural community of Italians the emigrants could be directed thither; but since there is none they sink into the promiscuous crowd and are lost. The year which brought these 12,000 Italians to America brought also some 19,000 Scandinavians. The Catholics have remained in the cities, the Protestants have gone West to become farmers. The latter had received some kind of knowledge, at least, of the country to which they were coming; the former had been allowed to leave home without the faintest ray of light on the real state of things in the land beyond the sea. The struggle of the Church for a firm and abiding place in the life of the American people, is one on which her fate in half the world depends. It is not a question of her supremacy in a single nation. If she is strong here she will be strong throughout the American continent; if she is weak here she will be feeble from Behring Strait to Cape Horn. No better test of her power to live and flourish here can be desired than her ability to hold the multitudes who land here with the old faith in their hearts. "Quos dedisti mihi custodivi, et nemo ex eis perit, nisi filius perditionis."

Conversions here and there of a minister or a woman of fashion are well enough for a newspaper paragraph: but our first and all-important work is to keep those who come to us with the sign of faith. If the views advanced in this article have

any value, the chief obstacle to the attainment of this end is the unfortunate tendency of the Catholic immigrants to settle in the cities and towns, instead of forming agricultural communities, under conditions which cannot fail to prove favourable both to their temporal and spiritual interests. To do this, little else is required than to follow the general line of American progress and development. The stream of population here is from the dear lands to the cheap lands; from the east to the west; and if Catholic immigration could be turned into this current, and then, at proper points, distributed over the sparsely-settled portions of the newer States and Territories, there would be in such settlements as little danger of loss to the Church as in Ireland or the Tyrol. But if this work is to be done, it must be made possible by the bishops and priests of Europe, who will bring the weight of their authority and wisdom to bear upon the populations from the midst of which so many thousands each year set forth for America. The Catholic emigrants will then land upon our shores with a longing for homes of their own, and with a dread of the evils which are sure to befall them in the industrial and commercial centres; and, thus disposed, they will without difficulty find their way into the colonies.

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ART. VI.—EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT.

1. *Eternal Hope. Five Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey.* By the Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Canon of Westminster. London: Macmillan, 1880.
2. *Everlasting Punishment. Lectures delivered in St. James's Church, Piccadilly.* By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D. Dean of Norwich. London: Rivingtons, 1880.
3. *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment. In reply to Dr. Farrar's Challenge in his "Eternal Hope," 1879.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. Second Edition. Oxford: James Parker & Co. London: Rivingtons, 1880.
4. *The Second Death and the Restitution of All Things.* By ANDREW JUKES. Seventh Edition. London: Longmans, 1878.
5. *Catholic Eschatology and Universalism. An Essay on the Doctrine of Future Retribution.* By HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, M.A. Second Edition. London: W. H. Allen, 1878.
6. *De Æternitate Pœnarum deque Igne Inferno commentarii.* Auctore CAROLO PASSAGLIA, S.J. Ratisbonæ; Manz, 1854.
7. *Institutiones Theologicae Dogmaticæ Specialis. Tractatus de Novissimis.* Auctore BERNARDO JUNGMANN, Ph. et Theol. D., in S. Fac. Theol. Universitæ Cath. Lovaniensis, professore ordinari. Ed. secunda. Ratisbonæ, Neo-Eboraci et Cincinnati, F. Pustet, 1874.
8. *Der Katholik*, 1878, zweite Hälfte. Mainz: Kirchheim.
9. *The Contemporary Review* for December, 1880. London: Strahan & Co.

THE discussion which has been going on for so many years concerning a Future State of Punishment is one of those in which the greater number of Catholics must from time to time take a part. The most widely read periodicals and the most popular preachers have been occupied of late with reasoning and with rhetoric on the awful subject of Hell Fire and its eternal duration. It is true, the debate as to the everlasting lot of the reprobate is only a branch of a very much wider controversy. It is a phase of that "disintegration" of revealed truth which goes on from age to age in a Protestant community. The Broad Church—which may be said to have lasted now for forty years—

rejected a good many traditional beliefs, and cultivated a theology which was chiefly made up of negations. But Arnold, Whately, or Hare would have thought very severely of "Essays and Reviews" and "Ecce Homo." The process of gradual breaking-up, however, went on with the inexorableness of a law. The Broad Church School is now fossilizing; its representatives are men who are seen through by all the foremost thinkers of the day. Many of them, such as Dean Stanley and Canon Farrar, have still an enormous literary power and influence; but this does not in any way make the fact less true, that the men of thought and culture are leaving them behind. Broad Churchism has broken down into Unitarianism, Humanitarianism, and Universalism. Where men were wont to protest against priesthood, purgatory, and prayers to the saints, we have now the rejection of prayer to our Lord, of prayer of every kind, of all spiritual effects, and of the eternity and the very existence of Hell.

At the same time the scientific Agnostics have been doing what they could to include the doctrine of Eternal Punishment in the condemnation and the confusion which they have been invoking upon all Christian doctrine in general. In language which for power and effectiveness cannot be surpassed in our day, they have been bringing out into the air of the nineteenth century the arguments or sophisms—many of them undoubtedly very strong or very specious—which have appeared in varying shapes, in all divinity treatises on the nature of God and the *novissima* of man, from the time of St. Augustine downwards.

Of the books at the head of this article, Canon Farrar's "Eternal Hope" is perhaps the most important from a practical point of view. It has had, and continues to have, a very strong influence. It is the book of a man who has sufficient learning to convince all but those who take the trouble to analyze him or verify him, and sufficient logical power to give a backbone to the rhetorical forms in which his great strength lies. The rhetoric of sermons such as his, is troublesome to an inquirer and a critic. It is frequently most difficult, both with Canon Farrar, and with Dean Goulburn on the other side, to make sure of what they hold. They exclaim, they use irony, they ask questions, they insinuate, they "deprecate." No Protestant sermon-maker dares to lay down dogmatic truth; he generally asks, "Might it not be" so and so; "May we not well believe" something else; and when he wishes to express his disapproval of some slight heresy—as, for instance, Arianism or Sabellianism—he ventures to "deprecate;" a word which ought in all fairness to be left entirely for the use of the Anglican Bishops, who are obliged from time to time to point out the encroachments of

Dissenters and the profligacy of Ritualists, and who have no other way to do it except to "deprecate." In his Six Lectures, delivered during the course of last summer in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, Dean Goulburn defends the ordinary "orthodox" doctrine as to Hell, and propounds a purgatory of his own devising—a purgatory for those who die "in faith," where there is no pain, but only progress, where the "spirit is gradually purified, trained, disciplined, illuminated, and so made far meeter than it was" for Heaven.* Mr. Jukes's "Restitution of All Things" is one of the most elaborate attempts yet published to establish Universalism from the Scriptures. To Mr. H. N. Oxenham's widely known "Eschatology" we shall have to make frequent reference in the course of this article. The work is as ably reasoned as it is eloquently written, and shows a very complete acquaintance with the literature of the subject. Dr. Pusey's "What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment," is most valuable. It is a reply to the challenge made by Canon Farrar in his "Eternal Hope," in which the latter calls on Dr. Pusey by name, and appeals to him to repudiate with all possible haste those "popular" opinions about Hell, which are not of Faith. The book contains a criticism on Canon Farrar's scriptural citations, an exhaustive examination into the belief of the Jews of our Lord's day concerning Hell (in which Canon Farrar comes off very poorly indeed), and an Appendix of quotations from the words of the martyrs, the early Christians, and the Fathers, which will prove very acceptable in all future stages of this controversy. The four articles of the eminent Münster Professor, Dr. Hense, in the *Katholik* (1878), are an exhaustive statement and proof of the reality of the "Fire of Hell." Dr. Hense's handling of Patristic texts on this subject is especially good, and Dr. Pusey might have consulted him profitably in one or two instances; and his tentative explanation of what the nature of the "Fire" may be, has the interest of novelty, whilst it is certainly not to be rejected at first sight.

One of the disadvantages of the "orthodox" Anglican writers on this tremendous subject is, that they really do not know what to defend and what to give up. There seems to be really no definite point, except the "eternity," which they are at all certain they ought to cling to. "Eternity" happens to be an idea which is incapable of analysis; or else, if there were a possibility of being puzzled as to what the exact meaning of it was, the Anglican writers would be sure to be so puzzled. They are puzzled as to what Hell is, where it is, what the Fire is, how many are lost, and whether there are degrees of punishment; in regard to eternity

* Preface, p. vi.

they must either admit or deny it altogether. No Catholic will assert that all which is contained in popular books on Eternal Punishment is of the same degree of authority. There are dogmas of defined faith, there are matters of faith proposed by the ordinary magisterium of the Church, there are certainties which are not of faith, and there are pious opinions. In addition to these, there are doubtless opinions which are not pious. As it is the purpose of this article to defend God's holy revelation in one or two of the chief points connected with the doom of the lost, and to try to answer some of the objections now commonly put forward, it will be well to begin by a brief statement of what we are bound to hold as Catholics on this subject.

1. It is an article of faith that the souls of those who die in mortal sin go down to "Hell" immediately after death, and are punished with the punishments of Hell. If any one wants to know where this is defined, he may find it in the Decree of Union of the Council of Florence. This dogma settles that there is a (place of) punishment for the wicked.

2. It is of faith, moreover, that one part of the punishment of Hell is the loss of the beatific vision of God (*pena danni*).

3. It is equally of faith that there is in Hell a pain of sense (*pena sensus*). This is clearly expressed in numerous passages of Holy Scripture, and is taught by the Church's ordinary magisterium. The pain, or rather, the punishment, of sense, is not used by Catholic divines in the acceptation of merely physical suffering; it is rather employed in contradistinction to the "loss," and means everything else which the condemned creature experiences in the abode of woe, whether mentally or corporeally, physically or spiritually.

4. It is a certain and "Catholic" truth that the "Fire" of Hell is not a metaphorical fire, but true, real, and material fire. F. Perrone implies that though this is certain, it is not "of faith."* Dr. Jungmann, however, points out that the "sensus communis," or common consent, of the Church and of the faithful undoubtedly proclaims it.† Dr. Hense concludes his fourth article on the subject thus:—

It is clear that a truth so unmistakably expressed in every age, both in the theoretical teaching and in the practice of the Church, must of necessity find its way into the living belief of the whole body of the faithful and become fast rooted therein. As a matter of fact, the Catholic flock is penetrated to the quick with this conviction—they would not tolerate a contradictory teaching, but would abhor it as an error against revealed truth.‡

* "Prælect. Theol. de Deo Creatore," p. 3, cap. 6, art. 3.

† "De Novissimis Hominis," ed. 1874, p. 32.

‡ *Der Katholik* 1878, zweite Hälfte, p. 601.

When, however, these theologians and the pastors of the Church in their ordinary instructions teach a real fire, they do not mean that it is in every way like our earthly, natural fire. Indeed, fire, even on earth, is of so many kinds and degrees, that any picture of burning coals or heated metal, though useful as an analogical illustration, is of no use whatever to a theologian or a philosopher. Heat, according to the latest physical theories on the subject, is a mode of motion. Fire, therefore, is simply a corporal substance under the influence of that kind of "motion" or energy which is called heat. If the energy called heat be identical in ordinary fire, in electricity, and in light, then it is the most powerful and universal of existing physical agencies. Now we may naturally expect that if the lost are punished corporeally, the instrument of their punishment will be that "energy" which plays the chief part in the fashioning and transforming of the universe. "He will arm the creature for the revenge of His enemies."* Catholic tradition, however, does not teach anything about the nature of the Fire of Hell, except that it is not metaphorical, is not mental, or imaginary, or spiritual; but that it is material and external, acts immediately on the persons of the lost after the consuming or "disrupting" fashion of ordinary fire, and is accompanied by pain on the part of those who are subjected to it. To use the often quoted words of St. Augustine:—"Qui ignis cuiusmodi est, hominum scire arbitror neminem, nisi forte cui Spiritus divinus ostendit."†

5. The society of the demons and of the other lost souls is also, according to Catholic tradition, a part of the suffering of Hell; and it seems probable that each of the damned is especially punished in regard to those faculties and senses wherein he particularly sinned. This, perhaps, is the meaning of St. Paul when he says that, in the last day, every one shall receive *τὰ τοῦ σώματος*, the "things of the body."‡ The "gnawing worm" is a real torment, but is probably a metaphorical expression for the stings of memory and remorse.

6. That the torments of Hell are not the same or equal in all the lost, but that they are proportioned to the guilt of each individual soul, is a matter of certain Catholic tradition. In the decree of Union already cited, the Council of Florence, after stating that the wicked descend into Hell after death, adds, "but will be punished with unequal pains."§ In the classical words of

* Wisdom, v. 18.

† "De Cœnitate Dei," lib. xx. cap. 16.

‡ 2 Cor. v. 10.

§ "Pœnis disparibus." It should be observed, however, that the full text of the Council in this passage seems to show that the word "disparibus" refers rather to the unequal punishment of actual and original sin, than to the varying sentences of those who die in the guilt of actual. But the point is otherwise beyond doubt.

St. Augustine :—“ We cannot doubt that the sufferings of those who shall be excluded from God’s kingdom are of diverse degrees, some being more severe than others; so that in eternity the varying degrees of guilt are visited by varying degrees of torment. For it was not in vain that our Lord said, It shall be more tolerable for Sodom than for you in the day of judgment ”* Even the essential pain of eternal loss—the loss of that God whom the soul must have or be for ever a wreck—will vary in its intensity in proportion as the will has with greater or less obstinacy turned away from its last end.

7. As to the “locality” of Hell, nothing is defined, and very little is to be found in the ordinary authorities. It would certainly be “rash” to deny that Hell is a definite place. But whether it is or is not in the centre of the earth, we have no means of deciding.†

8. The question whether there can ever be any diminution or relaxation of the pains of eternal damnation is one which theologians are very brief in treating. It does not seem to be of any great importance. God is just; and the just proportion of suffering may be fixed as easily by a sentence which will run for ever unchanged, as by one which will provide for mitigation after a period. St. Thomas, in his *Commentary on Peter Lombard*,‡ rejects the idea that Hell will ever be mitigated, and speaks of such an opinion as presumptuous, irrational, and contrary to the teaching of the Fathers. On the other hand, St. Augustine, in a well-known passage of the *Enchiridion*,§ allows it to be held. St. Chrysostom, moreover,|| seems in favour of it. Petavius¶ thinks that it is an idea which must not be rashly rejected, though he admits that it was against the feelings of the Catholics of his own day. There is a singular passage of Prudentius, quoted by Father Hürter in his recently published “*Dogmatic Theology*,” which deserves commemoration here. It occurs in the “*Cathemerinon*” or “*daily hymn*,” many parts of which were certainly used in divine worship in various churches; and the fifth part, from which the following extract is taken, bears in some editions an annotation or rubric, to the effect that it is to be sung at the lighting of the Paschal Candle.

Sunt et spiritibus sœpe nocentibus
Pœnarum celebres sub Styge feriæ

* “*Cont. Donatistas*,” lib. iv. cap. 19.

† An Englishman, Jeremy Swinden, who died about 1720, published a book “*On the Fire of Hell and of the Place of Hell*.” He attempted to prove that Hell was in the Sun. He was elaborately answered by the Dominican Father Patuzzi, in the first half of last century.

‡ In iv. dist. 45, quæst. 2. § N. 110, 112.

|| Hom. 2, in *Epist. ad Philip.*, n. 3, 4. ¶ Lib. iii., *De Angelis*, cap. 7.

Illa nocte sacer quâ rediit Deus
Stagnis ad superos ex Acheronticis
Marcent supplicis Tartara mitibus,
Exsultatque sui carceris otio
Umbrarum populus liber ab ignibus,
Nec fervent solito flumina sulphure.*

This passage, which has often doubtless been chanted in many a church, distinctly says that the condemned spirits in Hell receive some alleviation or mitigation of their sufferings on the day which annually commemorates our Lord's Resurrection. The Delphin editor of Prudentius, the Jesuit Chamillard, roundly says that the poet is mistaken.

9. If we inquire into the comparative number of the lost, we are again landed in mere speculation. That a large majority of the human race so far have been excluded from the Beatific Vision on account of sin, either original or actual, seems not to be doubted. That a majority, or even a large proportion of the race have been cast into the Hell of the damned, or are suffering in more than a negative way, may well be disputed. As Dr. Pusey points out, one-third of mankind die before coming to the use of reason. Add to these the heathen in the "shadow of death," and the millions in Christian lands who are invincibly ignorant of all but the very first ideas of faith and morality, and we have a very large number indeed whose punishment—or whose banishment rather—will surely be very light. For if there is one thing that is certain it is this—that no one will ever be punished with the positive punishments of the life to come who has not, with full knowledge and complete consciousness and full consent, turned his back upon Almighty God.

It will be evident from this summary statement that what we are chiefly concerned to defend is the "eternal duration" of the doom of the lost. There are several misconceptions to clear up as to other points; but the stress of the battle rages round Hell's Eternity.

A good many plain persons will be astonished to hear from Canon Farrar that there is not a single passage of Holy Scripture in which an endless duration is assigned to the punishment of the wicked after death! Biblical scholars, of course, are well aware of the controversy, if controversy it can be called. But it was thought, at least by Catholic theologians, that such a philological and critical essay as that of Passaglia† had done something to settle the question. Dr. Farrar does not seem to

* Prudentius, "Cathemerinon," v. 125.

† "De æternitate pœnaru[m], deque Igne inferno commentarii." Ratisbonæ, Manz, 1854.

have read Passaglia. He has read and copied Mr. Jukes; and he is strong on the distinction between *Γεννα* and “*Αἰδης*, and between Judgment (*κρίσις*) and Damnation—for he has written on Hell in Smith’s “Dictionary.” He has devoted two excursus in his book on “Eternal Hope” to a (very meagre) examination of the philological questions arising from the use of these words, and of *αιώνιος*.

One result of this attempt is that it has called forth a crushing answer from Dr. Pusey. We propose to sum up the discussion, referring the reader for full particulars to the works themselves of Passaglia and of Dr. Pusey.

Eternal duration is outside of experience, and, therefore, outside of human thought and language. In order, therefore, to express it, there was no alternative but to employ words and phrases which originally meant only a “long time.” The Hebrew word *אַיִל*, *aīw* (*eternum*), means that which lasts for ever. It also came to mean the “world,” as being that which “lasted,” in distinction to the varying phenomena which succeeded each other on its surface. No one maintains that the word in the Old Testament or in the New always means literally endless duration. But the thought of endless duration had to be expressed, and the word *aīw* was used, either by itself or in a phrase. In order to obtain a phrase which should in some way give the idea of really endless duration, it was obvious to employ that species of Hebrew reduplication of which there are so many examples; and the strong phrase, “unto ages of ages,” or “eternity of eternities,” is common in both Testaments. Now we will confine ourselves to one point only, and we will quote Father Passaglia:—

The phrase *εἰς τὸν αἰώνα τὸν αἰώνων* (in *sæcula sæculorum*) never occurs in the Septuagint. In the New Testament it is employed *only* in connection with the following subjects: 1. The happiness of the elect; 2. The glory which they give to God and which He is to give to them; 3. The immortality of our Lord after His resurrection; 4. The endless reign of Christ; 5. The life of God. Not counting, then, the passages in dispute, we find that in every single instance in which it is used, this phrase expresses, literally, perpetuity of duration. Therefore they who construe it when applied to the punishment of the wicked as signifying a duration that will end, are the slaves of a hypothesis, and resist an ascertained conclusion.*

Dr. Pusey makes a wider induction. He takes, not the strong reduplicative expression, but the simple word *aīώνιος*.

In the New Testament it occurs seventy-one times; of eternal life, forty-four times; of Almighty God, His Spirit and His Glory, three

* Passaglia, op. cit. p. 14.

times; of the Kingdom of Christ, His Redemption, the Blood of His Covenant, His Gospel, salvation, our habitation in Heaven; of the glory laid up for us, thrice; our inheritance, consolation, of a share of eternal life; of eternal fire, thrice; of punishment, judgment, destruction, four times. Of the future, then, it is nowhere used in the New Testament, except of eternal life or punishment.*

The induction made in these two passages is simply decisive. No argument from etymology or primitive meaning, or Old Testament usage, can outweigh the plain fact that wherever the word is used in the New Testament it means literal perpetuity.

There are particular passages, too, which no ingenuity can explain away. Such is Mark ix. 42-50—the “very awful” text as Mr. Jukes calls it, which speaks of the punishment of scandal, and repeats twice the words, “Where their worm dieth not and their fire is not extinguished.” The explanation by which Mr. Jukes attempts to nullify the force of these words of our Lord is too feeble to deserve attention. Such are the passages of the Apocalypse† in which there is twice the vision of the “smoke of their torments” going up “for ever and ever”; passages on which a strong light is thrown by the words of Isaías,‡ from which their terminology is evidently taken. As Passaglia well observes, either St. John and Isaías used terms expressive of eternal duration, or else there is no such term to be found. The impugners of the eternity of retribution for sin hardly attempt to grapple with the weighty considerations here alluded to.

Thirdly, to omit all reference to other texts, there are the passages in which there is an expressed parallelism between the duration of the life to come and of the punishment of the wicked. Canon Farrar rejects with contempt the argument founded on these texts. “It is,” he says, “of all arguments on the question the most absolutely and hopelessly futile.” He warns us that it “will not weigh the 1000th part of a scruple with those who (as they think) have again and again furnished the proof which *they* regard as conclusive.”§ This might probably be asserted without fear of contradiction of a good many other arguments, but no one can for a moment bring his mind to bear on the real logical nature of the proof here indicated without admitting that it is beyond all doubt most powerful and cogent. St. Augustine long ago expressed it:

What a thing it is to account Eternal Punishment to be a fire of long duration (merely), and Eternal Life to be without end, since Christ comprised both in that very same place, in one and the same sentence, saying, “These shall go into eternal punishment, but the just into life

* “What is of Faith,” p. 38. † xiv. 11, xix. 3, xx. 16.

‡ xxxiv. 9-11.

§ *Contemporary Review*, June, 1878.

everlasting." If both are eternal, either both must be understood to be lasting, with an end, or both perpetual without end. For like is related to like; on the one side eternal punishment, on the other eternal life. But to say in one and the same sentence, life eternal shall be without end, punishment eternal shall have an end, were too absurd; whence, since the eternal life of the saints shall be without end, punishment eternal, too, shall doubtless have no end to those whose it shall be.*

As Passaglia admirably observes, those who deny that in the passage referred to† there is any proof of the eternity of punishment, must maintain that in one short passage, a passage of momentous import as containing the last sentence of the Supreme Judge, one and the same word is used in two senses, making the sentence itself simply equivocal.‡ Dr. Pusey says:—

The argument is not merely from language. It has a moral and religious aspect. Any ordinary writer who drew a contrast between two things, would, if he wished to be understood, use the self-same word in the self-same sense. He would avoid ambiguity. If he did not, we should count him ignorant of languages, or, if it were intentional, dishonest.§

Doubtless the word "Hell" is often so used as to mean merely "beyond the grave." But a child may see that when our Lord uses the word *Γέεννα*, He means more than death, or Jewish doom. The word generally used in the Old Testament to express the nether-world is *Αἰδηνός*. It is our Lord alone who uses Gehenna. There is no need to tell us that it originally meant the valley of Hinnom; that it then, for reasons well-known, became a word which (1) implied the judgment of a Jewish court—the casting forth of an unburied corpse amid the fires and worms of the polluted valley—and (2) a punishment—which to the Jews (says Canon Farrar) as a body, never meant an endless punishment—beyond the grave. There never was a more gratuitous assertion. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Jews of our Lord's day both knew of, and believed in, Eternal Punishment. As Mr. Oxenham well points out, one has to be no more deeply read than is consistent with knowing Josephus to be able to assert this with confidence.|| And Dr. Pusey says:—

Belief in the eternity of future punishment is contained in the 4th Book of Maccabees, in the so-called Psalms of Solomon; the second death is mentioned in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan; Josephus attests the belief of the Pharisees and the Essenes in the eternity of punishment.¶

* "De Civitate Dei," xxi. 23.

† S. Matthew, xxv. 46.

‡ Op. cit. p. 21.

§ "What is of Faith," p. 44.

|| "Eschatology," p. 154.

¶ "What is of Faith," p. 48.

He gives in full the passages not only from the sources mentioned, but also from the Talmud, and after an exhaustive inquiry, extending over sixty pages, he concludes that there is "absolutely no ground to think that the Jews in our Lord's day understood by Gehenna anything else than what lies upon the surface of the word, that it was the place of punishment of those who to the end would not have God as their god."* And thus he destroys what Canon Farrar holds out as his "palmary" argument.

It is not, however, the Scriptural difficulties in connection with Eternal Punishment which are most insisted upon by the rationalizing writers of the day, but rather those ethical considerations which seem to forbid right reason to admit its possibility. Scripture goes a very little way, at the present day, with the majority even of professed Christians, whether Anglicans or Nonconformists, because they have no scruple in interpreting Scripture in accordance with their own views. That every man should be his own interpreter is almost the same as that every man should be his own Bible. The Broad or Rationalistic Protestant, therefore, finds little difficulty in joining his forces to the Agnostics, and attacking the dogma of Hell from the point of view of right reason. It becomes absolutely necessary that Catholics should be able to see through the sophisms or the half-truths which are so common in regard to one of the most essential points of God's revelation. Before replying to objections it will be useful to explain one or two considerations which cut away the ground from a great number of objections. It hardly seems too much to say that "Hell" can positively be proved by human reason, from data of reason and of revelation combined. This, at least, is true, that we can find in the study of observed spiritual and moral phenomena, and in the comparison of indisputable laws of God's creation, an indication, such as prompts the watcher of the skies to expect the appearance of a new planet, that an eternal doom of evil must be awaiting sin just beyond the grave.

It is assumed here that the spiritual part of man—that is to say, that principle by which he is man, and can perform those purely human operations of universalizing, of reasoning by putting together abstractions, and of longing for the ideal—that is, in one word, his soul—will never cease to exist. It is admitted on all sides that, ordinarily speaking, nothing ever does cease to exist; that for an existent thing to cease to be would require an act equal to an act of creation; that things are dissolved or go to pieces, but that their simple parts remain; and

* P. 102.

since, if there is such a thing as a "thinking faculty," that faculty can be demonstratively proved to be without any "parts" whatever, to name such a faculty is to prove that it exists substantially unchanged for ever. We assume also the great fact of death, which also need hardly be proved. At death all that is composite in human nature is dissolved and freshly combined. But the spiritual or immaterial part remains unchanged in itself, changed only in its environment. To say that the spirit, thus deprived of its ministering brain and nerves, has no longer any conscious life but lies for ever torpid and unmoved, is to imagine a universe of sleeping spirits stored away in unknown recesses of creation like mummies in the deserted temples of ancient Egypt. The spirit, therefore, will live and move after death as before death. So long as it is without that material sphere which it is its nature to inform and penetrate, it will act in a non-natural manner, varying according to the sphere in which it finds itself; but when, as the Christian dogma holds, the flesh shall rise again, then it will be at liberty to exist, to move and to live as its nature is. This much we can almost read for ourselves.

But the spirit has, or is, Knowledge and Desire. Not only has it Knowledge and Desire, but it can never satisfy itself with knowing and desiring, as long as its objects have any limit whatever. This is its nature. It is no homiletic "point" to say that the spirit would, in the long run, grow weary of everything. This rigidly follows from two well-known experiences—first, that what is known does not thrill the attention a second time as it did the first time; and, secondly, that reflection can always add the thought of something more than what is seen, and always trace, beyond the bounds of what is actual, a horizon in the distance still unreached. These experiences might let every man understand the awful nature of the fiery and immortal spirit he carries within his breast.

It is obvious to object that millions of men do pass very happy lives, and long lives too, without troubling themselves about more than sensual and æsthetic pleasures. This is true; and although not true to the extent that is sometimes pretended, yet it is true enough to be admitted without scruple. But it stands to reason that of the soul's interminable existence only a very short period will be passed in a state in which it is liable to be fettered, blind-folded, and distracted by its senses. A soul once admitted, with its unlimitable faculties, nothing can be more certain than that it will one day, and for a long day, find itself in an atmosphere when it must either be filled with its own proper knowing and desire, or experience a void and a craving which none of its troublesome senses could ever feel. The argument may not be pushed

too far. The possibility of forming some conception of the Infinite, and the dissatisfaction of the Desire with all finite desirable things, do not peremptorily prove that man is by nature formed to know and possess the Infinite, seen face to face. But they do prove that earthly life, even as far as nature goes, is meant to end very soon, and that there must come some day a larger world, a clearer and a keener atmosphere, a state of awful silence, solitude, and intense life, when the spirit, instead of attaining absolute Truth and Beauty through the chinks and fissures of her mortal clay, will be in a state in which the flood can pour itself upon her faculty, and she must rejoice in it, or find the misery of having no claim to its sovereign joys. Our nature is the subject of God's grace, as a fact, and our destiny is higher even than this. But the lot here indicated does actually realize itself in the case of those millions who die unbaptized and before the use of reason ; and perhaps in millions more.

If the soul is to live for ever, and to live in an atmosphere of awful light or awful darkness, there can be little doubt, even to our uninstructed natural reason, that its state—which is its fate—will be fixed, and no longer capable of substantial alteration. It is not absolutely impossible that a clearly-seeing spirit should change from hating its last end to adhering to it. It is most difficult to understand how such a change can be—or the opposite change, either. Change of desire or adhesion, with us, happens when a new aspect of a desirable thing comes uppermost, or when some known consideration is lost sight of. An unimpeded spirit can see so widely around that this thoroughness of penetration, joined to its freedom from the distractions of the senses, makes it almost, though not quite, impossible for new motives of action, or new sides of truth, or new aspects of desirability, to present themselves. How the angels could sin—how even our first parents could sin, endowed as they were, and serenely self-possessed as they were—must always be a mystery. The sin, once committed, must in both cases have been very deep. But the proper condition of unimpeded view is stability. The Last End, or God, is so potent an attraction to the faculties of a nature created to attain it, that such a nature needs only clearness of view to be won, and almost necessarily won. Free choice, it would seem, should be overpowered and unable to stir in the presence of the All-good ; for freedom depends upon limitation of vision. We can choose because we can alter, by our way of looking at them, the aspects of things—not because the things attract us. This is our prerogative as reasonable beings gifted with reason. But, speaking broadly, it is only natural in this present life of gross materialism and of sensual fetters. Yet it is the root of merit, because it is the condition of responsibility.

Thus, natural reason points to two states of human existence : the state of unhindered spirituality and of stability, without elective freedom and without responsibility ; and the state of immersion in matter, of fettered action, but of power to choose, of responsibility and of merit. The state of stability will naturally depend on the end or result of the preceding state of elective freedom. The soul, fettered as she is, does know her Last End, and can adhere to Him with her choice. When the hour of bodily dissolution strikes, and the mortal clay finally breaks to pieces like the pitchers which covered the lamps of Gideon's band, then the light shines out : but the light is as it has been lighted. The long or the short course of free-will, of choice, of aversion, of struggle, of acquiescence, has resulted in an attitude of the soul—as when some gladiator dies in the arena, his body lying where it fell, his limbs arrested as they were bent, his face marked with the pain or the triumph of the last moment. If the soul be separated in an hour when her clinging is to the Good of all good, so far as she has seen and known It in the days of her flesh, then that attitude of rectitude finds its fulfilment and perfection in the fuller vision of the disembodied state. If death come upon her when her desire is averted, and her deliberate preference is turned to the base things which have come in her way on her journey, then that aversion from Good becomes her fixed state. An objector might say, Would she not make her choice afresh in the clearer light of the new atmosphere ? We are speaking only of what human reasoning can guide us to ; and the answer is, No. Her vision, like her clinging, is *set*. A distorted vision sees things as crookedly from the highest peak as it does on the ground. The more she looks, the more she is filled with aversion. She cannot change or repent now. Repentance comes of new views. God's goodness gains some new light, as the sun brings out the forms of distant hills ; iniquity loses some charm which earthly mist had wrapped about her ; retribution stands forward out of the gloom and puts on new terrors. All these things come to us with the rolling tides and shifting lights of earthly existence. But in the land of spirits there is no shadow, nothing to bar the sight, no perspective, no distance, no succession save acts of will. Therefore the soul's distortion settles into a law of her being, and her aversion hardens into eternal hate. And then the void, the craving, the acknowledged failure, the total wreck of being's purpose—what wonder if there is a Hell ? Hell is a law. Just as it is a law that pent-up water, when its weight and force have reached a certain point, breaks its barriers and sweeps down upon the region, so it is a law that sin, or unrighteousness, or wilful aversion from Good, if it reach the boundary, Death, unreformed, will go on for ever

so, and will bring eternal separation from Good ; and separation, in a spiritual nature, means misery.

This is a "rationalistic" view of Hell. Given a spirit with a fleshly nature ; given a God, who is its Last End ; given dissolution, and immortality ; then there are the elements of a Hell. It is a very imperfect account, doubtless, of that dread article of God's revelation of which we treat. But the reason why this process of natural inference has been laid before the reader is, because it seems to prove the absolute reasonableness and probability (if not the necessity) of a Hell, and at the same time to show that, substantially, the objections which are urged against the revealed dogma are really urged against some of the most primary and deeply rooted conclusions of the human reason. Those who fight against an eternal Hell, are fighting against free-will, immortality, and God, who fashioned the heart of man.

The great truth that Hell, in its substance and essence, is a law of the universe, sweeps away at once an enormous amount of declamation. Many men are scandalized when the Holy Scriptures ascribe "anger" and "vengeance" to Almighty God. They ought to know that, in strict theology, anger and passion are as impossible in the Infinite as growth or succession. God's "anger" means no change in Himself ; His "vengeance" denotes nothing at variance with the unalterable calm of His eternal being. These words mean outward effects only, not states of being. It is true that if the preacher and the catechist had to speak of the Infinite in no other terms than those of pure science, they would not only fail to reach the multitude, but what they said would practically fall short of truth. You cannot reform the "unsanitariness" of a town by merely naming the technicalities of chemistry and physiology. So, to preach God's kingdom and His name, we use words that are not "adequately" true, yet not false ; they are what is called analogical. Goodness, beauty, and truth are attributes of God ; but we only know them in created manifestations. When we ascribe them to God we know that in Him they are very different ; yet not precisely different, but magnified, intensified, luminous and pure. All that they are or mean in creation they are, or mean, in the Creator ; yet without attendant limitations, and also with a glorious enhancement, as when some humble element, lustreless and base, suddenly takes that crystal form which gives it the gleaming hardness of the diamond—an enhancement which pure and solitary hearts see dimly in their visions, but which no heart ever grasps or holds. The human analysis, then, of God's most simple nature into attributes is only necessary because we have no other way of taking hold of Him with our reason. We need not be afraid that any attribute of

His will contradict the testimony of our own nature as to what is right or good or true or merciful. We have to be wary, sometimes, as to what we really take to be the witness of conscience and of reason; for local and temporary causes may breed prejudice and error which may look as important and as genuine as the ultimate dictates of reason herself. But God's image in man cannot contradict God Himself. Thus if God is "good" and "just" in a way which is His own, yet which is also our way as far as our way goes, He is also "angry" and an "avenger" only in the way in which these characters may not misbecome His highest nature. There cannot be "anger" in the Lord when He punishes, more than there is in the steel of the sword which pierces men, or the wind of the storm, or the "merciless" waves which drown the innocent and the guilty alike. God wills, judges, and decrees; He cannot be "angry" in a literal sense. But the effect is as if He were. Much less can any thought of gratified revenge or spite be attributed to the Eternal. God crushes evil as surely as the avalanche grinds the rocks into dust. He also does whatever He does with the highest exercise of personal intellect and will. And that is all.

Natural reason, then, points to two things, first, that human creatures who turn from their Last End must anticipate an endless retribution, or state of aversion combined with misery; and secondly, that it is not their Maker, angry with human anger, who will bind fetters on them, and order scourges, but rather the force of the inexorable laws of the things which He has made. But it is also true, and cannot for one moment be denied, that the Christian revelation has made the conception of Hell both more certain and much more definite. We shall include the greater part of what can here be said in vindication of God's holy revelation of Everlasting Punishment by explaining (1) What kind of sinfulness it is that merits Hell; (2) What is understood by the "pains" of Hell, and especially the "pain of sense;" and (3) The reasonableness of their eternal duration.

Almost all the Protestant writers on the subject of Future Punishment admit that the common Protestant dogma, or view, which divides the world between Heaven and Hell immediately after death, is utterly unreasonable and unwarranted by Scripture. Some intermediate state there must be. Canon Farrar maintains a kind of intermediate state. Dean Goulburn thinks that those who die in faith and penitence, but imperfect, are taken—not to "Purgatory"—he cannot away with the word, but—to "Paradise" as distinct from Heaven.

I entirely share the feeling which is now so commonly avowed, that Protestants have not given that prominence to the doctrine of the intermediate, as distinct from the ultimate, state, which Scripture so

clearly asserts, and the assertion of which is quite necessary to exhibit in full symmetry and significance the orthodox Catholic doctrine of the Last Things. At the same time I entirely fail to see how, compatibly with the ideas called up in the mind by the word "Paradise," *purgatorial suffering* can be supposed to be an ingredient in the illumination and sanctification which are characteristic of the intermediate state of the righteous.*

This slipshod passage is very characteristic of Dean Goulburn. It shows what things are coming to, when the doctrine of the "intermediate state," so long and so roundly rejected as a Romish corruption, is preached in Cathedral pulpits. It is of little use to reject the word Purgatory. Dean Goulburn's "Paradise," by his own showing, is a place of "purification, training and discipline." Purgatory is only that. But who knows how much that implies?

We can heartily agree, then, with Canon Farrar in one thing. We reject much more summarily than he does the Protestant view of Hell—that all sin, even the least, is punished with eternal death. Hell—the true and awful Hell—is for grievous or mortal sin. With Catholics there is no hesitation as to what is meant by mortal sin. It is that complete rejection of God which involves the extinction of sanctifying grace, which is the soul's life. It may not be always easy to tell whether this or that act is really a mortal sin. Acts differ, not only objectively, but also subjectively. It would be comparatively easy to distinguish "mortal" sins if we had only to consider them objectively, apart from the person who commits them. The difficulty is to know whether the personal circumstances of knowledge, advertence and consent, are such as to impart to the act of aversion from God sufficient completeness to plunge the soul into the darkness of spiritual death. Happily, we are not called upon to do so. Even the judge in the sacred tribunal of the Sacrament need only take reasonable pains to form his judgment. But this much is certain—that only mortal sin, true and complete, will deserve Hell. When one considers how much sin is due to ignorance not fully culpable, to sudden gusts of passion which diminish the power of reason, to actual inadvertence of the grievousness of a given act, and to the dimly appreciated connection of act with act—and when one takes into account those turnings of the heart to God, which come at some period or other to most of those, sinners as they may be, who have known God in their youth, we see at once that it is unnecessary to go to extreme lengths in condemning the multitudes to Hell. It must be ever borne in mind, then, that everlasting punishment is for what

* "Everlasting Punishment," Preface, p. vii.

St. Thomas calls “*certa malitia*,” determined malice. The God of all justice cannot punish with eternal exclusion anything else. He must, and will, make every allowance for antecedent passion, for blindness, for ignorance, for inadvertence. When a human creature, with its eyes open, has turned away from its known Last End, and when death comes and finds that habit or “*set*” of the heart existing, then, and then only, is the awful ministry of never-ending retribution called in.*

The fuel of Hell, then, is mortal sin. Now mortal sin is the creature’s *necessary* ruin and wreck. By mortal sin, the creature drives headlong against a fixed law of this universe. To this we have already referred. Given light and obstinacy—both of which we cannot doubt there will be beyond the veil—and a fixed state of aversion, and of consequent misery, is the result. But the Last End, which is the subject-matter of this awful law, is not mere law, it is personal; it is the Creator, the Maker and fashioner of souls. This, also, is a necessary law. The “end” of a rational creature must be the Infinite. But further: under this present dispensation, there is a revelation; and this revelation gives us the knowledge that our last end, by mere bounty of our Maker, is God; God seen—not in any common or natural way—but face to face, even as He sees us. To elevate our human soul to the capability of thus looking on the Infinite, a certain miraculous endowment will be needful, called the “light of glory”—which is our heavenly transformation. To prepare for and secure this transformation in the heavens, is given as the transformation of “sanctifying grace” on the earth. “The Grace of God is life everlasting.”† Thus the human soul, by the grace of God, is elevated to a very high destiny, and placed on paths far above those which its mere nature would be able to find. But a fall from a pinnacle is a very deadly fall; the rejection of grace is of greater guilt in proportion to the gift which is rejected; aversion from God as the supernatural end is a sin against light by excellence and goodness supreme. The mortal sins of duly instructed Christians, then, are nothing less than the deliberate rejection of the very majesty of the Infinite. Let it be clearly understood that this is the kind of crime for which Holy Scripture and Church teaching announce that “Hell is prepared from yesterday.”‡

* Mr. Oxenham most appropriately cites this very striking passage from Father Faber: “As to those who may be lost, I confidently believe that our Heavenly Father threw His arms around each created spirit, and looked it full in the face with bright eyes of love in the darkness of its mortal life, and that of its own deliberate will it would not have Him.” (“Creator and Creature,” p. 368); “Eschatology,” p. 176.

† Rom. vi. 23.

‡ Isaías xxx. 33.

The soul, therefore, which is judged guilty of deadly sin unrepented, will experience the Sufferings of Hell. The one point in which all who pretend to be Christians agree is that for the sinner there is suffering beyond the grave. They may reject "sensible" suffering, they may limit the duration of suffering, they may make the most of words like purification, remorse, mental agony and spiritual fear; but they unite in holding that the sinner shall not escape the hands of the living God.*

Let us note the point which is here conceded. Aversion from God *means* suffering. Just as the bursting of the river's barriers means destruction of life and property, so the finding oneself on the other side of death in this state of aversion means that exclusion from good things, that encountering of contraries, that jarring, confusion, disruption and displacement which is fitly called "wreck." But "wreck" in a living being means suffering. The tree is smitten with the axe, and is destroyed; the living creature is smitten and passes through pain and agony before death comes. We are safe in concluding that the higher the nature the greater is the possibility of pain. In conceding, therefore, the fact of mental or spiritual suffering, there is conceded the fact of a suffering of which no illustration from physical pain can give any adequate idea. The thing can be tested even in mortal life. It is a simple fact that the most atrocious of bodily tortures will sometimes be forgotten in the shock of hearing some glad or disastrous news, or in the pre-occupation of some mental or spiritual view. There is sufficient evidence, even to a mere scientific experimentalist, that in several of the recorded cases of martyrdom, there were periods when, amid indescribable physical horrors, no physical pain was felt. In lesser matters the same thing happens daily. Joy or sorrow, surprise or love, faith or curiosity, are known to drown and quench bodily pain.

The question, therefore, whether there is bodily "torture" in Hell is unimportant, if there is suffering at all. The truth is, the "popular" writers, such as Canon Farrar, make use of the natural shrinking we all have from the contemplation of pain as a convenient "point" on which to work up their rhetoric. As they treat the subject, it is a matter of word-painting and nothing else. Canon Farrar devotes a great part of his fourth and fifth sermons to the merest declamation, the most unblush-

* "It shall purify him, God grant, in due time; but oh! it shall agonize, because he has made himself, as yet, incapable of any other redemption" ("Eternal Hope," v. p. 133). And Mr. Jukes admits all through his pleading for Universal salvation the truth of what he expresses, when he says, "The fearful and unbelieving must pass through the lake of fire" ("The Restitution," p. 90).

ing phrase-making, about the "glaring (*sic*) agony of fire and brimstone for billions of years" (p. 91). He dare not deny, he distinctly states, that the condemned do suffer, and suffer "agony," "nemesis," "reddening doom," "fear," "shame," "aching crave," "conscience," "a scorch of fiery swords," a "Gehenna of æonian fire," and a number of other pains, which (if the words mean anything) signify, at the least, very intense mental and spiritual agony. If we understand anything about the life of spirits, all the physical horrors depicted by imaginative writers, from Tertullian to Mr. Spurgeon, are mere words and sound in comparison with what the reality must be. But the crowd understand no "pain" except physical pain. Their imaginations are bounded by what they are and what they feel. The awful experiences of the spirit in its "term" (that is, its probation over) are utterly beyond the range of their meditations. Unaccustomed to think upon the facts of spiritual existence, and without help from their spiritual guides, they do not conceive that a human being may suffer more in his soul than in his sense. On the other hand, modern sensitiveness to all that takes the shape of physical pain has increased and is increasing with every decade. Nothing, therefore, is better calculated to turn the minds of the unreflecting multitude against the revealed doctrine of Hell than harrowing and mocking descriptions of the bodily agonies which there await the sinner. Can it be that our Universalists and "Broad" theologians know this and calculate upon it? Can it be that the key to their denunciation of physical suffering hereafter, which is so illogical if they admit suffering at all, is the latent unwillingness to persuade themselves that there is any punishment whatever for man's rejection of his Maker?*

In truth, modern "sensitiveness" is the great obstacle to a belief in Eternal Punishment. In older days, death and pain and torture were not the object of such horror and shrinking as they have grown to be. But it is obvious to remark that mere sensitiveness is no guarantee whatever against the fact of pain. Pictures most horrible can be drawn by a man skilled in phrases and gifted with imagination, of death, disease, outrage, and suffering of every sort. Yet we know, as a fact, that death exists, and disease, and physical agony of a hundred kinds. Therefore this heated rhetoric, which makes the hearer shudder, is no proof whatever of the non-existence of pain everlasting.

* If it is agreed, says Professor Mayor (*Contemporary Review*, December, 1880, p. 1026) that the subject of punishment is an embodied soul, and the means of punishment pain, I do not see how the body can help bearing its share of pain.

But Canon Farrar is still more shocked—and tries to shock his readers—with the discovery that St. Thomas of Aquin holds that the blessed in Heaven will “rejoice” in the pains of the lost. He adds, what is of course true, that all Protestant writers on the subject have, until lately, held the same view. Such language he holds to be “inhuman.”* But it is the Protestant sermon-maker, utterly devoid of theological or philosophical training, who is irrational, not the ordinary view which is inhuman. First of all, the blessed in Heaven have none of that human and base lust of vengeance or anger such as we experience during our mortal life. All the movements or thrillings of the beatified corporeal nature are entirely subject to the spirit, so that no feeling or emotion stirs save when it is bidden. What St. Thomas says is that the blessed “enjoy their own happiness more, and give greater thanks to God”† when they are permitted to see the punishment of the lost. There is nothing here about *taking delight in the sufferings of the souls in Hell*. But even if St. Thomas had said, what has been undoubtedly said by weighty authorities, that the blessed “rejoice” in what they witness in the abyss of retribution, surely the view is a true one. The “joy” of a beatified saint means a pure, intellectual approval and a spiritual satisfaction. The lost soul has deliberately outraged God, and now obstinately hates Him. The necessary result is, punishment. Punishment is also, by the same necessity, God’s own holy will. The “joy” of the saint is wholly in this, that God is Master, that whatever stood against Him is cast down, and that eternal law is vindicated. But that the Blessed can have any touch of that poor, natural, base and human satisfaction in seeing another suffer “because he deserves it,” is a notion only worthy of that Protestant theology which measures Heaven by family life on earth, and can imagine no higher state of being than a continuation of the “moderate enjoyment” of the good things of this world. St. Thomas of Aquin and the Catholic divines had no such thoughts.

It is not necessary to deny that preachers and books have sometimes used language both on this point, and about the physical sufferings generally, which is far from being philosophically correct. The aim of the preacher of Hell is to present Hell vividly to the thought. He naturally makes use of corporeal images. He is so far warranted by strict theology that he may without hesitation preach eternal fire, and the pain of sense generally. If he introduces details where none are given

* “Eternal Hope,” p. 66.

† *Beatitudo sanctorum eis magis complacat . . . uberiores gratias Deo . . . Summa Theol. iii. Suppl. Q. 94, art. 1.*

in Scripture or Catholic teaching, his hearers usually know that these details are in the nature of illustration. He usually says that what he describes may not be actually what will happen, but that his hearers may be quite sure the reality will be much worse. There is nothing reprehensible in this. Canon Farrar acts on precisely the same principle in his fifth sermon; for instance when he quotes a sickening passage from Dante in order to touch the imaginations of those he is addressing.* The question is one of taste and of efficiency. We believe, for our own part, that grotesque horrors, such as the late saintly Father Furness used to describe in his retreats, are bad in art and ineffective in result. As a rule they do not even frighten; and, if they did, fright is not always holy fear.

To sum up what has been said about the Suffering of Hell; first of all, it is impossible to picture or express the pain of loss, because the conditions under which our intellect works during mortal life do not enable us to "realize" the state of immortality. We can, therefore, only use analogical language. We know that fire, of a true and material sort, will act upon the souls and bodies of the lost.† We know that there will be pains of mind, and body—remorse, and physical suffering. We know that all these pains will vary in intensity in each different lost soul; some suffering many stripes, some few stripes.‡

We come now to the question of Hell's Eternity. It is, in many respects, the chief question of all; for the notion of Eternal Duration imparts to the idea of punishment an entirely new aspect. That which is grievous, may be unimportant provided it be short; but even a slight suffering, if it last for ever, is too great (it would seem) for human reason adequately to conceive.

* "Eternal Hope," p. 142.

† The question as to how a material agent like fire can affect a spirit such as the human soul is not touched here; not, however, because there is no plausible or probable view on the subject. (See Scheeben, "Die Mysterien des Christenthums," p. 670.)

‡ St. Thomas clearly teaches that all who have come to the use of reason will be (finally) divided between Heaven and the Hell of the reprobate. (See "Summa," 1^a, 2^x, Art. 89, Qu. 6.) The teaching of this Article is remarkable in many ways, and fertile in consequences. (1) It makes an act of charity more easy than is generally supposed. If a child, or a savage, who is practically a child, chooses, or makes an act of the will towards what is good and right (*bonum honestum in confuso*), that child or savage is justified. Being incapable of anything better, and doing what lies in his power, his imperfect act is elevated to charity by grace. We may gather this from the Article, and from the interpretation of Cardinal Cajetan. (2) An act of contrition is not difficult. The child, or the uncultured savage, must turn to what is "good and right" as well as he can (*eo modo quo potuerit*). Probably millions of savages can do no more than this. Thus millions are probably saved.

Consequently there have not been wanting, in every age of Christianity, men who have rejected the doctrine of the eternity of Hell on the ground of its incompatibility with right reason.* In the general anarchy, such as always ensues the moment that non-Catholic teachers lose hold of some portion of Catholic tradition, a number of divergent and discordant views are now being pressed upon Anglicans and Nonconformists. Some are anxiously proving that all men will ultimately be saved; this is Universalism, or Restorationism. Others are preaching Annihilationism, or Conditional Immortality—holding that the wicked, after being punished for a time, will then be destroyed. Between these views, and the extreme Protestant idea of Hell, there are innumerable varieties in various books and sermons; some teachers holding something very like Purgatory, others considering that *probation* will go on after death in the same way as now, and others again maintaining that, though all will have a chance in the next world, there will probably be some who, by remaining unrepentant, will endure an endless Hell.†

Let it be observed, in the first place, that we are not bound to be able to solve all difficulties which may be urged against a thesis which, from other sources, is abundantly proved. Even in matters of physical science, no one expects this. There are difficulties against the law of gravitation itself which cannot be soived. Yet no one thinks of doubting the existence of the law. Doubtless, if the objection amounted to a demonstration that a certain thesis was self-contradictory—that is to say, in the language of the schools, metaphysically impossible—we should then be obliged to abandon the thesis. But if the difficulty is plainly one which we cannot solve merely for want of materials or information or sufficient induction, right reason will only bid us wait and not necessarily doubt. And this applies with indefinitely greater force to difficulties urged against any doctrine into the statement of which there enters the great name of the Infinite. It is well known that two lines may have such relative properties that they may continually approach each other and yet never meet. If you inquire what would happen on the supposition that these lines were infinitely produced, no answer would be possible.

* "Shall not then the Judge of all the earth do right? Shall we say that sinful men are selfish and guilty, if with wealth and power they neglect the poor and miserable, and yet that God, who is eternal love, shall do what even sinful men abhor and reprobate? . . . If His children are for ever lost, He even more than they must be miserable." ("Restitution of all Things," pp. 115, 116.)

† This is Canon Farrar's view. (See "Eternal Hope," Preface, xiii.) It is strange he does see that it is simply open to all the rhetorical assaults which he has made upon the "common" doctrine.

On the one hand their inclination to one another is such that it can be *demonstrated* that they cannot possibly meet ; on the other hand, the space between them, not being infinite, must be exhausted by a gradual approximation extending over an infinite period ; and therefore they must meet. Now whatever may be said of the Mathematical Infinite, we can prove the Absolute Infinite to exist. This is as certain as anything that is. No one, therefore, has any right to be surprised if we meet with questions and difficulties in regard to the relations of the Infinite and the finite which refuse to be solved by reason.

The compatibility of the eternal pains of Hell with the justice and goodness of Almighty God depends on three points—Sin, Probation, and Immortality. All three are separately proved by Scripture and tradition, and all are perfectly consonant with sound reason. Immortality means that men, good or bad, live for ever ; Probation means that death ends their time of trial and begins the duration of their fixed state. Of these we have already spoken. But a few words must still be said of Sin ; because it is important to understand (as far as we can) the exact aspect of mortal sin which dooms the sinner to Eternal Punishment. Sin is punished for eternity, not precisely because the sinner can make no satisfaction for it, or cannot restore himself to the “order” and place from which he has fallen, or regain his spiritual life, or wipe out the stain of guilt. All this is found in mortal sin. But the reason why it is *everlastingly* punished is because it is an act of *measureless malice* against the Supreme God. There are two things which, to every rational creature, are, beyond all comparison, of absolute importance ; one is, God, who is his Last End, the other is his personal attainment of that End. There we have the meaning, the scope, the regulating idea, of his very existence. All goodness, all justice, all bravery, all virtue, all good work, take their denomination from this primary thought ; and so on the other hand do evil, iniquity, baseness and vice. The thoughts and the deeds which lead to God and the attainment of God are lovely, true, and good ; the acts of heart and hand which are a rejection of Him are base, lying, and malicious. Now, an act of grievous sin, by deliberately and completely rejecting God, wrecks this primary “order.” It would even beat down God, were that possible. This assertion, which is little understood and which is treated as a mere homiletic common-place, is really and literally true. God’s very being is Omnipotence. Sin refuses to “serve,” that is, to remain within the primary essential order. If it were possible that the sinner actually could escape outside this primary order, there would be no God. That which cannot be, the sinner deliberately chooses and prefers. Therefore the sinner wills to destroy God. Now

there is no "measure" possible for the unit of all measurement. You may measure the whiteness of the snow and the whiteness of the fleece; but the ideal from which you measure can only be stated, not measured. Malice is measured by its approach to the destruction of the primary order. But mortal sin actually destroys it—outraging the Supreme God, and wrecking the heart of man. There is no measure for malice of this kind. It is true, it may be compared with itself. One soul may drink it in more deeply than others. One grievous sin may be greater than another. But, apart from all degrees of intensity, every such sin has that in itself which is immeasurable by any standard known to human life or experience. It brings its retribution; and, as far as we can see by the light of reason, it is just and right that its retribution should have something of the immeasurableness of its own essence. There was no question of punishment actually infinite; infinitude and a creature are irreconcileable. But retribution might well be indefinite and never ending. Thus, whilst the justice of God and His eternal law mete out to each soul the degree of intensity which it has merited, every soul of the lost will remain under that punishment for all eternity. Yet even in Hell there is the mercy of God.

The dogma of the Eternity of Punishment cannot, it is admitted be proved from reason alone. It is God's revelation which makes us certain of it. Yet reason does not contradict it; nay, as we see, reason expects and anticipates it. But there is one objection or difficulty urged by Restorationists and by Agnostics alike—though by each for a different purpose—and it goes so close to the root of the mystery that it must be noticed. It is certainly true, they tell us, that God (in the Christian hypothesis) is both almighty and all-merciful. It may be that sin, as you maintain, deserves an eternity of punishment. But why does not God take measures to prevent sin? By bestowing some slight increase of His grace He could save all mankind. By refusing to do so He allows a part, perhaps the greater part, of His rational creation to be wrecked beyond redemption.

The answer to this will appear to some to be merely a restatement of the difficulty in other words. We maintain that Almighty God gives every man grace, which is truly and really sufficient to save him. Those who are lost use their free will to resist grace, and so fail and fall—for sin is failure and fall, not a positive and substantive act. God *could*, it is true, give them so much grace as to ensure that they would not fail. But there are no reasonable grounds for daring to suspect Him guilty of injustice because He does not. The creation of a rational creature implies free will, and free will implies that whatever is the object of free choice, or the result of free choice, the creature

may be justly abandoned to ; justly, as far as its own nature is concerned, for it has chosen it ; justly, as far as any eternal power or God Himself is concerned, because He simply leaves it to its nature.* This consideration entirely solves the imputation of injustice. But as for love and mercy, there are absolutely no data to go upon. Why does God give to one man what He does not give to another ? We do not know. For God's actions there is no cause outside of Himself. There is only one adumbration of a reason. Man is not merely a unit, but is the member of a system, of a universe. And we do not know how large or how complicated is the whole universe of creation. The principle end of Almighty God must, of necessity, be His own glory, and his secondary purpose, if we may so speak, must be the showing forth of His glory in creation as a whole. Thus He does not give His gratuitous gifts equally to all ; He rules as well as loves, He punishes as well as rewards, He is just and mighty as well as long-suffering and plenteous in mercy. It is no use to insist that a rational creature cannot justly be gifted with heart and feeling and then sacrificed to the symmetry of a system. The creature is not a victim. The creature chooses freely and is *left to its choice*. All through eternity it will never choose anything different.

If any one thinks this answer insufficient, let him remember we have, as facts, a Creator, creation, evil and inequality. Even on the wildest Universalist hypothesis, men will never be all equal. It is at this initial stage, therefore, that the mystery of God's distinguishing kindness confronts our reason. If it is a mystery involved in creation itself, and in the very fact—which is a matter of primary experience—that men suffer and are unequal ; and if, on the other hand, the hypothesis that God is not just or not merciful would involve us in a hundred mysteries darker far, then it would seem not hard for a mortal intellect to confess its blindness and its inability to measure the Infinite with the compasses of finite thought. Is there anything in Holy Scripture more persistently repeated than that God is incomprehensible ? And this means that, although we know what He is or does will never be in plain opposition to the reason He Himself has implanted in us, yet there must ever be abysses in His dealings which we cannot fathom, and exhibitions of His adorable attributes which we cannot by positive proof reconcile one with another.

One thing we are sure of, with a happy and blessed assurance, that no heart which turns to God by true repentance, however late the hour may be, can be separated from Him for ever. It

* Nature, in the context, does not of course abstract from grace.

would seem that, whatever controversy there was on other points, on this at least we should all agree. And yet strangely enough it is this very assurance which has been assailed in the latest contribution of the Universalist party to the discussion on punishment beyond the grave. Professor Mayor, in the late number of the *Contemporary Review*,* writes a letter, in which he professes to criticize the work of Dr. Pusey named at the head of this article. The criticism does not amount to much. He says that Dr. Pusey, representing traditionalism (as Professor Mayor represents "humanity"), offers two considerations in order to soften the dogma of Everlasting Punishment for sin: one is Purgatory, the other is the possibility of a death-bed repentance. He does not propose, he says, to say anything about Purgatory, but he proceeds to discuss the suggestion of repentance at the last moment. In doing so he betrays a want of—we will not say ordinary Christian information—but of rational ideas in regard to the soul and morality which we could hardly have conceived possible in an educated man. "Here, then," he says—speaking of repentance on the death-bed:—

We have the terms of capitulation offered by traditionalism to humanity. Allow us to keep the name and idea of hell, and we will no longer insist on Church membership, or orthodoxy, or even common morality, as indispensable. We will guarantee that the majority, at all events, shall escape, and indeed we see no reason why, with our system of death-bed repentance and protracted purgatory any one sinner should be finally lost.‡

It may be confidently stated that it would be difficult to find a more glaring and bold perversion of Christian teaching. Why, what does death-bed repentance mean? It means a genuine and sincere sorrow for having neglected this very orthodoxy and morality, accompanied by a sincere resolution to behave for the future, if life continue, in exactly the opposite way. But on the next page we arrive at Professor Mayor's real philosophy. He says:—

(We cannot) believe it possible for such a change to take place in man's nature, in the final agony of death, that he who was a moment before out of grace, fixed in habits of sin, should, whilst he lies there apparently unconscious, *incapable of act*, or feeling or thought, by one *last effort of free will*, reverse the consequence of a life and enter into grace. Even supposing it to be possible . . . why should this particular wish have power to fix the state.§

We have italicised two phrases. Could any one but a modern Cambridge professor, blankly ignorant of all psychological science, calmly publish in print that a dying man who was incapable of

* December, 1880.

† P. 1027.

‡ P. 1028.

§ P. 1029.

act or thought might still make an effort of free will? But the whole passage is too unscientific to deserve refutation. 1. What does the Professor take "sin" to be? Surely an act of the will, and only of the will; so that if the adhesion of will be effectively withdrawn or reversed, the sin vanishes. Surely sin does not consist in habits, feelings, or such dispositions and states as are beyond the power of the will to alter in a moment? Reminiscences of early Calvinism, perhaps, are detected in this suggestion that a man may be a sinner in spite of his sincere desire to turn to God. 2. A death-bed repentance is, no doubt, a risk, an uncertainty, full of difficulty and anxiety. This the Catholic Church has always taught. But with consciousness and the use of reason, with God's grace, it is possible; and it must be possible, unless all morality be an affair of mere physical or mental growth, a sort of secretion, as we are now taught by a large school to regard it. 3. Habits are not sin. They may be caused by sin, and may make sin more frequent and more guilty; but so far as the will abhors and detests them, they are morally nothing more than the outside world or the attacks of the demon. 4. The act of death-bed repentance fixes the state for ever because it is the *last* act. The whole question of a period of probation is involved here, and cannot be dismissed with a sneer in a single line. 5. The long purification of Purgatory is expressly intended to purge and destroy those habits and dispositions of the complex nature of man which have been allowed to grow up in this world. But the moment the will rectifies itself by turning completely to its God, *mortal sin* is extinct, however difficult this turning may be. To speak otherwise would be to place the soul of man under the dominion of a gross and brutal necessity or fate. And it has been frequently and most justly remarked, that the misconception of what sin is lies at the root of the denial of eternal retribution. The common Protestant idea is that sin is the evil and condemned state in which all men are born; and that redemption makes no real change in the heart, but only overlooks the corruption it finds there. But no cultured man accepts the common Protestantism. The bias of the rationalizing party is more and more to consider the *act* of sin, as of little or no account, unless it hardens into a habit; thus placing the evil of sin, not in its rejection of God, but in its inconvenience to the sinner. The greater part of Canon Farrar's declamation amounts just to this, and to nothing less or more.

The moral to be drawn from any discussion such as the present, is, that the primary principles of our reason can always and with comparative ease be shown to accord with God's revelation; but that the conclusions drawn by the unassisted human thought from these first principles are likely to be so divergent in different

minds that nothing short of Revelation can make men agree in the most important matters of practice which concern their immortal souls. Revelation has its difficulties, but so has existence itself. Revelation has its mysteries, but so has rationalism. Meanwhile, the certainties which we rightfully hold must be held devoutly ; and the difficulties may well wait their fuller solution in the light of a brighter day.

ART. VII.—ENDYMION.

Endymion. By the Author of “Lothair.” In Three Volumes.
London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

THE advanced age of Lord Beaconsfield is of itself no reason why curiosity or wonder should be manifested at the appearance of another novel from his pen. Nor are his imaginative works so numerous as to make the addition of “Endymion” a portent. Mr. Anthony Trollope, Mr. Charles Reade, and several living lady authors, have long ago excelled him in the number of their productions, and still write with a large measure of their original vigour and freshness, while Victor Hugo is, by three years, Lord Beaconsfield’s senior, and an incomparably more prolific novelist. Nor, again, although much of the interest in his writings is attributable to the high position he has won for himself in the political world, and the undoubted brilliancy of some of his ministerial achievements—is this by any means the entire explanation. The peculiar composition of his novels, more especially since “Coningsby”—a mixture of politics and passion—is the chief cause of their success. In style, Mr. Disraeli sets the critics, and in the choice of characters sets the canons of criticism, if not good taste itself, at defiance. To a wonderful extent he has always been a rule to himself, and the public, especially the English public, admire that quality even when they quarrel with some of its manifestations. Besides, though oftenest satirical, and writing best when satirical, the author can praise, can flatter, can be adulatory. “We are all in it,” Society is said to have exclaimed, when it had read “Vivian Grey,” and that pleased Society ; the sharp thrusts at your neighbour’s foibles soothed the irritation felt for the sharp thrusts at your own. In a true sense, also, Mr. Disraeli’s novels are “revelations of high life”—perhaps not designedly so—written in that strain and style which make them not only intelligible but a positive luxury to the “wondering millions,” as he designates them in “Endy-

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mion," who foolishly like nothing better than gazing on the grandeur they can never possess.

Unfortunately, it must be added, that the novels hardly deserve more than this humiliating fate. "Endymion," and we are concerned for the moment with it only, certainly merits no higher success than to amuse by its frivolities the multitudes who are too frivolous to care for aught higher than mere amusement. Not that there have not been in Lord Beaconsfield's former works, and that there are not in "Endymion" sallies of wit, many gems of satire and epigram, and pieces of bright and sharp description, both of events and persons. But these do not sufficiently characterize his books—do not characterize "Endymion;" whilst there is no philosophy either of history or of political changes, no deep study of character or of the secret of success in public life. This is disappointing. It is natural to expect that the noble author would use the intimate acquaintance he must have with the hidden machinery of English politics for half a century back, to instruct while he amused. Shakespeare's historical plays at once suggest high models of how successfully dramatic ability may adorn the history it teaches—and teaches with an effect unique and lasting. But who understands the politics and the politicians of this century, or the import of their many and arduous legislative enactments from Lord Beaconsfield's novels? "Endymion," when the glitter of its grandeur has ceased to dazzle weak eyes, will be discovered by even weak eyes not to possess any power of teaching or improving—not even to possess any sufficient store of wealth, literary or humorous, to justify its being handed down to our children among the treasures of English literature.

These remarks, if they should appear at the moment somewhat sweeping or severe, will, we feel sure, be justified by an unprejudiced examination of the pages of "Endymion." There will not fail to be many—even admirers of Lord Beaconsfield's political career—who will feel genuine regret, not that a brilliant and successful statesman, a man who as it were yesterday, made the proud addition of "Empress of India" to the titles of England's sovereign, that he should occupy his leisure and advanced years in literary composition, but that doing so, he should not be able, or should not deem it worthy of him to try to charm men to a love of some noble purpose or to instruct them by the long garnered lessons of his own experience.

An outline, brief but sufficiently detailed, of the story of Endymion Ferrars, the hero from whom the book takes its name, will enable our readers to judge of the value of these strictures. Such an outline will be at once attempted. But we shall not trouble to take the book from the very beginning; because by a great

error of artistic judgment, the author does not begin to trace the story of his hero from the first. A considerable portion of the first volume, and a very heavy and laboured portion, deals with his father, and the series of political changes by which from a high position—"on the verge of the Cabinet"—he falls into what is described as ruin. That is to say, his party is out by the failure of the Duke of Wellington in 1832 to form a Cabinet, and again by Sir R. Peel's failure in 1834-5; and as he had lived very extravagantly in the expectation of place and its profits, he has to retire to an old manor-house in Berkshire named Hurstley, and there await the turn in fortune's tide that never came to him. Sir R. Peel, indeed, offered him a high post, once more, in the Government, but provided—and pocket boroughs were no more—he could secure a seat. All he got, therefore, and that scarcely enough to be an antidote to despair, was the promise of a clerkship in some office for his son Endymion. The family at Hurstley consisted of Mr. William Pitt Ferrars, his wife, and their twin children, Endymion and Myra.

Mrs. Ferrars, without being a regular beauty, had a voluptuous face and form. Her complexion was brilliant, with large and long-lashed eyes of blue. Her mouth was certainly too large, but the pouting richness of her lips and the splendour of her teeth, baffled criticism. She was a woman who was always gorgeously or fantastically attired. (Vol. i. p. 28.)

This is Mrs. Ferrars before her exile into the country, and the description is quoted, not for anything wonderful in it (although it might be pointed out that a complexion with large eyes is a phenomenon) for all the ladies in "*Endymion*" are transcendently beautiful, and are transcendently described, in detail—but because it is good to know one's hero's mother. The one feature in which Mrs. Ferrars was a model to her daughter was, in the elegance of her dresses. The children are worthy of their mother.

With the dessert, not without some ceremony, were introduced the two most remarkable guests of the entertainment, and these were the twins; children of singular beauty, and dressed, if possible, more fancifully and brilliantly than their mamma. They resembled each other, and had the same brilliant complexion, rich chestnut hair, delicately arched brows, and dark blue eyes. Though only eight years of age, a most unchildlike self-possession distinguished them. The expression of their countenances was haughty, disdainful, and supercilious. Their beautiful features seemed quite unimpassioned, and they moved as if they expected everything to yield to them. (Vol. i. p. 30.)

It is difficult to understand why the author has chosen to make these children of eight years, so repugnant. Myra tells a young private secretary that she will never marry any one who is not

in the House of Lords; and later, when Endymion tells her he cried very much when their great misfortune overtook them, she gibes him with softness: "I never cried in my life," she says, "except once with rage." If the author's object be to show how misfortune softens a proud heart, and changes a haughty manner, (and that would have been a moral lesson), he signally fails. Endymion is described as chastened and improved by the lesson, but Myra grows even worse, and when the sunshine of prosperity returns, her influence brings Endymion back to his first spirit of pride and ambition. He paints Myra in very repugnant colours; even making her measure out the amount of exterior tenderness to her father by the chance there is at the moment of a return to prosperity through his efforts.

When Endymion Ferrars set out for London in 1835, to become a clerk in one of the offices in Somerset House, he was neither dangerously vivacious, nor gifted with any "fatal facility of acquisition," but had great common sense, a painstaking disposition, and a clear mind. The last adieux of the three who remain behind are worth noticing. Mrs. Ferrars strains him to her in silence, then kisses him and gently motions him away. Mr. Ferrars, very much in the tone of a Minister dismissing an official, says: "I have entire confidence in you. Your business in life is to build up again a family which was once honoured:" Myra delivers her sentiments as follows, at the same time, as the author carefully informs us, "leaning back on the sofa." "Things are dark, and I fancy they will be darker; but brightness will come, somehow or other, to you, darling, for you are born to brightness. You will find friends in life, and they will be women." The brother and sister were at this interesting crisis only sixteen years of age.

Endymion stayed, at his first going to London, with Mr. and Mrs. Rodney, kind people, who had formerly been in his parents' service, and who now have a house in Warwick Street, and let their rooms to M.P.'s and the like. When Endymion arrives in Warwick Street, he finds Mr. Rodney seemingly "a most distinguished gentleman." Mrs. Rodney is a lady with a "very pretty" name—Sylvia, and her sister, who lives with her, is Imogene—"a brunette—a brilliant brunette."

With much trepidation Endymion makes his first appearance at Somerset House. The chief of his future department welcomes him cordially, and a "young man of pleasant address," Trenchard by name, introduces him to his future comrades. This is done with some good-humoured raillery on their individual points: Mr. Jawett is "the greatest radical of the age;" Mr. St. Barbe "will be the most popular author of the day when the public taste has improved;" Mr. Seymour Hicks "is a man of

fashion" and so on. But they were all courteous to Endymion, and as he sat to copy his first "long list of figures," Mr. St. Barbe was drawing up the following document:—

"We, the undersigned, highly approving of the personal appearance and manners of our new colleague, are unanimously of opinion that he should be invited to join our symposium to-day at the immortal Joe's."

This was quietly passed round and signed by all present, and then given to Mr. Trenchard, who, all unconsciously to the copying Endymion, wrote upon it, like a Minister of State, "Approved," with his initials.

Joe's, more technically known as "The Blue Posts," was a celebrated chop-house in Naseby Street, a large, low-ceilinged, wainscoted room, with the floor strewn with sawdust, and a hissing kitchen in the centre, and fitted up with what were called boxes, these being of various sizes, and suitable to the number of the guests requiring them. About this time the fashionable coffee-houses, George's and the Piazza, and even the coffee-rooms of Stevens's or Long's had begun to feel the injurious competition of the new clubs that of late years had been established; but these, after all, were limited, and, comparatively speaking, exclusive societies. Their influence had not touched the chop-houses, and it required another quarter of a century before their cheerful and hospitable roofs and the old taverns of London, so full, it ever seemed, of merriment and wisdom, yielded to the gradually increasing but irresistible influence of those innumerable associations, which, under classic names, or affecting to be the junior branches of celebrated confederacies, have since secured to the million, at cost price, all the delicacies of the season, and substituted for the zealous energy of immortal Joe, the inexorable, but frigid discipline of managing committees. (Vol. i. p. 172.)

At Joe's, therefore, Endymion was that day the guest of his new and good-natured comrades. After dinner "their talk was very political." Jawett was radical, and Trenchard for compromise. St. Barbe only gives faint indications of his utterly envious disposition. Endymion, however, finds more congenial enjoyment with the Rodneys; listening to Mr. Rodney's anecdotes of great statesmen, or chatting with Imogene, while a game of cards goes on among a "few young men" generally there of an evening, who "were evidently gentlemen," and one of whom Mr. Rodney had casually told Endymion "might some day even be a peer of the realm." "When there were cards, there was always a little supper; a lobster and a roasted potato and that sort of easy thing;" indeed, the little suppers at Warwick Street are more than once recalled with fond remembrance later on in life by some of those who took part in them.

At this early period of his career, Endymion made the acquaintance at the Rodneys of one who became a great admirer and a

substantial friend. This was Mr. Vigo, a Yorkshire man, and “the most fashionable tailor in London.” He was more than a mere cutter of clothes ; he was a counsellor and friend to the “golden youth,” who repaired to his counters. There was a spacious room at Vigo’s. Vigo’s cigars were unrivalled, and equally unrivalled in its way was his Johannisberg hock. Endymion won the good graces of Mr. Vigo at first meeting, and was asked to call on that gentleman at his shop. “What I wish to do in your case,” said the good-natured tailor, with little preface, “is what I have done in others and some memorable ones. I shall enter your name in my books for an unlimited credit, and no account to be settled till you are a Privy Councillor.” Endymion naturally hesitates, but Mr. Vigo overrules his shyness, and thus lays down the canons of dress—

“I have known many an heiress lost by her suitor being ill-dressed,” said Mr. Vigo. “You must dress according to your age, your pursuits, your object in life ; you must dress, too, in some cases, according to your set. In youth a little fancy is rather expected, but if political life be your object, it should be avoided, at least after one-and-twenty. I am dressing two brothers now, men of considerable position ; one is a mere man of pleasure, the other will probably be a Minister of State. They are as like as two peas, but were I to dress the dandy and the Minister the same, it would be bad taste—it would be ridiculous. No man gives me the trouble which Lord Eglantine does ; he has not made up his mind whether he will be a great poet or Prime Minister. ‘You must choose, my lord,’ I tell him. ‘I cannot send you out looking like Lord Byron if you mean to be a Canning or a Pitt.’ I have dressed a great many of our statesmen and orators, and I always dressed them according to their style and the nature of their duties. What all men should avoid is the shabby genteel. No man ever gets over it. I will save you from that. You had better be in rags.” (Vol. i. p. 213.)

Nature having endowed our hero with great beauty and winning manners, and Fortune having now presented him with the most fashionable tailor in London, it will be guessed that in Lord Beaconsfield’s hands he is destined to become a brilliant success.

The monotony of Endymion’s life at Somerset House is broken by two sad events. At his first Christmas at home his mother dies. This is a great blow to the boy, and is soon followed by another equally great. In one of the most dramatic scenes in the book he is suddenly called home to learn from a friend that his father had committed suicide. When he meets Myra, “her face was grave, but not a tear even glistened.” When the effects at the hall had been sold, and bills paid from the proceeds of the sale, and there was nothing left—Endymion naturally wishes Myra to live with him.

"That would ensure our common ruin," said Myra. "No; I will never embarrass you with a sister. You can only just subsist; for you could not well live in a garret, except at the Rodneys. I see my way. I have long meditated over this—I can draw, I can sing, I can speak many tongues: I ought," said Myra, "to be able to get food and clothing; I may get something more. And I shall always be content; for I shall always be thinking of you. However humble even my lot, if my will is concentrated on one purpose, it must ultimately effect it. That is my creed," she said, "and I hold it fervently." (Vol. i. p. 270.)

This creed is so frequently sung throughout the course of "Endymion" by several characters, but most frequently by Myra, that considering its only partial truth and limited application and the startling fact that good fortune, not indomitable will, is the good fairy of the story, we get rather tired of it. Myra sees an advertisement in the *Times*, and through it obtains a place in the family of Adrian Neuchatel as his daughter's companion. This daughter's name was Adriana; she was the "greatest heiress in England," and—transciently beautiful; *ça va sans dire*. The Neuchatels are described as "one of the most remarkable families that have ever flourished in England." They are very rich and flourishing bankers, and Adrian's residence, Hainault House, is described in the most gorgeous and superlative language. The stables "had been modelled on those at Chantilly;" fifty persons worked in the stables, as many more in the park and garden, "the conservatories and forcing-houses looked in the distance like a city of glass." But the portion of the establishment "best appreciated" was the kitchen. "The *chef* was the greatest celebrity of Europe," and every dinner was a banquet.

This generous host invited all classes of men—brokers, bankers, M.P.'s, literary, and other public men, even privy councillors. Adrian did not fear their resenting each others presence. He was a philosopher:

"Turtle makes all men equal," Adrian would observe. "Our friend Trodgit seemed a little embarrassed at first when I introduced him to the Right Honourable; but when they sate next each other at dinner, they soon got on very well." (Vol. i. p. 277.)

Mrs. Neuchatel is the only lady, so far as we can recall, in the whole book who is not absolutely beautiful; and she is a contrast in some other respects. Brought up in wealth, and married to a man whose wealth is boundless, she had not merely a contempt for money, but absolutely a hatred of it. She loved Nature, and science and literature; cared nothing for politics, and was, as her husband said, "a regular Communist"—she thought wealth ought to be re-distributed; the wants of the poor

interfered with the enjoyment of her own grandeur. The daughter of this unworldly woman also loves books and Nature; is haunted with the persuasion that she is courted and admired only for her wealth. To counteract the growth of this dismal monomania, her parents seek for a companion of her own age. Hence the *Times* advertisement and Myra's entrance into the family. The Neuchatels have no snobbishness about them, and soon make Myra quite one of their inner circle, and Endymion, as her brother, is always welcome. It will be seen, therefore, that chance had favoured Myra, and that she is not called upon to work or to sacrifice much for the advancement of her brother. They both meet many elegant and aristocratic personages at the house of the Neuchatels. Amongst them Myra finds a titled husband; she marries Lord Roehampton. After she had accepted him, she tells Endymion with sisterly frankness—

"Lord Roehampton has every quality and every accident of life that I delight in; he has intellect, eloquence, courage, great station and power; and, what I ought perhaps more to consider, though I do not, a sweet disposition and a tender heart. . . . The world will talk of the disparity of our years; but Lord Roehampton says that he is really the younger of the two, and I think he is right. My pride, my intense pride, never permitted me any levity of heart." (Vol. ii. p. 91.)

It was also at the Neuchatels that Myra met Colonel Albert, who was to affect the course of her life in later years. Endymion also meets Colonel Albert, about whom there is some mystery hanging, and recognizes him as the Count of Otranto, to whom he had been fag at Eton. When this mysterious person finally unveils himself, he is no other than Prince Florestan, the son of Queen Agrippina, and the claimant of a great foreign throne. Prince Florestan admires Myra both before and after her marriage, looks upon her as a paragon of all feminine perfections and as (what doubtless she was) an extremely clever woman. How far Prince Florestan is a representation of Louis Napoleon, or Lord Roehampton of Lord Palmerston, no attempt shall here be made to say; the composition of a "key" to "Endymion" would be incomparably more difficult a task than was that to "Vivian Grey." Endymion feared being quizzed by his fellow clerks at Somerset House about this grand marriage of his sister. But he was not bantered.

The event was too great for a jest. Seymour Hicks, with a serious countenance, said Ferrars might go anywhere now—all the Ministerial receptions of course. Jawett said there would be no Ministerial receptions soon; they were degrading functions. Clear-headed Trenchard congratulated him quietly, and said, "I do not think you will stay much longer among us, but we shall always remember you with interest." (Vol. ii. p. 97.)

He does not stay much longer among them, as the reader also will anticipate; Myra's brilliant social advancement operates also to his advantage. The first change in his position was that everybody was suddenly anxious to honour, notice, or know "Lady Roehampton's brother." Invitations were showered upon him. These empty advantages were, however, followed by a more substantial one—one that made indeed a great crisis in his life. Mr. Sidney Wilton, a colleague of Lord Roehampton in the Cabinet, offers Lady Roehampton, for her brother, a clerkship in his office at £300 a year, together with the post of his own private secretary at £300 more. Myra characteristically accepts this for Endymion without consulting him, and, in addition, herself takes a suit of rooms for him in the Albany. Endymion ascends the ladder of his sister's ambition.

Endymion had now passed three years of his life in London, and considering the hard circumstances under which he had commenced his career, he might on the whole look back to those years without dissatisfaction. Three years ago he was poor and friendless, utterly ignorant of the world, and with nothing to guide him but his own good sense. . . . Through the Rodneys he had become acquainted with a certain sort of miscellaneous life, a knowledge of which is highly valuable to a youth, but which is seldom attained without risk. Endymion on the contrary, was always guarded from danger. Through his most unexpected connection with the Neuchatel family, he had seen something of life in circles of refinement and high consideration, and had even caught glimpses of that great world of which he read so much and heard people talk more, the world of the Lord Roehamptons and the Lady Montforts, and all those dazzling people whose sayings and doings form the taste, and supply the conversation, and leaven the existence of admiring and wondering millions. (Vol. ii. p. 58.)

These last words would merit to be set in italics if they were the composition of any one but the author of "*Lothair*."

When Endymion comes to the task of leaving the Rodneys, he experienced some very commendable sadness. Warwick Street, had been a real home to him. When he came to analyse his feelings he attributes the sadness to having to part from Imogene. In truth, he had fallen in love with her, and the reader of "*Endymion*" will think very rightly. She is described as having more of the true and tender woman about her than any other of the female characters in the book. She had been markedly kind and sisterly, and withal considerate, in her assiduous care for his wants and comforts ever since the first night he came under their roof. Endymion once allows himself to brood and dream of what might be—of Imogene as his wife: of his home in a little suburban villa, with a garden of perpetual sunshine before it, and Imogene waiting in it *for him* as he

came down from town and his daily labour, in "the cheap and convenient omnibus." But Endymion comes quickly back from dreamland to waking life—and ambitious Myra. He does not marry Imogene, apparently because Lord Beaconsfield holds £600 a year to be insufficient, even with a good wife, for a man's happiness. It did not occur to Endymion, he says, "that the garden could not always be sunshiny . . . and that wanting money, he would return too often from town a harassed husband to a jaded wife." *Non sequitur*; "harassed" and "jaded" are impressive words, but are there no happy homes—the homes, too, of noble (not titled, but noble for all that), gifted, and even ambitious, men—in semi-detached suburban villas?

Berengaria, Lady Montfort, is one day the unexpected guest at dinner of Mr. Wilton. He, after dinner—the guests had been miscellaneous and not high—"thought it necessary to observe that he feared Lady Montfort had been bored."

"I have been, and am, extremely amused," she replied, "and now tell me, who is that young man at the very end of the table?"

"That is my private secretary, Mr. Ferrars."

"Ferrars!"

"A brother of Lady Roehampton."

"Present me to him after dinner."

* * * * *

Mr. Wilton led Endymion up to Lady Montfort at once, and she immediately inquired after his sister. "Do you think," she said, "Lady Roehampton would see me to-morrow if I called on her?"

"If I were Lady Roehampton, I would," said Endymion.

Lady Montfort looked at him with a glance of curious scrutiny; not smiling, and yet not displeased. "I will write her a little note in the morning," said Lady Montfort thoughtfully, "one may leave cards for ever. Mr. Wilton tells me you are quite his right hand."

"Mr. Wilton is too kind to me," said Endymion. "One could not be excused for not doing one's best for such a master." (Vol. ii. p. 142.)

Lady Montfort is to be henceforth *the* chief factor in shaping the career and moulding the life of our modern Endymion. She is the goddess of Lord Beaconsfield's myth.

The husband of this high-born lady, Simon, Earl of Montfort, is one of the most carefully drawn characters in the book. Something very like him has, however, appeared before from the author's pen, when, years ago, it traced the figure of Lord Monmouth in "Coningsby." The Earl of Montfort is a great and rich nobleman, clever, but eccentric. His domains are vast, his castle in the north is "one of the glories of the land." He willingly sacrificed numerous boroughs for the success of Lord Grey's Reform Bill, and soon afterwards left England for years—and at last settled down at Paris "in Sybaritic seclusion." He has, however, at the time we meet him, returned to England, and lives

there, but finds interest in nothing. He has tried everything (except politics which he will have none of), and found all forms of human enjoyment empty and worthless. He was captivated by Lady Berengaria and married her—but soon grew careless, and content that half the length of England should generally separate them. With most women this would have led to a public scandal, but Berengaria was “as remarkable as a woman as the bridegroom was in his sex,” and she had tact and even genius enough to establish a *modus vivendi* with this invariably polite, selfish, and unprincipled old—villain, one would think appropriate, if vulgar, but Lord Beaconsfield has no scorn for even such a man as this. Because of his fine figure and his veneering of courtly politeness, he is even the only specimen remaining of “a nobleman of the eighteenth century”—more’s the pity for the eighteenth century. If he had been too poor to be trained to an imperturbable exterior of grace and affability, he would have become by force of character and disposition a low scoundrel, as defiant of the rules of “society” as he actually is of the Ten Commandments. But Lord Beaconsfield’s tone in these clever, witty descriptions, is never serious, hence, perhaps, his style is never simple—to be piquant and bright is his aim. Indeed, how far he intends us to understand any opinion or sentiment to be his own, it is impossible with certainty to decide. A few lines, therefore, to justify our own opinion of Lord Montfort:—

There was no subject human or divine in which he took the slightest interest. He entertained for human nature generally, and without any exception, the most cynical appreciation. . . . Society was intolerable to him; that of his own sex and station wearisome beyond expression; their conversation consisted only of two subjects, horses and women, and he had long exhausted both. As for female society, if they were ladies, it was expected that, in some form or other, he should make love to them, and he had no sentiment. If he took refuge in the *demi-monde* he encountered vulgarity, and that, to Lord Montfort, was insufferable. He had tried them in every capital, and vulgarity was the badge of all their tribe. . . . No one could say Lord Montfort was a bad-hearted man, for he had no heart. He was good-natured provided it brought him no inconvenience; and as for temper, his was never disturbed, but this not from sweetness of disposition, rather from a contemptuous fine taste, which assured him that a gentleman should never be deprived of tranquillity in a world where nothing was of the slightest consequence. (Vol. ii. p. 158.)

Lady Montfort, at the epoch when Endymion was introduced to her, had for her one occupation to humour this monster by sending down to him to his house in the country people who would amuse him. African travellers who, as she says, may tell him all they saw, and as much more as they like; men of wit, or science, men qualified, in any way to amuse for a day or two—

no one amuses him for a lengthened period—are asked down, and have the fine living and the privilege as an abundant return. His wife writes to him every day ; her letters, she says, he prefers to her society—they amuse him. But she is devoted to him, and even loves him. Lady Montfort soon takes an even greater interest in Endymion than does his own sister ; she allows him to visit her constantly, even desires it—we hear irreverent outsiders later on mention Endymion as Lady Montfort's poodle—and he himself comes at a subsequent crisis in affairs to acknowledge that he cannot imagine a happy day in his life on which he does not see her.

The story of Endymion has now reached 1839. “The extreme popularity of the Sovereign”—(her present Majesty)—“reflecting some lustre on her Ministers, had enabled them, though not without difficulty, to tide through the session of 1838.” When, however, Parliament meets in 1839, the prospect is dark ; for there was a section of extreme Liberals who would have been content that the Government should be overthrown. Ladies Montfort and Roehampton “opened their houses to the general world at an unusually early period.” But the social efforts of Zenobia in the Whig interest were not less brilliant. “Her radiant face” was “prescient of triumph” as she would inquire from any friends she met for the names of the Radical members who wanted to turn out the Government ; “I will invite them directly,” she says. Late in 1840 the existence of the Ministry becomes extremely hazardous. Later, again, Sir R. Peel’s resolution of want of confidence is carried by a majority of one, and the Ministry resolve on dissolution. Endymion shall go into the new Parliament—so both Myra and Lady Montfort decide, and in reply to his difficulties and doubts they both preach (in more outrageous terms than ever) that everything in this world depends on *will*. There is a great deal of nonsense talked by these two ladies at this crisis—quite unworthy of Lord Beaconsfield’s *otium cum dignitate*. Endymion needs money, and he finds one day among his letters, one containing “a scrip receipt for £20,000 Consols, purchased that morning in the name of Endymion Ferrars, Esq.” The gift was anonymous, and will be acknowledged to be a very splendid *deus ex machina*, and worthy of a book whose hero, it is the aim of the author to show, conquers the world by force of will.

Endymion enters Parliament unopposed, and is soon on the opposition side of the House. It is impossible to avoid quoting the following significant instructions of Lady Montfort to Endymion as she sends him off during the recess to Paris, “the capital of diplomacy,” to study men and manners, promising to meet him there if she can :—

Finance and commerce are everybody's subjects, and are most convenient to make speeches about for men who cannot speak French, and who have had no education. Real politics are the possession and distribution of power. I want to see you give your mind to foreign affairs. There you will have no rivals. . . . But foreign affairs are not to be mastered by mere reading. Bookworms do not make Chancellors of State. You must become acquainted with the great actors in the great scene. There is nothing like personal knowledge of the individuals who control the high affairs. That has made the fortune of Lord Roehampton. (Vol. iii. p. 34.)

"A love of power, a passion for distinction, a noble pride which had been native to his early disposition," and had been crushed by early sorrows, now revived in the soul of Endymion. The reader will please to note the moral grandeur of the three springs of action which the author delights to say reasserted their original place and momentum in the life of his hero.

Lord Roehampton now commissions Endymion to put a foreign policy question of importance. This notice was the first time that Endymion had spoken in the House. His feelings as he rises are partly a repetition of those attending his first debating speech.

When he sat down he was quite surprised that the business of the House proceeded as usual, and it was only after sometime that he became convinced that no one but himself was conscious of his suffering, or that he had performed a routine duty otherwise than in a routine manner. (Vol. iii. p. 112.)

To the surprise of everyone, the Minister himself answered Endymion's question. The process being repeated at intervals, brings Endymion into notice and prepares him for coming promotion. Then we have another defeat of the Ministry, and once again Lord Roehampton is Secretary of State. Endymion is appointed to the post under him. Towards the end of the year Lord Roehampton was called up to the House of Lords, and Endymion was told he must represent the Foreign Office in the House of Commons. Unexpectedly, but not quite without warning, for he had been ailing for some time past and forbidden business at his peril, Lord Roehampton is found dead in his chair. His State papers were on the table before him; he had died a victim of devotion to the interests of his country. The reader can now foresee the near conclusion. "Well, but what am I to do?" says the Prime Minister, in a *tête-à-tête* to Lady Montfort, "I cannot make Mr. Ferrars Secretary of State." "Why not?" says Berengaria. The Minister was perplexed; "he had been educated in high Whig routine, and the proposition of Lady Montfort was like recommending him to make a curate a bishop."

Meanwhile, Prince Florestan—who, under various aliases, has since the commencement of the story mixed much with our friends at various English houses—makes a sudden and bold descent on his own country. When an army is drawn up to oppose his passage through the mountains—perhaps the Pyrenees, he gallops up to the hostile lines, with a white handkerchief tied to his sword, and cries out, “ ‘My men, this is the sword of my father.’ ‘Florestan for ever,’ was the only and universal reply.” He enters his delightful capital amidst *vivas*, and was soon occupied with the very important subject of taking a wife. In a chapter which aims at being very dramatic, and is so in part, Myra, now once more in society, is going to a ball to be given by Lady Montfort, at which royalty itself was to appear as a guest. Myra—in the author’s usual style—dresses for this event with such effect that, as for a moment before going she stands reflected in a mirror, she is a “fair vision.” Then she is described as a “transcendent beauty,” and a series of details are given, with a remark about “the voluptuous undulations of her shoulders”—that we might forgive Lord Beaconsfield if he were writing his first novel. A letter is here suddenly handed to her in which Prince Florestan says, *inter alia*, “I can offer you nothing equal to your transcendent merit, but I can offer you the heart and the throne of Florestan.” Few novelists would venture to place the action of their story only a quarter of a century back, and offer their heroine the throne of one of the first countries of Europe. But Lord Beaconsfield does it. A long and terrible soliloquy follows, during which the clock strikes more than once unheeded, and then Myra suddenly rings the bell.

“I shall not want the carriage to-night,” she said, and when again alone, she sat down and, burying her face in her alabaster arms, for a long time remained motionless.

The italics are ours—the bathos is the author’s. Myra, it need not be said, consents to marry King Florestan. She becomes a Catholic, and is married in her new capital with great solemnity. A wife for Endymion is the only thing that is needed for a book that has now exhausted the dramatic powers of the author. But it lingers on for many pages and chapters, during the course of which we get rid of Lord Montfort, learn that Lady Montfort has been left immensely rich, and then read in a very curious chapter how she proposes to Endymion—and is accepted. Was this done merely that the hero of Will might not win even his wife by any effort of his own? or was it that to this Endymion also,

Like Dian’s kiss, *unasked, unsought,*
Love gives itself?

We part from Endymion and his wife just as he has evidently

been asked to be Prime Minister—the summit of his sister's and wife's ambition for him.

A large share of the interest manifested at the appearance of the novel under notice, is doubtless to be attributed to the remembrance of what manner of book "Lothair" was. The special purpose of "Lothair" was to attack the Catholic Church in England and those who joined it. And the author did not hesitate to give vent in it to his feelings and judgments concerning living persons who were veiled indeed under fictitious names, but so cleverly described as to be unmistakable. This method not only gave piquancy to sarcasm and insinuation, and made even spite picturesque, but the exact line between the exaggeration of the novelist, and the deliberate belief of the assailant, could not be clearly drawn. People who hated us preferred "Lothair" to a ponderous controversial projectile; their bitterness found relief and amusement simultaneously; it relieves the heart more to laugh at people you dislike than even to prove them in the wrong—moreover, the book was, from its nature, unanswerable. Curiosity was, therefore, roused: would "Endymion" repeat this style of attack—and on whom? But not one of the *dramatis personæ* in "Endymion" is such a representation from life as can be dealt with seriously. Waldershare, Lord Roehampton, Prince Florestan, Mr. Vigo, and several others, have been recognized: and there are descriptions, whether of appearance or discourse, so characteristic of Mr. George Smythe, Lord Palmerston, Louis Napoleon, Mr. George Hudson and others, that the representation seems intended and successful. But as the story proceeds, they act, speak, quite like some other persons, or they are placed in circumstances impossible to their supposed originals. The appearance of two distinct figures thrown by the magic-lantern on the same space, and mixing into one confused and puzzling whole—would not be more incongruous than the character results in "Endymion." Prince Florestan does both politically and socially what Napoleon never did; becomes what Napoleon never could become, a king. One competent critic has recognized in Job Thornberry, Mr. Cobden, another has recognized Mr. John Bright. Neither of them like the sketch, however, and it may fairly be assumed that nothing can save some of the sketches from the charge of unfairness, except the absence of any standard by which to test the intention of the writer. We have another character—Nigel Penruddock—occupying not a little space from the beginning of the book to the end, that has already been generally accepted as an amalgam of the career of the late Cardinal Wiseman with the personality of our present Archbishop. But even this is not quite all—for the novelist depicts youthful antecedents of the convert clergyman that

are fictitious. No remark about the good taste of these gratuitous strokes is needed ; partly because it may be doubted how far Nigel Peuruddock has been voluntarily drawn from any one living person. He shall be described. Nigel's father was the rector at Hurstley when the Ferrars went into retirement there. Nigel comes home occasionally from Oxford, and we are told he was a "student, and devoted to the holy profession for which he was destined." He was a sportsman, too, and "his Christianity was muscular." On one of their fishing excursions, Nigel says :—

"What does Mr. Ferrars mean you to be, Endymion ?"

"I do not know," said Endymion, looking perplexed.

"But I suppose you are to be something ?"

"Yes; I suppose I must be something; because papa has lost his fortune."

"And what would you like to be ?"

"I never thought about it," said Endymion.

"In my opinion there is only one thing for a man to be in this age," said Nigel peremptorily ; "he should go into the church."

"The church ?" said Endymion.

"There will soon be nothing else left," said Nigel. "The church must last for ever. It is built upon a rock. It was founded by God; all other governments have been founded by men. When they are destroyed, and the process of destruction seems rapid, there will be nothing left to govern mankind except the church !"

"Indeed !" said Endymion; "papa is very much in favour of the church, and, I know, is writing something about it."

"Yes, but Mr. Ferrars is an Erastian," said Nigel; "you need not tell him I said so, but he is one. He wants the church to be the servant of the State, and all that sort of thing, but that will not do any longer. This destruction of the Irish bishoprics has brought affairs to a crisis. No human power has the right to destroy a bishopric. It is a divinely-ordained office, and when a diocese is once established, it is eternal."

* * * * *

Endymion did not fail to give a report of this conversation and similar ones to his sister, for he was in the habit of telling her everything. She listened with attention, but not with interest, to his story. Her expression was kind, but hardly serious. Her wondrous eyes gave him a glance of blended mockery and affection. "Dear darling," she said, "if you are to be a clergyman, I should like you to be a cardinal." (Vol. i. p. 116.)

Soon after Mrs. Ferrars' death, Nigel proposes to Myra, and is distinctly refused by her—which we feel intensely glad of, for Nigel's sake. Later on, Nigel comes to London to what is apparently a fashionable church ; he is an eloquent preacher, yet preaches as effectually by his example. Lady Montfort and other great ladies become his friends and helpers. The following

extract explains itself, but the latter portion seems to us to savour of the tone of yet another cardinal :—

“ I know nothing about politics,” said Nigel. “ By being moderate and temperate in politics, I suppose you mean being adroit, and doing that which is expedient and which will probably be successful. But the Church is founded on absolute truth, and teaches absolute truth, and there can be no compromise on such matters.”

“ Well, I do not know,” said Endymion, “ but surely there are many very religious people who do not accept without reserve everything that is taught by the Church. . . . Do you mean to say that I am to be considered an infidel or an apostate because, although I fervently embrace all the vital truths of religion, and try, on the whole, to regulate my life by them, I may have scruples about believing, for example, in the personality of the devil ?”

“ If the personality of Satan be not a vital principle of your religion, I do not know what is. There is only one dogma higher. You think it is safe, and I daresay it is fashionable to fall into this lax and really thoughtless discrimination between what is and what is not to be believed. It is not good taste to believe in the Devil. Give me a single argument against his personality which is not applicable to the personality of the Deity. Will you give that up ; and if so, where are you ? Now mark me ; you and I are young men—you are a very young man. This is the year of grace 1839. If these loose thoughts, which you have heedlessly taken up, prevail in this country for a generation or so—five-and-twenty or thirty years—we may meet together again, and I shall have to convince you that there is a God.” (Vol. ii. p. 185.)

The descriptions of Nigel’s career are always intended to be friendly. He is a popular preacher, but disdains “ all cant and clap-trap,” and neglects no other of his multitudinous duties for the sake of the pulpit. Lady Roehampton even induces my lord to go on one Sunday, and he “ was very much struck indeed by what he had heard.” Lady Montfort afterwards gave up Nigel’s church ; not through caprice, as was hinted :—

“ I like a man to be practical,” she said. “ When I asked a deanery for him the other day, the Prime Minister said he could hardly make a man a dean who believed in the Real Presence.” (Vol. ii. p. 292.)

Nigel Penruddock goes to Rome, becomes a Catholic, a priest, an archbishop *in partibus*, and returns to England the Pope’s legate. “ The conversion of England was deeply engraved on the heart of Penruddock ; it was his constant purpose, and his daily and nightly prayer.” When Myra consented to become the wife of King Florestan, Nigel received her into the Church. Endymion told Lady Montfort :—

“ There is no difficulty and no great ceremonies in such matters. She was re-baptized, but only by way of precaution. It was not necessary, for our orders, you know, are recognized by Rome.”

" And that was all ?"

" All, with a first communion and confession. It is all consummated now ; as you say : ' It is too wonderful.' A first confession, and to Nigel Penruddock, who says life is flat and insipid ! " (Vol. iii. p. 242.)

The mistaken connection between " our orders " and re-baptizing a convert need not be pointed out to Catholic readers. A layman can baptize as validly as a priest ; but, especially at the period of which Lord Beaconsfield here writes, the care of Protestant clergymen to observe the essentials of the sacrament of baptism could not be presumed by the Church. Cardinal Penruddock is made to play the part of Cardinal Wiseman in the restoration of the English hierarchy. When the Pope's Bull and the Cardinal's pastoral letter became known in England

The country at first was more stupefied than alarmed. It was conscious that something extraordinary had happened, and some great action taken by an ecclesiastical power, which, from tradition, it was ever inclined to view with suspicion and fear. But it held its breath for a while. It so happened that the Prime Minister was a member of a great house which had become illustrious by its profession of Protestant principles, and even by its sufferings in a cause which England had looked upon as sacred. The Prime Minister, a man of distinguished ability, not devoid even of genius, was also a wily politician, and of almost unrivalled experience in the management of political parties. The Ministry was weak and nearly worn out, and its chief, influenced partly by noble and historical sentiments, partly by a conviction that he had a fine occasion to rally the confidence of the country round himself and his friends, and to restore the repute of his political connections, thought fit, without consulting his colleagues, to publish a manifesto denouncing the aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious, and as expressing a pretension of supremacy over the realm of England, which made the Minister indignant.

A confused public wanted to be led, and now they were led. They sprang to their feet like an armed man. The Corporation of London, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, had audiences of the Queen ; the counties met, the municipalities memorialized ; before the first of January there had been held nearly seven thousand public meetings, asserting the supremacy of the Queen, and calling on Her Majesty's Government to vindicate it by stringent measures.

Unfortunately, it was soon discovered by the Minister that there had been nothing illegal in the conduct of the Pope or the Cardinal, and a considerable portion of the Liberal party began to express the inconvenient opinion, that the manifesto of their Chief was opposed to those principles of civil and religious liberty of which he was the hereditary champion. Some influential members of his own Cabinet did not conceal their disapprobation of a step on which they had not been consulted. (Vol. iii. p. 308.)

When Parliament met, however, the House of Commons was discontented, and the Ministry itself divided. "The anti-papal manifesto was the secret cause of this evil state, but the Prime Minister, to avoid such a mortifying admission, took advantage of two unfavourable divisions on other matters, and resigned."

There is one other character drawn with much minuteness in the pages of "*Endymion*," in which we feel some interest, because it is neither an aristocrat nor a politician, and more interest because it has been accepted by the critics as a picture of a great English novelist. That "*Topsy-Turvy*" is intended for "*Vanity Fair*" there can be little doubt; but, in the absence of any more distinct indication, we feel slow to admit that even Lord Beaconsfield could be so rash and spiteful as to intend the character and sayings of St. Barbe for even a satirical sketch of W.M. Thackeray. Even if St. Barbe be Thackeray, and Thackeray was guilty of writing "*Codlingsby*"—yet, as Mr. Anthony Trollope points out in his sketch of Thackeray,* not a line of it spoils whatever appreciation we may beforehand have had of "*Coningsby*" itself. As for Thackeray's character—the opposite of St. Barbe's, read Mr. Trollope's recent biography or any unprejudiced account. One quality Thackeray manifested in "*Vanity Fair*" as in all his works: he scorned vice and painted it so that you scorned it too. Lord Hertford, it is said, sat for both novelists, but Lord Monmouth is as fine a gentleman as is Lord Montfort, but you hate the Marquis of Steyne. Few remarks, if any, are requisite as to the style of "*Endymion*." It is by the author of "*Lothair*" and very like "*Lothair*" in style—more subdued, and neither so animated nor so witty as the author's earlier novels. Still the air is oppressively grand—the wealth of jewellery is even more unbounded—everybody is either titled or aiming thereat; the figures in the scene are the cream of society or struggling to enter what the author calls the "spell-bound ranks." All is artificial, if refined—it is Nature spoiled by false Art. There are no spades in the story—nothing so common—but any plain word has to give place to periphrasis or a mistaken artificiality. Thus, Imogene tells *Endymion* :—

"Mr. Waldershare in educating me, as he says, as a princess, has made me really neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, nor even that coarser but popular delicacy never forgotten." (Vol. ii. p. 131.)

Thus, again, people in "*Endymion*" rarely speak, they murmur, they rarely walk, they glide, while actually at page 10 of the first volume, when the author might be supposed to be as yet somewhat cool and mindful of the laws of physics, the guests at

* "English Men of Letters Series." Macmillan. 1880.

Zenobia's gatherings having kissed her hand, then "vanish into air." Lord Beaconsfield's novels are like Adrian Neuchatel's dinners—all banquets; and with aristocratic old Lord Montfort, the reader may feel: "I cannot stand those ortolans stuffed with truffles and those truffles stuffed with ortolans." This excess of grandeur, together with a mocking want of earnestness, spoil a book that contains not a few clever sketches drawn in clear, strong lines; much amusing satire, and here and there epigrams with not a little of the old brilliancy.

The limits of an article have been passed, and some farther remarks had been intended on the moral and the didactic tendency of the novel—for every novel, a great novelist has lately assured us, *must* teach something. But Lord Beaconsfield, it may be safely assumed, did not dream of teaching. Even the political changes of the period he covers, and the passions and interests and plots that led to them, and the men who accomplished or modified them, are not described with even the prime element of seriousness—in a tone of amused mockery that is, perhaps, natural to the retrospect of a man of his temper who is also a successful statesman. What his puppets say, if through his own mouth, is, he may urge, only what artistic feeling shows ought to be put there—the sentiments may not be his. But that his story is intended to teach that Will is irresistible, and that you have only to will determinedly and your dream of ambition is sure to be fulfilled, is plain as words can make it. But the hero and the heroine—twin brother and sister—both succeed purely and unmistakably from chance—good fortune; call it anything but wilful endeavour. If this has a farther and secret tendency it is to persuade that such golden opportunities may be counted on by others in actual life. That it would be wise to ever anticipate them would be a most pernicious lesson. But are we not too serious to philosophize thus about such an author and such a book—in which the aristocracy is "an enchanted circle;" politics the "great gain"; and ambition can hold out to man nothing higher than a place and power and wealth, and a title and a fair wife? Are there no domestic delights, is there no happiness in the pure love of children, no virtue or bravery in self-conquest, in resistance of the temptation to ascend high, or be crowned with gold, or blessed with whatever else is of earthly value if it cannot be won but by a sacrifice of principle and honour?

However it may be about moral, or tendency, or style—Lord Beaconsfield's "*Endymion*" will be largely read—is being everywhere read at this moment. But it is not even equal in either composition or style to his earlier novels, and it may be easily predicted that it will not live even so long as they. That he had good reasons for writing, we have been assured, and can readily believe.

If there were no better reason than this: he has always sought celebrity as an author—and another book by a famous Statesman, and a writer of very great power and ability, is sure to sell. So many people are like Berengaria, Lady Montfort: "Anybody amuses me for once," she says, "a new acquaintance is like a new book. I prefer it, even if bad, to a classic." "Endymion" is not a classic, and we fear can serve no further purpose than to be a new book.

ART. VIII.—JUSTICE TO IRELAND.

1. *New Views on Ireland; or, Irish Land Grievances and Remedies.* By CHARLES RUSSELL, Q.C., M.P. London & Dublin. 1880.
2. *The Parliamentary History of the Irish Land Question, from 1829 to 1869.* By R. BARRY O'BRIEN. London. 1880.
3. *The Irish Land Question: a Problem in Practical Politics.* A Letter to the Right Hon. H. C. E. CHILDERES, M.P., from GEORGE ERRINGTON, M.P. London & Dublin. 1880.
4. *Reports on the Condition of the Peasantry of the County of Mayo during the Famine Crisis of 1880.* By J. A. FOX. Dublin. 1880.
5. *Irish Distress and its Remedies.* By JAMES H. TUKE. London. 1880.
6. *The Land Question, Ireland: Notes upon the Government Valuation of Land in Ireland.* Dublin. 1880.
7. *The Land Question, Ireland: Confiscation or Contract?* Dublin. 1880.

A YEAR of exceptional distress has been succeeded in Ireland by a harvest of exceptional plenty. The potato, with unspotted tubers, has been dug from a dry and crumbling soil; and the golden grain has ripened beneath skies of unclouded blue. Within the longest memory no such reward has crowned the labours of the husbandman; but we listen in vain for the *Te Deum* of a grateful people, we watch with disappointed eyes for the signs of peace and contentment.

There is surely something wrong here. Some hidden canker eats away the joyful life of a nation; some inscrutable cause impedes the fulfilment of the blessing; some fatal barrier is placed between man and the enjoyment of the products of his toil. In Southern countries, youths and maidens, crowned with

vine-leaves, with songs and laughter, bear home the purple spoil of the vineyards ; and if the vintage is more abundant than usual the air rings with one universal pean of joy. In England the farmers, in more prosaic fashion, testify their satisfaction at the completion of their labours, and celebrate the "harvest home" with varying effusiveness. But in Ireland the crops are garnered in ominous and melancholy silence ; and the profusion of Nature is unable to dissipate the habitual gloom. Poverty, discomfort, and discontent are, in a considerable part of that kingdom, the ordinary lot of the Irish farmer ; and the harvest is to him, at the best, but a reprieve from starvation. We speak, of course, only of those who occupy small farms in poor districts, but these are, alas ! the majority of the tenant-farmers of Ireland. It is a mistake very commonly made to write and speak of Ireland as homogeneous in misery, and requiring uniform legislative treatment throughout its entire area ; whereas in reality the condition of the tenants in the east and west of the island differs fundamentally as to comfort and prosperity. We shall, later on, give extracts from the writings of able and impartial men to show how wretched is the position of the occupiers of land in Donegal, Connaught, and Kerry ; but our readers can never fully realize, from words alone, the prevailing misery—the utter dejection of the people of those districts. This wretchedness is one manifestation of the Land Question.

There is another aspect in which the same question obtrudes itself on our attention. Agriculture is, in Ireland, of such paramount importance, that the all-pervading Land Question is mixed up with almost every social problem. Its connection, however, with the present disturbed state of the country is so manifest that we must either ascribe the latter to some inherent defect in the system of our Land Laws, or take refuge in the untenable hypothesis of the spontaneous wickedness of the people.

We cannot protest too loudly against the agrarian outrages which, day by day, shock all feelings of humanity, and expose the Irish nation, the naturally gentle and pious Irish people, to the cruel charge of being malignant savages of the blackest dye. It is useless to deny that such acts are daily committed ; the proofs are too numerous and too well substantiated. We do not seek to extenuate them ; but, accepting them as a social phenomenon, we desire to arrive at the proximate causes of their existence ; and we need scarcely say that the immediate remedy—what is commonly called "coercion"—is quite consistent with the admission of grievances. The condition of the country—social, material, and moral—is such as to cause the gravest anxiety. The two classes into which society may be roughly divided stand opposite each other like armies on the verge of battle. The tenant-farmers in three

provinces have been at length awakened to a lively sense of their real or imaginary wrongs, and those who are timid or contented are dominated by the threats of their more energetic neighbours. Arms are unfortunately in the hands of many, and for no good purpose. In some cases, no doubt, the "attempts to murder" and "firing into dwelling-houses" may be merely forms of intimidation; but this, when extensively diffused, is one of the worst forms of anarchy. The band of men with blackened faces, and with rifles on their shoulders, is an ugly sight for civilization to behold. It must also raise awkward questions for statesmen to solve. Not less awkward is the problem which is presented to them in the complete paralysis of legal procedure. Whether law in Ireland is equivalent to natural justice does not at this moment concern us; but we say that very anxious questions arise from the fact that the administration of the law as it exists is laughed to scorn throughout a large area of the country. The minor courts throughout the country may be said to enjoy perennial vacation: their process does not run in the agricultural districts; no one, even when guarded by a small army of police, can serve a writ, or realize a judgment. One of the land judges in Dublin has been "warned," in no doubtful terms, for performing some routine function of his office; a judge of assize has been threatened with death if his charge in a particular case dissatisfied his anonymous correspondent. Crimes of violence, of every degree of atrocity, from wilful and deliberate murder down to the pleasantries of midnight "carding," are effected with perfect immunity from arrest. The assizes are "white-gloved," Mr. Russell says in one of his interesting letters, but it would be better for the country if they were occasionally black-capped. Mr. Boyd, Lord Mountmorres, Mr. Wheeler, and Downey, the unoffending car-driver, were all shot openly on the highway, or close to it. We can scarcely conceive it possible that these crimes can have been committed in broad daylight on the public roads without the authors being known to numbers of the inhabitants. Mr. Russell, after advert- ing to the circumstance that many crimes classed as agrarian may be ascribed to other causes, continues—

Apart from all exaggeration, however, the sad truth is that the country has been stained with several grave crimes of an agrarian character—worse still, these crimes meet with a considerable amount of sympathy among the masses. In a people not wanting in general morality these facts are the more significant.*

Blackened faces cannot be so common in Mayo, Wexford, Limerick and Cork as not to stimulate the curiosity of the peasants. A rifle is not easily concealed about the person; but we have

* "New Views on Ireland," p. 2.

never heard of anyone carrying a weapon being met near the scene of an outrage. The truth is that the peasantry, even in ordinary times, think it no business of theirs to help the law; an "informer" is to them as loathsome as a leper; and now, when any information might lead to serious personal consequences, they will go almost any length rather than denounce a murderer, or give any clue for his identification.

We are thus saved from the necessity of concluding that entire districts are privy to the actual execution of murder. To screen the man who flies red-handed from justice, is manifestly a crime of a very different complexion from that of antecedent knowledge, or actual participation. The law itself makes a great distinction between accessories before and after the fact; and the separation is still wider in morals than in law. We do not wish to be understood as palliating in any way the awful condition of a country where murder and outrage are committed with impunity; but we should be ignoring history and experience if we denied that this state of things has been mainly brought about by causes which it is the duty, as it should be the pride, of enlightened statesmen to remove. This disturbed condition of the country we may call the second manifestation of the Land Question.

Let us not be misunderstood: we find rather more than half of Ireland afflicted with two serious diseases—misery and lawlessness—the one chronic, the other epidemic; and these it is that we have described as manifestations of the Land Question; and for this reason—because we consider that the peculiar conditions of land tenure in Ireland are responsible for both. At all events, the problem before the minds of statesmen at the present moment is to determine by what alterations in the land laws they can change misery into comfort, and lawlessness into peace and contentment.

The connexion, indeed, between the agrarian outrages and the Land Question is self-evident without proof, but it may be suggested that, between the land laws as they exist and the destitution of the peasantry, the relation of cause and effect does not necessarily hold good; that in England the law is even less lenient to the tenant, and yet poverty, as understood in Ireland, is unknown; that a tenant who is unable to put a handle in his spade, or a lynch-pin in his cart, to shape a wooden platter, to mend his broken door, or drive a nail in his horse's shoe, is but poorly qualified by thrift and education to commence life as a peasant proprietor; that, in fine, to his Celtic character, his idle habits, his perverse fatalism, his incapacity for steady labour, his improvident gratification of every passion, the peasant must ascribe his indigence, rather than to the operation of the laws under which he lives. It is a sufficient answer to the persons

who advance such arguments, to point out that in America, Australia, and even in England, the Celtic character does not prohibit an advance to the highest positions; and that the Irish are in those countries anything but "idle, perverse fatalists, with an incapacity for steady labour, improvidently gratifying every passion." The obvious inference is that it is the depressing circumstances of their environment which hinders a social improvement in their native land. Give the peasant something to hope for, something to work for, and the change will come sooner or later. His present life is a continuous struggle against starvation and the workhouse. When these two enemies are worsted, his immediate object is attained; but this is not a condition in which the incitements to active exertion are keenly felt. There is a depth of misery from which people seem bereft not only of the power, but even the wish to rise. It is a delusive mockery to speak of comfort to such people as Mr. Tuke describes in the following passages:—

Patrick Burns holds four cows' grasses, pays £6 a year, and owes 9s. 6d. county cess. "Has neither cow, nor calf, nor ewe, nor lamb, nor baste that treads the earth." He owes three years' rent. His son had gone to America; he sent him the first 30s. he earned, leaving himself only two dollars. Then he sent £3, but he had not heard of him since November. He had a loom, and was sitting at it as we entered, but there was neither woof nor warp—he was only mechanically moving the frame backwards and forwards. Then he told us how, one after another, his family had died, and how he had gradually got lower and lower, and that had it not been for the meal given away he would have had nothing to eat.*

This pathetic picture of the old Donegal weaver listlessly moving the frame of his loom might almost be taken as an allegorical representation of the manufactures of Ireland. Here is one from the same district in which is nothing but the reality of agricultural misery:—

The cottages are even less suited for human habitation than those we visited yesterday at Killibegs. Four rough stone walls, often without any plaster, covered with thatch, 12ft. by 15ft. or 18ft., constitute the home of a family of five, of ten, or twelve persons. The floors are the stone of the rocky hill-side upon which the dwelling is built, and the smoke from the peat fire on the hearth, after filling the house, finds its final exit either by the door or the hole in the roof which serves for a chimney.†

Of the destitution and misery of the bog-dwellings of Meenacladdy, Mr. Tuke says he can hardly bring himself to write; but

* " Irish Distress and its Remedies," p. 12.

† Ibid. p. 14.

he compels his pen to record *seriatim* some painful examples of “the every-day life, the normal condition of hundreds, nay, thousands, of families on the west coast of Donegal.” This is his account of the first of these homes:—

A turf dwelling near the road, which my friends, who were not acquainted with the West, could not believe was a human habitation. The end of the house towards the road was not more than four or five feet high, but as the ground sank rapidly on the other side you were able to find an entrance through a low doorway. Within, at first, all appeared dark, the peat smoke which filled the room blinding us. When a little accustomed to the smoke, we saw, by the light which strayed in through the opening in the roof where the smoke ought to have gone out, but did not, a woman and several children crouched around a small fire. There was neither chair, nor table in the place; probably one small stool was all they possessed in this way. The bedstead was covered with a little ragged coverlid, beneath which some straw was spread on the wooden frame; the children, or others who could not find room upon it, lay down on the bare rock or earth of the floor, in the thin clothes they wear all day, with a little hay or straw beneath them. The family had no resources left.*

The other habitations which he visited were of the same character, some a little better, some still worse—even worse than “the bog-holes of Erris” with which he was familiar in 1847. We take one more extract from his pages, which, from its mere picturesqueness, is worthy of a place. It describes the little village of Camus, in Connemara:—

I wish [he writes] I could produce that rocky coast and wild miserable village, or rather introduce it into England for a while, so that English people might realize how, in these remote places, so many thousands of people are living. Half-a-mile away, and I will venture to say no one would think it possible that any human being could live or even find foothold on the rock-strewn shore; but by degrees you see the little “smokes” arising, and here and there little dark strips of land, which show that the ground is being prepared for the potatoes they *hope* to obtain, for they have none left to plant. Then you see peering above the rocks little dark heads of men, women, and children, who, attracted by the unusual sight, come out of their cabins to reconnoitre. As you walk among them on landing, they watch you with curious eyes: they do not beg, and cannot answer your inquiries, for most do not understand, and few can talk, English. They are a race of wild people, poorly clad, and living with the cattle in their houses, often lying on the damp ground on hay like them.†

These were strange sights for an English gentleman to behold, accustomed as he was to the comparative luxury of the agricultural

* Ibid. p. 26.

† Ibid. p. 76.

classes in his own country ; and lest it should be imagined that his descriptions were involuntarily coloured by the shock of contrast, we call on Mr. Fox to corroborate his testimony. Mr. Fox was employed as travelling inspector in the county of Mayo by the Mansion House Committee, and the Reports which stand at the head of this article were presented to that body, as the results of his labours.

I do not believe [he writes] that tongue or pen, however eloquent, could truly depict the awful destitution of some of these hovels. The children are often nearly naked. Bedding there is none, everything of that kind having long since gone to the pawn-office. A layer of old straw covered by the dirty sacks which conveyed the seed potatoes and artificial manure in the spring is the sole provision of thousands—with this exception, that little babies in wooden boxes are occasionally indulged with a bit of thin old flannel stitched on to the sacking. Sometimes even charity itself had failed, and the mother of the tender young family was found absent, begging for the loan of some Indian meal from other recipients of charitable relief.*

We might multiply instances of a similar kind almost *ad infinitum*, but our readers will be satisfied by what we have already stated that in the west of Ireland a state of depression has become chronic which has scarcely a parallel in the civilized world. The agricultural labourer in England had not some years ago, an enviable lot; and, even at the present day, he cannot be said to have risen much above the lowest grade of cultivated humanity ; but, compared with the Irish tenant-farmers whom we have been attempting to describe, his cottage is a palace, and his fare a sumptuous banquet. The contrast is easily understood when we remember that the English labourer receives wages varying from 12s. to 18s. per week ; and, if fortunate in obtaining employment, his annual revenue will not be less than £20 or £30. Now it is clearly impossible that farms of three to five acres of Connaught bog-land can provide produce equivalent in value even to these miserable stipends. The valuation of some holdings in Gweedore is as low as 2s. 6d., from which the sum of 1½d. is annually collected for county cess ; and many occupiers pay from 3d. to 6d. In Connaught, before the famine, two-thirds of all the holdings were less than five acres ; and at the present time, though the proportion is enormously diminished, there are still more than 20,000 such miserable farms.

No one can doubt [says Mr. Tuke] that the minute sub-division of land, *with no other source of income* to the holder of the small plots, is one of the great evils which surround the Land Question. And in

* Reports, p. 11.

connection with this part of the subject it is of *the utmost importance to realize the fact that farms under ten, fifteen, or twenty acres of land, according to its quality, are too small to support a family.* It matters not whether a man has fixity of tenure, or being a peasant proprietor has no rent to pay, he cannot, unless he has some other source of income, live and bring up a family on the small farms under ten or fifteen acres of land which form so large a proportion of the holdings in the west of Ireland.*

This is a point of cardinal importance, and should not be lost sight of in any legislative attempt to settle the Land Question. Quite irrespective of rent, the occupier cannot support life on the produce of a small farm of poor land. And if we consider the amount of capital and labour employed in its cultivation, we shall not be surprised at this result. The inevitable truth stares us in the face that income, or the means of sustaining life from year to year, must result either from interest on capital, or from wages for labour. The agriculturist cannot expect to obtain an extraordinary rate of interest, or wages for his personal labour out of proportion to the nature of his work; because if these exceptional advantages were to be gained in farming, capital or labour would be attracted to that pursuit until equilibrium should be restored. If a farmer by working fifty or sixty days in the year obtained as comfortable a subsistence as a mason or carpenter whose trade occupied the whole of his time, who would be a carpenter or mason?

The capital employed in farming the class of holdings of which we are now speaking may be almost entirely ignored: a cow, a small horse or donkey, some fowls, and a few rough utensils, too often represent the whole worldly possession of the occupying tenant. If we add the value of such permanent improvements, buildings, fences, roads and drains, as may have been effected by his labour, or that of his predecessors, the total capital is still represented by a very insignificant figure. There remains the labour of husbandry. How many days' work is actually devoted to the cultivation of the soil, and gathering the harvest? And what is the ordinary rate of wages for the day labourer? From these two factors we can with certainty deduce the economic position of the tenant farmer. The result is not encouraging. In the smallest holdings, which are tilled by the occupier and his family without the help of hired labourers, sixty days probably suffice for all the simple operations of preparing the ground, drawing sea-weed or sand, planting, sowing, digging and reaping. Now, allowing two shillings a day to the farmer for his work, his sixty days are worth in the labour-market only £6 in

* "Irish Distress and its Remedies," p. 91.

the year, a sum manifestly insufficient to supply even one man with the coarsest food. The same result might be obtained by deducting from the value of the gross produce of such a farm the actual expenses of production. There would remain a ridiculously small sum to represent the intrinsic value of the farm. Yet thousands of families attempt the battle of life under these conditions. It might be called the economic paradox of Connaught; and its explanation is, that the inhabitants eke out the insufficient produce of their farms by labouring in the harvest fields of England and Scotland. Were it not for these annual migrations, the paradox would meet with a speedy and disastrous explanation. In the districts of Kerry visited by Mr. Russell, this source of income is precluded by their remoteness; and, though the people are as poor as can well be imagined, yet subdivision of the soil is not carried to so dangerous an extent as in Connaught. Before the depopulation of this county, however, by the great famine, the farms of some tenants were so miserably inadequate for their support, that, after digging their potatoes, many of them used to nail up the doors of their hovels, and traverse the country begging from house to house. To such an extent did this prevail half a century ago, that the poor creatures came to be known far and wide as "Lord Lansdowne's Kerry beggars." We shall presently explain the position of the Irish tenant as defined by law; but, before doing so, it will be as well to glance at the relations between him and his landlord. Every social problem is an organic growth; and, as the scarred bark of the sapling is visible for centuries in the forest tree, so the injustice of the past leaves its mark upon subsequent generations in a manner very perplexing and provoking to practical legislators. On the harmony of classes almost everything depends in the legislative adjustment of their rights; but we cannot by law blot out, on the one hand, the memory of past wrongs; or mitigate, on the other, the irritation which is felt at the infringement of established privileges. We cannot, therefore, ignore the past, since it is the explanation of the present; although we feel disappointment that extensive concessions to the tenant have not effected that improvement in his position which might have been anticipated; a circumstance to be explained in part by the fact that the goodwill of the landlords was alienated by the attempt to define by law the limits of their power.

In the "old times," in spite of confiscations, penal laws, payment of tithes and religious intolerance, the landlord and tenant were sometimes on comparatively friendly terms. The former was possibly an easy-going, good-natured man, with a large disorderly house, where every tenant occasionally tasted the overflowing hospitality of the kitchen; not over anxious about a gale

or two of rent, and ever ready to lend a sympathizing ear to the trials and troubles of his people; above all, he could speak to them in their own tongue, his ways were their ways, and they regarded him with a rapidly growing feeling of clanship. But, in too many cases, the tenant felt himself in the iron grasp of a social despotism. If the landlord was oppressive, he had no redress; he was as helpless as a Kentucky slave, or Russian serf. There was not in those days a system of poor law, to which, in the last resort, the miserable evicted tenant could turn for support; there was no public opinion to restrain the arbitrary exactations of local tyrants; there was no moral or political influence which could be brought to bear on the bad landlord to induce him to stay his hand; and, in one word, the majority lived by the sufferance of the minority. Such a state of society is simply intolerable. Several circumstances about the beginning of this century tended to intensify the evil. Until the Reform Bill the franchise was limited to forty-shilling freeholders; and, in order to increase their political influence, the landlords manufactured votes by the creation of multitudes of these petty holdings. The population also, at this time, rapidly increased; and, as there was no outlet in trade or industry, the people were thrown on the land which they were content to occupy on any terms that were offered to them. The middlemen did not feel for their tenants the sympathy inspired by feudal dependence. They were themselves tenants, and had to pay their head-rents with punctuality and exactness. Why should they not enforce to the letter the obligations of their tenants? Land, too, from the high prices that prevailed during the French war, had acquired a factitious value; and leases were then made at rents which, on the subsequent fall of prices, it was impossible to pay. The result was that the occupier became more and more a creature dependent on the will of his lord. A system is not to be judged by its best, but by its worst results. On many a Southern plantation the negroes were happier than they would ever have been on the banks of their native Gambia, far happier than the landlord-ridden Irish serf; but these isolated cases only compel us to admire the self-denial of the individual slave-owner, they do not palliate the evils of the institution. And the position of the Irish tenant *was* very closely akin to slavery. True, his master could not sell his body, but his dominion only just stopped short of that. The power of life and death was implicitly contained in the power of eviction; and the rights of property were practically annihilated by the unlimited prerogative of raising the rent. It is no exaggeration to say, that, from the landlord's point of view, the sole right of the tenant was to live—and even this was an amiable concession—to live in the poorest fashion, ill-fed, roughly-clad,

and with no break in the monotony of his miserable life. The entire produce of the soil, after furnishing the occupier with the very minimum of subsistence, was regarded as the legitimate revenue of the landlord. From this source have sprung the proverbial apathy and suspiciousness of the Irish tenants. What use in improving if an increased rent is the penalty of exertion and outlay? And where is the premium on thrift, if hard-earned savings are to be appropriated by the rapacious greed of a landlord? Not alone were permanent improvements in the farm made the occasion of "a rise in the rent;" but even if the cottage assumed an air of neatness or cleanliness, if the farmer's wife was seen with a new cloak, or his own toilet gave evidence of increased prosperity, the lynx-eyed bailiff would take a mental note that this was a man who would bear the screw. Can we wonder then at slovenly farming, dirty hovels, half-naked children, and reckless habits, when we find that for generations everything has been done to check industry and foster suspicion? A far-seeing, intelligent landlord would, no doubt, be delighted that his tenant should have a substantial balance at the bank; but, in Ireland, if such a discovery had been made, it would, in most cases, have given rise to an outburst of indignation on the part of the landlord, as unaffected as if the lodgment had been made with notes stolen from himself. Thence the stocking and the thatch became the hiding-place of the tenant's hoard; and, instead of fructifying one hundred fold in the soil, it very often became the prey of fire or pillage. From this mode of treatment the Irish (as wild animals learn the fear of man) acquired a deep-seated suspiciousness, which must now be regarded as having taken a permanent place in the national character. At the time of the famine the people of Erris would not accept as a gift the seed which was offered to them for the purpose of sowing their land, fearing lest it was a *ruse* on the part of the landlords to acquire a right to the crops. At the same terrible epoch, it was with the greatest difficulty that the starving population of Mayo were induced to eat the Indian meal—Peel's brimstone, as they called it—being persuaded that it was given to them with the sinister design of turning them black! These instances speak for themselves, and illustrate the condition of mind to which these poor creatures were reduced by harsh treatment and habitual exactions. Everyone acquainted with the Irish peasantry can recall many similar examples of distrust—all, we assert, to be explained by the insecurity of the tenant's position, and the necessity which he was under of habitual concealment.

The famine of 1846-7 was a blow of stunning violence, not only to landlord and tenant, but to every branch of industry throughout the country. The small farmers died or emigrated

in great numbers, leaving thereby more room for the survivors, and their position would, after some years, have been actually ameliorated, had it not been for the influence brought to bear on them by the misfortunes of their hereditary masters. The tenants had starved, the landlords had only been ruined; but the ruin was, in many cases, complete and irredeemable. With a flourish of trumpets the Encumbered Estates Act was passed to help the insolvent owner to pay his debts, and to attract capital to the land. The capital came freely enough, the ancient possessors were got rid of, and vast areas of the country passed through the Court; but the large estates were broken up, the hereditary owners, who had some of the bowels of compassion for the people, gradually disappeared, and were replaced by purchasers whose sole object was to make the best of their bargains. The introduction of the commercial spirit was fatal to the hope of friendly relations. The new men had paid their money and required their rent, which was to them in no respect different from the interest on any other form of investment. From this epoch may be dated the breaking out of the land-war, which has ever since continued to afflict the country. Evictions were succeeded by assassinations, estates were "cleared," and multitudes of angry emigrants left the shores of Ireland to found in America a republic of disaffection. What may be the troubles of England in the future from this trans-atlantic Ireland we cannot now forecast. We only know that already it has ripened several troublesome but impotent insurrections, and has tended to alienate more and more the sympathies of Irishmen from the Imperial Crown. Never, perhaps, were the conditions of agrarian life less harmonious than in the twenty years preceding Mr. Gladstone's Act of 1870, if we except the ten years since it was passed. Conciliation and coercion were tried alternately and simultaneously, but with little effect; and branch after branch of the famous upas-tree was lopped off, only to prove its indefinite power of putting forth new shoots. Our readers, we hope, now clearly understand from the foregoing remarks that, whatever may be the legal rights of the parties, the Irish tenants in certain districts are intensely miserable, and that their social relations towards their landlords have been, for a number of years, of the most acrimonious character. We now pass to a brief review of the efforts that have been made to remedy this lamentable condition.*

* It is hardly necessary, here, to allude to the theological principles of the Church in regard to the payment of rent. In the eye of the Church, the taking of a farm is a species of contract, and the taker is bound in justice to pay the stipulated rent at the due time. A flagrantly unjust contract is no contract at all; but it would require the rent to be very much more than the proper value to justify a tenant in repudiating his

Mr. O'Brien, in the book whose title we have placed at the head of this article, traces in considerable detail the history of the Irish Land Question, or more properly the history of tenant-right, from Catholic Emancipation down to the year 1869. It is a sufficiently dreary record of famines and select committees, abortive bills, debates on the state of Ireland, and harrowing reports on the misery of the tenants, much defensive energy on the part of the landlords, and concessions doled out too late to win the gratitude, or secure the loyalty of the people.

The question of tenant-right, or compensation for improvements, may be said to have originated with Mr. Sharman Crawford's Bill in 1835; and, through a long parliamentary career, he never ceased to struggle for this beneficent object. Lord Stanley, the late Lord Derby, when Chief Secretary for Ireland under Sir Robert Peel in 1845, introduced a measure providing for the compensation of tenants on eviction; but it was limited to future improvements, and required the intervention of a Commissioner. Narrow as was its operation, the House of Commons could not swallow it, even as a Government Bill, and it was accordingly dropped. Successive Chief Secretaries under subsequent Governments, both Whig and Tory, fathered Bills on the same general lines, with slight modifications in the machinery; and Mr. Sharman Crawford as an independent member returned again and again to the charge. None of these bills met with any success. Some were referred to select committees, some were lost by changes of Government, many were thrown out by the division on second reading. The subject entered on a new phase in 1852. The country was stirred. "An agitation vigorous and wide-spread was now raised in the interests of the tenant-farmers throughout Ireland,"* and, as the ordinary accompaniment of agrarian excitement, outrages and disturbances ensued. Sir George Grey, on behalf of the Liberal Government, speaking on what had become almost the Annual Tenant-right Bill, threatened the "strong arm" of

contract on that ground; and to act on a merely personal judgment in such a matter would be dangerous and generally sinful. It was a principle of the Canon Law, grounded chiefly on a declaration of Gregory IX. in the case of Church lands, that when the harvest wholly failed no rent need be paid by the tenant, and when the harvest partially failed some deduction was to be made. But the civil law of each particular country, as St. Alphonsus and Kenrick clearly lay down (St. Alph. Theol. Moral. Lib. iv., Tract 5, n. 860; Kenrick, Tract 11, n. 43), is now the rule in all such matters; and the law of England, like the law of the United States (differing in this respect from the *Code Napoleon*, Art. 1769-1770), hold the tenant a debtor for the whole rent, whatever may be the results of his own labours or the badness of the season.

* "Parliamentary History of the Land Question," p. 88.

coercion; while Mr. Bright, in the same debate, gave expression to principles such as he still advocates. He said:—

It was in the eternal decrees of Providence that so long as the population of a country were prevented from the possibility of possessing any portion of their native soil by legal enactments and legal chicanery, these outrages should be committed, were they but as beacons and warnings to call the Legislature to a sense of the duties it owed to the country which it governed.*

Towards the close of the year, Mr. Napier, the Conservative Attorney-General for Ireland, brought in a bill recognizing for the first time the tenant's right to compensation for *past* improvements. This was a great stride towards the settlement of a vexed question; and, if it had become law at that time, the history of Ireland might have been different from what it has been. "Napier's Code," however, although passed in the Commons was mutilated in the House of Lords by the rejection of the Tenants' Compensation Bill, and in this imperfect state was sent back to the Lower House. A change of ministry prevented any further step being taken in the prosecution of the measure. The agitation, too, degenerated into agrarian crime; and the leaders of the Irish Parliamentary party were so far forgetful of their hustings' pledges as to accept various offices under the Government. The disruption of the "brass band" discredited for a time the sincerity of Irish members; and the "Independent Opposition," as the patriotic party subsequently styled themselves, found it difficult to establish their political probity, and always laboured, unjustly we believe, under a suspicion of being "place-hunters," which diminished their popularity throughout the country. They continued, however, to bring forward every session a tenant-right measure which uniformly met with an untimely fate. At length, in 1860, the Government of Lord Palmerston introduced and passed a Bill to amend the law relating to the Tenure and Improvement of Land, including among other provisions a qualified measure of tenant-right. It was limited to future improvements made by the tenant with the consent of the landlord, or without such consent upon compliance with certain conditions, service of notices on the landlord and the like, which no Irish tenant was man enough to perform; and which were possibly introduced for the express purpose of rendering the Act inoperative.

"If the Act of 1860, says Mr. Finlason, had been *successful*, it would have destroyed any claim of the tenant even to compensation for *future* improvements, unless in accordance with some *contract* express or implied."†

* "Hansard," 3rd Series, cxix. p. 368.

† "Parliamentary History of the Land Question," p. 113.

After a quarter-century of unceasing struggle this abortive measure was all that could be wrung from an unwilling Parliament of landlords. Coupled with this Act was another, which now stands next to it on the Statute Book, "An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland,"* which repealed all the previous statutes on the subject, furnished a complete code in their stead, and introduced several changes of an important nature. As the legal position of the tenant in Ireland is still to a great extent governed by this Act, we must briefly refer to some of its provisions. It starts by sweeping away the feudal doctrines of tenure and service, and substituting for them the simple law of express or implied contract. It empowered the tenant to remove all fixtures attached by him to the freehold at his sole expense, to cut turf from unreclaimed bog for himself and his under-tenants, and limited distress to rent which had accrued within a year. But these advantages were more than counterbalanced by the fearfully simple code of ejectment which it supplied. In fact, it might have been appropriately entitled, "An Act to Facilitate Evictions in Ireland." That, indeed, was the merciful intention of its promoters. The Attorney-General for Ireland, in introducing the measure, said :—

The law ought not to be left in such a state as to afford the tenant a continual temptation, instead of paying his rent, to spend his money in litigation with his landlord, and to waste among the attorneys those funds which might be better employed in stocking a new farm. With this view, to render the law more plain and the remedies for any infringement of it efficacious and inexpensive, the Bill had been very carefully prepared.†

If a tenant had to go, it was better that he should be disposed of quickly and cheaply. Let us at all events, they urged, have a simple law that can be understood by the unlearned, and applied with swift, unerring justice. It is a cruel kindness to enable a tenant to postpone eviction by legal quibbles, which can only result in eventually saddling him with an intolerable burthen of costs. This was the line taken by the advocates of cheap and expeditious eviction; but it might as well be argued that it is for a man's advantage to be hanged at the expense of the State, because he saved thereby the cost of a funeral. Land in Ireland is life; and, reasonable as it may appear that, when a man cannot pay his rent, he should give up his farm, yet this view does not commend itself to the Irish tenant.

The common law abhors forfeitures; and accordingly conditions

* 23 and 24 Vict. c. 154.

† "Hansard," 3rd Series, clix. p. 2154.

of re-entry, which are essentially forfeitures, have always been construed with the utmost strictness against the lessor. The consequence was that ejectment for non-payment of rent, according to the common law, was of little use, and but rarely resorted to. Moreover, it did not apply at all unless by the express contract of the parties. Landlord legislators had by a number of Acts, commencing in the reign of Anne, endeavoured to remedy in their own interest the inconvenient mercy of the common law; but until "Deasy's Act" was passed ejectment for non-payment of rent could not have been brought against a tenant from year to year. And in England that is still the law. In Ireland, on the contrary, the moment that a year's rent is due, the landlord can commence proceedings, in the County Court if the rent is under £100, and in the Superior Courts whatever the rent may be. By way of softening the asperity of this law, the tenant is allowed six months after the execution of the *Habere*, or Civil Bill Decree, as the writs of possession are called, to redeem his holding by payment of arrears of rent, interest and costs; and, on so redeeming he can compel his landlord to account to him for the profits of the farm. In order to avoid this complication it commonly occurs that the dispossessed tenant is allowed to return into possession as a paid "care-taker;" or upon the terms of signing an "acknowledgment" of the landlord's title in a form supplied by the Act. In either event, the tenant is, at the expiration of the six months, completely at the mercy of his landlord. And yet in "Confiscation or Contract?" the provisions of this Act are enumerated among the conditions favourable to the tenant! "Such are the benefits," exclaims the author of this pamphlet, glowing with the indiscriminating zeal of a recent convert—"such are the benefits conferred upon the tenant by the Landlord and Tenant Act of 1860!" If the position of the tenant depended on this Act alone, there would be indeed an overwhelming case for instant and energetic reform; in fact, such a case as enabled Mr. Gladstone in 1870 to force through Parliament, and down the very throats of reluctant peers, an Act which violated every ancestral prejudice as to the tenure of land. Why then did it fail, as it assuredly has failed, to satisfy the cravings of the Irish people? This is the Land Question whose two-fold manifestations we have already spoken of as "misery" and "lawlessness." It is too much the practice of speakers and writers on this subject to ignore altogether the Land Act of 1870, and go behind it for thrilling tales of eviction. It would be wiser to recognize the fact that since 1870 capricious evictions have practically ceased in Ireland, that a great measure of tenant-right was conceded in that year, but that somehow there still remains something to be done to render the Irish tenant prosperous and contented.

We shall sketch as briefly as possible the tenant-right provisions of the Act; and our readers who are familiar with the less indulgent law of England, will be tempted to exclaim, "What more do they want?" It will subsequently be our duty to endeavour to answer that question.

The maxim, *quicquid plantatur solo, solo cedit*, was by this Act utterly blown to the winds. The owner of the freehold was deprived of the power, which he had before, of seizing, without payment, the buildings and other improvements on his land, to the making of which he had in no way contributed. Any contract whereby the tenant bound himself not to make suitable improvements, or to relinquish his claim to compensation, was declared to be void; and the presumption of law was shifted, so as to put the landlord to the proof, that improvements on any holding had *not* been made by the tenant or his predecessors. This compensation was made payable on any determination of the tenancy, whether the tenant was evicted for non-payment of rent, or voluntarily abandoned his holding; but the other kind of compensation then introduced was made to depend on disturbance of the tenant by the act of the landlord—that is to say, on "capricious" eviction; and it was not extended to cases where the tenant was evicted for non-payment of rent, or for the breach of any condition against assignment, sub-letting, bankruptcy, or insolvency. As in the case of compensation for improvements, any contract by the tenant to forego his claims was made null and void. A scale of compensation was supplied by the Act, proceeding on the general principle, that the smaller the holding the greater should be the proportion of compensation to rent. Thus, a tenant whose farm is valued at £10, or under, may get a sum equal to seven, while a £100 valuation corresponds to but one year's rent.

These are, in outline, the two tenant-rights conferred by the Land Act—compensation in all cases for improvements, compensation in case of capricious eviction for disturbance. But it will be noticed that no property is expressly transferred from the landlord to the tenant; and on this ground the supporters of the Bill were accustomed to repel the charge of "confiscation." We consider the argument sophistical and untenable. The more logical position is to admit that valuable rights were conferred on the tenant, but that this transfer was justified by natural equity, and rendered expedient by the peculiar social conditions of the country. It is indisputable that the man who bought land in 1869 paid for something which he could not sell in 1870; and, so far, there was an apparent confiscation. But is that worse than that the landlord should acquire by eviction in 1869 what the tenant had for twenty years been creating by his industry and

outlay? There was a choice of evils, and we believe the lesser was chosen. Assuming that there was what amounted to a legislative transfer of property from landlord to tenant, still that would be not only expedient, but also just, if it could be shown that thereby social changes were effected, which would increase the value of property to such an extent as to fully recoup the landlord for his loss by "confiscation." Tenant-right has been epigrammatically defined as landlord-wrong. This, like most flippant catchwords on great subjects, is only superficially true. It assumes that everything given to the tenant is taken from the landlord, and it implies that such a transfer is always contrary to natural justice. It is plain that if we declare by law the occupier to be joint owner with the present landlord, in the proportion, say, of one to four, we confer thereby a valuable property on the tenant at the expense of the landlord; but if the result of the measure is, by establishing social peace, to raise the value of land from twenty to thirty years' purchase, the landlord will be eventually benefited to the extent of two and a half years' purchase.

We have now traced the gradual improvement in the legal position of the tenant from one of complete dependence to what, in a healthy state of society, would be one of ample security. But, unfortunately, the Irish tenant is not a free agent, he does not contract on equal terms with the owner of land; the competition for land is so great that he cannot be trusted to stand out in an open market for a fair bargain. We have seen how the Land Act protected him against his improvident contracts, by a legislative declaration of his imbecility; it virtually classes him with infants, idiots, and married women, as a person incapable of entering into a binding arrangement as to certain matters. This points out pretty clearly the weak link in the chain. If he is unable to contract as to improvements, how can it be expected that he will be *compos mentis* as to rent? In his hunger for land, will he not agree to pay an impossible rent, will he not submit to periodic exaction? This is, we fear, what actually occurs. Mr. Russell, in the letters from which we have already made quotations, exposes several devices for "screwing up" the rent. The "silent system," the charge for lime, the drainage loans, and the "hanging gales" are all transactions which would be repudiated with scorn by the tenant if there were anything approaching to perfect freedom of contract. No doubt the manly and straightforward position for a tenant to assume, when told that his rent was to be raised five shillings an acre, would be to decline to pay it if excessive, permit the extortionate landlord to bring ejectment, and claim compensation for disturbance in his former holding. The dread of eviction is too great, the love of his farm too strong, to permit him to take this course, and he accordingly submits to

his impossible rent, enters on a new tenancy, and loses his claim for compensation.

This practical inability to resist the imposition of an increased rent is the weak point in the present position of the tenant; and it is due, not so much to any deficiency in the existing law, as to the immoderate competition for land which regulates the market price of that commodity in the Irish market.

We shall presently notice some of the most prominent schemes which have been propounded for the settlement of this difficult question; but we must now advert to the painful topic of the social disorganization that prevails in Ireland, the causes that have produced it, and the measures that may be, or should have been taken, to repress it. There is no country in the world—even at the present moment—where a stranger's life and property are so safe as in Ireland. The English tourist may traverse the wildest districts of Connemara, and trust himself alone with the half-starved population of Erris, or Achill, with the same confidence that the heroine of Moore's ballad reposed in her countrymen. Yet, the record of crimes of violence for this year, when it is published, will be a black page in the "criminal statistics." No complete returns for the year 1880 are as yet available, but from the recent Blue Book* we learn that between the 1st January, 1879, and the 31st January, 1880, a period of thirteen months, the total number of agrarian outrages which had been reported to the constabulary in Ireland was 977, more than half of which were perpetrated in the last four months of the term comprised in the return. Only sixty-nine, or seven per cent. of the whole, were followed by convictions; while in sixty-five the offenders were made amenable, but not convicted. Ten murders, for which but one man suffered the extreme penalty; seven cases of "firing at the person;" seventeen assaults endangering life, and twenty-seven outrages on cattle, constitute the most heinous of these agrarian crimes; the large majority being cases of intimidation by letters, notices, or nocturnal visits of armed bands; 605 persons reported such occurrences to the police, and, although in some instances the warnings or threats were disregarded with impunity, yet we find that Lord Mountmorres, on the 13th November, 1879, received a letter "threatening him with Lord Leitrim's death if he did not deal properly with his poor tenants." We know how well this pledge was redeemed! Another remarkable case is mentioned of a notice posted on the 19th November, warning the people not to pay any dues to the Rev. D. Mylott, P.P. "because he would not forward rent-agitation meetings." Among the long list of threatened persons we find the names of

* *Agrarian Crime (Ireland). 1880. Return No. 131.*

such popular men as Sir A. Guinness (Lord Ardilaun), the Knight of Glin, and Colonel King-Harman; and even the "Nun of Kenmare," that benefactress of the people of Kerry, has been subjected to a similar annoyance. A further return gives the number of outrages of the same kind, in the counties of Galway, Mayo, Sligo, and Donegal, for the five months from the 1st February to the 30th June, 1880; and we regret to notice that, as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year, there has been a marked increase of crime in all these counties except Donegal. Thus, in Galway the total number of agrarian outrages rose from forty-four to ninety-five; in Mayo from fifty-one to sixty-six; and in Sligo from nine to twenty-three; while in Donegal it diminished from thirteen to three. These figures show that in the four counties there was in the space of one year an increase of thirty-seven per cent.; the actual numbers being 137 in 1879, and 187 in 1880.

Mr. Justice Fitzgerald's charge to the Grand Jury of the associated counties of Clare, Limerick, Kerry, and Cork, delivered on the 9th December, gives a deplorable account of that extensive district.* After alluding to the comparative absence of crime at the Summer Assizes, he continued:—

But at the return from the summer vacation at the end of October last we found all changed. We found that some organization—I do not profess to say or know what it was, but some organization acting on the cupidity, the passions, and the fears of the people—had reduced some districts in the country to anarchy and confusion, little, if at all, differing from civil war.

He then analyzed the "reliable official documents" which supplied him with his facts, showing that in these four counties, within four months, a complete system of terrorism had sprung up. Two murders, 287 letters threatening murder expressly or impliedly, thirty-three cases of brutal outrages on cattle, besides malicious burnings, attacks on dwelling-houses, and nocturnal visits for purposes of intimidation, point distinctly to a temporary suspension of civilization.

In several districts [he said] embracing a large part of Munster, true liberty has ceased to exist, and intolerable tyranny prevails. Life is not secure, right is disregarded, the process of the law cannot be enforced, and dishonesty and lawlessness disgrace the land.

We fear that, when the Returns are presented for the latter half of 1880, a terrible array of crime will present itself. Day by

* Baron Dowse, at Galway, had a still more terrible narrative to relate to the grand jury of Connaught, and the judges in Leinster and Ulster had also to complain of an exceptional amount of crime, and an almost total absence of prisoners.

day the columns of the newspapers are filled with reports of outrages on men and cattle, and, though some of these have been magnified or invented by sensational "correspondents," a formidable list of well-authenticated crimes remains to attest the deplorable condition of the country. Moreover, the actual record of crime does not fully indicate the anarchy that prevails. The ordinary tribunals are powerless to enforce their decrees; an army of police, such as exists in no other country, is unable to serve a writ, or enforce obedience to the law; many men hitherto popular and beloved, are guarded night and day by armed attendants, or carry their lives in their hands, or fly from the country in terror and disgust. To disobey the mandate, or infringe the rules of an irresponsible association brings swift and terrible punishment. Intimidation, open and unchecked, is employed to paralyze the dealings of man and man; and anyone who is hardy enough to assert his rights is subjected to vehement persecution.

The system of "isolation," as a means of compelling obedience to the will of a self-constituted authority, is a new and remarkably powerful engine of democratic despotism. If an individual offends in any particular, his servants and labourers are compelled to leave their employment, the shopkeepers dare not serve him, his farm produce finds no purchaser, his land is unilled, his crops ungathered. He is shunned even by those who secretly wish him well. He is excommunicated from the fellowship of men, and he has eventually no choice but submission or ruin.

In one notorious instance the policy of isolation was counteracted by the importation of labour, but it was only for the moment, and anarchy secured the eventual victory. A battalion of infantry and a regiment of horse, besides police and artillery, protected the harvest-home at Lough Mask. The Orangemen of Monaghan and Cavan saved the proscribed crops at the cost of a hundred times their value; but the "invasion of Mayo" was necessarily but a temporary occupation, and the obnoxious owner had to accompany the retreat of the expedition.

The social revolution which is in progress in Ireland is closely connected with the organized action of the Land League. We must speak on this subject with the most guarded caution, and refrain from ascribing to that body any participation in the illegal developments of its policy; for its more prominent members now stand on their trial for seditious conspiracy in connexion with these matters, and we naturally desire to avoid in any way prejudging the question of their responsibility. It would, however, be impossible, in any review of the present state of Ireland, altogether to ignore the action of this powerful association, and we shall therefore state the objects and principles of the Land League in the words of its apologist, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., himself

a member of that body, though not selected for the honour of prosecution :—

I next come [he writes] to the agencies through which the Land League has worked. Its main principles have been that only a fair rent should be paid, and that no one should take a farm from which another person had been unjustly evicted ; and it has recommended combination among the tenants for self-protection.*

The objects here stated do not appear to us to lie outside the limits of lawful agitation. *Fair rents, unjust evictions, combination for self-protection*, recommend themselves to the minds of prudent and reasonable men ; with, perhaps, this qualification, that combination should be limited in its purpose, so as not to include a general repudiation of existing contracts. Combination is recognized as a perfectly constitutional force, so long as it works only by legal means, and does not degenerate into conspiracy. Some of the greatest legislative achievements of this century have been heralded by agitations as violent as that which now imperils the tranquillity of Ireland. Catholic Emancipation, the abolition of tithes, and the great Reform Bill, were conceded to the incessant clamour of an earnest and angry people. The agitations for Chartism and Repeal, on the contrary, were utterly unsuccessful, possibly because these movements did not arise spontaneously among the masses, but were created and developed by the energies of their restless leaders. It is a significant fact that in both these cases convictions for seditious conspiracy were obtained by the Crown.

The Land League was founded in October, 1879, shortly after the failure of the Home Rule Convention ; and its foundation cannot be altogether dissociated from the political objects of that party. Mr. Parnell, speaking at Galway of the objects of the League, is reported to have said :—

I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence.

This declaration, astounding in its frankness, still leaves unexplained the precise manner in which “legislative independence” should be attained by the action of the League ; nor shall we venture to suggest a solution.

It will be remembered that the “anti-rent agitation” had been well started before the formation of the Land League. After that event, however, it gathered fresh force, and meetings were held in increasing numbers ;† branches were established even in

* “The Land League and its Work :” *Contemporary Review*, December, 1880, p. 989.

† 108 such meetings were held in Galway and Mayo during the year ending the 30th June, 1880. Parliamentary Papers, Return No. 327.

remote villages, so as to bring to the very door of the peasant the active powers of its organization ; and Mr. Parnell visited America to collect funds as well for pushing the fortunes of the League as for the relief of distress. We have never seen any detailed statement of accounts showing the amount that was thus collected, or the proportions in which the fund was divided between agitation and charity ; nor does Mr. O'Connor, in the article to which we have already referred, supply this interesting information. The Sunday meetings continued without intermission, and seem to have been rather stimulated than the reverse by the institution of proceedings ; for in the *Freeman's Journal* of Monday, November 29th, the speeches at no less than eleven meetings are reported, while "pressure of space" compelled the postponement of three more.

The eloquence of eighteen months has been expended on the two themes, "Fair rent" and "Stick to your holdings." Sometimes, indeed, it was "No rent," but that was the only relief in the monotony of the harangues, if we except the really fine speech in which the policy of isolation was first explained.

The professed objects of the League, we have already said, seem to us perfectly legal ; we are not at present in a position to pronounce on the means by which those objects have been effectuated ; but we may say this much, that on particular occasions communistic doctrines have been promulgated, and threats of violence silently acquiesced in which can receive no countenance from Catholic principles or from orderly and peaceable men.

We have now presented to our readers at some length the two aspects of the Land Question which strike us most forcibly—namely, the great misery and the complete lawlessness of some parts of the country. We must endeavour, in the space that remains to us, to give some idea of the remedies proposed for these evils in the way of Reform and Coercion.

Perfect security, we are told, is what the Irish tenant wants in order to transform him into an industrious and successful farmer : security not only from eviction, but also from the social forces which enable the landlord, by little and little, to raise the rent to a sum impossible to be paid. We do not believe that in many instances landlords have, in recent times, availed themselves of this power, or that eviction is now so common as to amount to a national evil ; and we would caution our readers against the confusion of ejectment with eviction. The former is in Ireland the ordinary form of law for the recovery of rent ; and, even after execution, is seldom followed by actual expulsion of the occupier. Eviction, except for persistent refusal, or inability to pay the agreed rent, is almost unknown. Still, the power, immediate or remote, is a dangerous one to be entrusted

to a dominant class; and the very fact of its existence acts in an unfavourable manner on the energies of the tenant. Various devices to give him absolute security have been put forward by sober-minded men, as well as enthusiasts, by persons possessed of all the knowledge attainable on the subject, and by others inconceivably ignorant; and it is generally true, here as elsewhere, that the wisdom of the scheme is fairly measured by the diffidence of the theorist. All the plans which have been proposed are broadly divisible into two classes; those that involve the expropriation of the landlords, and those that seek to amend the present relations of landlord and tenant. The former, as a wholesale measure, does not seem to be feasible; whether we propose to buy out the landlords at once by raising a stupendous loan, or give them, as Mr. Parnell has suggested, thirty-five years' rent at Griffiths' valuation, and then compel them to—make other arrangements. Colonel Gordon recommends that the west of Ireland should be purchased by the State, which would then with a light heart undertake the duties of a Connaught landlord! In none of these expropriation schemes have we noticed any provision for the difficulty (which applies with equal force to the creation of peasant proprietors) that the money-lender, or even the late landlord might buy out any number of tenants, and relet the land to them; in which case the net result of the scheme would be to substitute for the present owners, the middlemen of the Crown. These wholesale and compulsory expropriations, with or without compensation, differ essentially from the moderate plans for the promotion of peasant proprietorship, of which Mr. Bright has always been so strenuous an advocate. He would assist the occupying tenant by a State loan of three-fourths of his purchase-money, to buy up the fee-simple of his holding whenever an opportunity might arise; the loan to be repaid, both principal and interest, by instalments extending over a number of years; and, for the purpose of facilitating these purchases, he would establish a Land Commission with large powers of buying estates and re-selling them in suitable lots to the occupying tenants. That his views are wholly opposed to violent schemes of expropriation, appears from the following extract from his speech at Birmingham in November last:—

I do not now refer to some of the remedies which you have heard of—violent and impossible schemes—where tenants, apparently, are to fix their own rents, under which the landlords as a body are to be got rid of and banished, or where the Government is to undertake some gigantic transaction, raising two or three hundreds of millions of money to buy them out of their estates, and to convey the estates over to the tenants who now cultivate them. Now, I believe that the

extravagant, and the impossible, and the unjust, are not required, even in a case so serious—it may be, so desperate—as this. Those propositions which no Government can listen to, which no people can submit to—those propositions, depend upon it, are made by men who in their hearts hate much more than they love the farmers of their own country.*

The spread of peasant proprietorship under Mr. Bright's plan would be necessarily slow, and it may be doubted whether it would ever reach the class most in need of protection and reform. It leaves, therefore, something to be desired as an amendment of the general tenure of Irish tenants; and the proposals which seem to find most favour are those commonly denominated "the three F's,"—Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rents, and Free Sale. At an important meeting of the Bishop and clergy of Cloyne, a series of resolutions was proposed by the Bishop and unanimously adopted by the clergy as a guide to their future conduct, and to save individual priests from the responsibility of isolated action. These resolutions embodied, as the three cardinal points, "the three F's," and supplemented them by declarations in favour of (1) additional facilities for the tenants to become proprietors; (2) the reclamation of waste lands for the purpose of locating peasant proprietors upon them; (3) dwellings for labourers, with a moderate portion of land attached; and the last was in the following terms:—

We, the priests of Cloyne, assembled in diocesan meeting, pledge ourselves to use every effort to have the foregoing resolutions embodied in any legislation that may be proposed for the settlement of the Land Question, and to co-operate to the full extent of these resolutions, but no further, with any organized body that has for its aim such effective settlement by legitimate and constitutional action.†

The real difficulty of the scheme lies in the ascertainment of a "fair" rent. Fixity the Irish tenant already practically possesses,‡ and free sale follows almost as a matter of course from the other two. But "fair" rent opens up a vista of interminable troubles. "The value of land" is an expression of some ambiguity. It means properly the price (using for convenience money as a standard of exchanges) to be paid for the fee-simple in possession; but it is more commonly confined to an annual return, or the value of the income derived from land. This material value is strictly the difference between the value of the produce and the cost of production, including of course in the latter the

* *The Times*, November 17, 1880.

† "Freeman's Journal," September 30, 1880.

‡ Mr. Russell writes in the *Daily Telegraph* of December 4, 1880, "Practically, fixity they have, on by far the greater number of Irish estates, but without the sense of security that ought to accompany it." A statement, however, which he somewhat modifies in the reprint of his Letters (see "New Views on Ireland," p. 107).

wages of labour, and all outgoings like rates and taxes. The "letting value" is the sense in which we are principally interested, for it is equivalent to a "fair rent," and it means "the rent that a solvent tenant will be ready to offer for the farm on a lease of moderate duration."* This is less than the intrinsic value, by the amount of the remuneration which the tenant should receive for his labour. If the farm is very small he takes the place of a single labourer employed only for a limited number of days in the year; if it amounts to 50 or 100 acres, he becomes himself an employer of labour, and is entitled to the wages of a skilled steward. To the rigid definition of "fair rent" which we have given, we must in Ireland add a qualifying term—namely, that the tenant's reclamations and improvements should appear as an element in the calculation. The difficulties of an accurate estimate are, indeed, in particular cases, very great. We can scarcely expect either accurate justice, or perfect contentment as the unfailing result of any valuation; particularly among the class represented by the Cork farmer, who proved the exorbitancy of his rent by the recent increase of his family. We may add that the branch of the Land League accepted his economical views, and passed a resolution condemning the landlord.

The connexion of "Griffiths' valuation" with the subject of "fair rent" is more apparent than real: still the prominence into which it has been recently brought requires that we should refer to the circumstance under which it was made. The Valuation Act now in force was passed in 1852, when the prices of agricultural produce were exceptionally low; its object was to secure uniformity for fiscal purposes, not to fix the letting value; all rates and taxes were deducted, and not merely those payable by the tenant; and, in the southern and western counties, an earlier valuation was adopted, which was made under the depressing influences of the famine of 1846-7. Since the Act was passed the prices of agricultural produce have risen from 30 to 100 per cent. above the standard scale,† according to which the valuation was made; and some £3,000,000 have been expended under the Drainage and Land Improvement Acts, in addition to the private capital which has been sunk in the land. These circumstances render the valuation completely obsolete as a measure of rent; and we could, were it necessary, cite the highest authorities in support of this proposition; but perhaps the alacrity shown by the tenants, even at this moment, in their offers of "Griffiths' valuation" renders all other authority insignificant.

* "Tenure of Land in Ireland," by Judge Longfield in "Cobden Club Essays," p. 48.

† According to this scale, the price per cwt. of wheat was fixed at 7s. 6d., of oats at 4s. 10d., of butter 65s. 4d., beef 35s. 6d., &c.

The scheme put forward by Mr. Russell,* like that of the Cloyne priests, rests on fixity of tenure and certainty of rent, coupled with encouragement of occupying proprietors: but it differs from theirs in two important respects; instead of periodical valuations, or occasional adjustment by a scale of prices, he would have the rent fixed once and for ever; and his second innovation is that he would allow the tenants to redeem the rent pound by pound at twenty-five years' purchase. As to the former, the progressive increase in the value of land is shown by what we have already stated *apropos* of Griffiths' valuation; and it seems scarcely just to deprive the landlord of at least a share of the "unearned increment." And again, if prices were to fall, the tenant could repudiate, and the landlord would be helpless; while, if they continue to rise in the future, as they have done in the past, the landlord would eventually become merely a "quit-renter." The power of redeeming the rent by capital payments would, we believe, work wonders in the education of the tenants, the only danger being that thrift might become a vice, as it has done in parts of France. That, however, seems in Ireland a very remote evil.

Mr. Russell, as means to the end of creating occupying proprietors, would confer on a Land Commission compulsory powers of taking the estates of corporations, and those mortgaged beyond three-fourths of their value. We fear that most of the newly created "proprietors" would fall under the latter category, and the State would soon be in a position to take back its gift; but apart from this it is doubtful whether a case can be made out for so violent an "interference with the existing rights of property." It assumes the perfect success of a scheme of peasant proprietorship, and great difficulty in acquiring land through the ordinary channels. If these be admitted, we think corporate property might certainly be made available. As to mortgaged estates, we confess we anticipate graver difficulties in carrying out a compulsory purchase.

Mr. Errington, in the letter which we have prefixed to this article, points out that the "three F's" is only the reappearance of a scheme advocated, as long ago as 1832, by a Mr. Conner; and believes that the "much-needed solution of the Land Question" will be found by its adoption. The originality of his plan consists in the method of apportioning between landlord and tenant the increase of value; the share of the former being made to depend on the *price*, that of the latter on the *quantity* of produce. The first "fair rent" should be determined, as a starting-point, by a "Supreme Land Court;" and, subsequently, periodical adjustments of the rent might be made at the wish of either party.

* "New Views on Ireland," cap. x.

Mr. O'Brien expresses an opinion, that the most limited measure which the Irish tenants will accept as a final settlement must include, (1) the extension of the Ulster custom; (2) the fixing of rents by some other means than the will of the landlord and the necessities of the tenant; and (3) an effectual amendment of the Bright Clauses of the Land Act.*

One more scheme we must notice for the solution of this knotty problem. It is that of Judge Longfield, a man eminently qualified by experience, learning, and position to speak with weight on this subject. He holds the now somewhat unpopular doctrine, that "the separation of the ownership from the occupation of land is an advantage to both parties—to the owner as well as to the occupier,"† and he proposes a system by which a tenant in any part of Ireland can acquire a "Parliamentary Tenant-right" in his holding, either by agreement with his landlord or on application to the Court. He fixes the tenant-right at seven years' purchase of the rent, which may be varied by the parties every ten years. If, at the end of the first ten years, neither proposes a change, the rent will remain unaltered for another period of ten years; but if either wishes to improve his position he makes the attempt, subject to a certain risk. Suppose, for example, that the landlord considers the rent too low—he is to serve notice on the tenant of the amount of the future rent. If the tenant agrees to pay this increased rent, the bargain is struck for another period of ten years, the tenant-right being also, of course, augmented in the same proportion as the rent. If, on the contrary, he objects to the new terms, he gives up possession, receiving compensation on the increased scale. The effect of which would be to deter the landlord from demanding an extortionate rent, since on refusal he would have to give the tenant seven times its amount. Now, if the tenant desires, at the end of any period, to diminish his rent, he in like manner serves a notice on the landlord; and in case of his refusal has to leave, receiving only seven times the proffered rent. This would make the tenant cautious as to claiming an unfair deduction. "This mode," the writer says, "of calculating the compensation makes it the interest of both parties to be reasonable." It must be noticed, however, that the Judge does not provide for a case which, we fear, would be only too common; namely, where *both* parties desired a change. And, further, as the eventual solution of any disagreement is that the tenant is to give up his holding with compensation, there might be a tendency to develop the angry feelings which it is his object to remove.

We have now briefly noticed the principal plans for the re-

* "The Parliamentary History of the Irish Land Question," p. 201.

† "Land Tenure in Ireland," by the Right Hon. Justice Longfield: *The Fortnightly Review*, August, 1880.

arrangement of the relations between landlord and tenant ; and, though it is scarcely probable that any of those plans will be accepted in its entirety by the Government, their authors have done good service in placing the problem clearly before the public. Discussion is the harbinger of reform ; and many Englishmen have been recently educated in Irish affairs—so far, at least, as to feel that something must be done, because the present relations are strained to the breaking-point. The two Commissions, whose Reports are daily expected, will furnish material for arriving at just conclusions on many interesting questions connected with the land ; and we presume that the Government measure will be influenced by their contents. It would therefore be premature on this occasion to enter into the consideration of the precise form that legislation should assume ; and we must content ourselves for the present with having proved from the poverty and insecurity of the tenant the necessity of reform.

Our duty, unfortunately, does not end here. If we now laid down the pen, we should be leaving unconsidered what we have described as the second manifestation of the Land Question. The present lawlessness of the country, no doubt, intensifies the cry for Reform ; but that is a tardy measure, and it is to be feared that the social condition of certain counties has become intolerable ; and also that the disease will rapidly spread unless checked by some prompt expedient. We shall not be suspected of joining, on the first appearance of an assassin with a blunderbuss, in a terror-stricken outcry for coercion. We cannot be reproached in the words of the old counsellor—

The truth you speak doth lack some gentleness
And time to speak it in. You rub the sore,
When you should bring the plaster.

Our traditions connect us indissolubly with the sympathies of the people ; and, if we declare for coercive legislation, it is in its most lenient form, and only because we believe that the fair fame of Ireland is being sullied by outrages, which a judicious measure would effectually suppress. With the Government the responsibility rests. They are furnished, day by day, with authentic reports. For their instruction agrarian crimes are classified, and outrages are tabulated, so as to reduce the state of the country to a numerical test. The information that Mr. Justice Fitzgerald had before him, when he delivered his remarkable charge to the Grand Jury in Cork, was probably in Downing Street the same day ; and we cannot doubt that clear-sighted Ministers drew the same conclusion as the Judge from the array of undetected crime.

Disaffection in a country swarming with armed men, under the influence of unusual excitement, may at any moment enter on a

new phase. That would indeed be a terrible evil; and if anything is calculated to bring it about, it is the sugar-plum policy of all rewards and no punishments.

And what is this bug-bear, Coercion, that everyone seems almost afraid to mention? It does not necessarily mean suspension of the Habeas Corpus, or any violent infringement of the liberties of peaceable men. It admits of all degrees, from what the French call "a state of siege," to additional powers for the posting of constabulary. We do not wish to see curfew introduced, or martial law, or arbitrary imprisonments, or a Court of Star Chamber in Dublin Castle. We should regret if the rights of meeting and speaking, open agitation, or any other constitutional inheritance of freedom, were curtailed for a moment. But what we do think is absolutely necessary, is some prohibition of unlicensed arms, and also some check on the fatal facility with which they are supplied to all classes of the population. A single firm in Dublin has been for some time disseminating revolvers through the country at the rate of 240 per week; a tempting advertisement appears in a Dublin journal offering those dangerous weapons at the low price of 10s. each, and Mr. Justice Fitzgerald refers to their being in the possession of every herd and farmer's boy. A vast proportion of the exceptional crime of the country is connected with the possession and unlawful use of fire-arms. Take these away, and intimidation is shorn of half its power. It is a very trivial interference with the liberty of the subject, to deprive him of that which he can only use for purposes of crime. But if it were even a greater hardship, the imperative necessities of society cry out for some such protection.

Until the 1st of June, 1880, Ireland had for thirty-three years been governed by "exceptional legislation." The Crime and Outrage Act was passed in 1847; the Peace Preservation Act in 1856; Habeas Corpus was suspended in 1866, and again in 1867; the Peace Preservation Act was in 1870, as a counterpoise to the Land Act, rendered extremely stringent. In 1873, the Westmeath Act, which remained in force for four years, and under which only six persons were actually arrested, completely crushed the Ribbon Society in that county. Lastly, in 1875, the various Acts were modified and continued. Whether the Conservative Government would, if they had remained in office, have asked Parliament for the continuance of coercion, cannot now be determined. The time of dissolution was so chosen as to render it difficult for the incoming Government to renew the expiring Acts before the day of their decease. This difficulty, coupled with the desire to reverse the policy of their predecessors, produced the following paragraph in the Queen's Speech, at the opening of the second Session of 1880. It will be read with interest at the present moment:—

The Peace Preservation Act for Ireland expires on the first of June. You will not be asked to renew it. My desire to avoid the evils of exceptional legislation in abridgment of liberty would not induce me to forego, in any degree, the performance of the first duty of every Government in providing for the security of life and property. But, while determined to fulfil the sacred obligation, I am persuaded that the loyalty and good sense of my Irish subjects will justify me in relying on the provisions of the ordinary law, firmly administered, for the maintenance of law and order.*

We think the time was unfortunately chosen for an experiment in Liberty. The result has at all events not corresponded with the benevolent aspirations of Her Majesty's Ministers; and we hope that, in the rebound, they may not be carried farther back than the point from which they started.

It is a humiliating reflection that no Irish Reform has ever been conceded until the attention of Statesmen has been enforced by violence or outrage. Without going so far as to attribute Catholic Emancipation to the fear of Rebellion, or the Dis-establishment of the Church to the Clerkenwell explosion, we can understand that a stimulus is supplied by the exhibition of force, which wonderfully quickens the consideration of grievances. It is not only humiliating, it is also dangerous: for it places a premium on disaffection, it is a direct incentive to crime. Therefore, the duty of the Government is, not to shrink from the concession of Reform because it is demanded with threats, but to show that it is in spite of those threats, and not in submission to them that they undertake the task; and above all things so to vindicate the law, that it may be apparent to all that justice is done because it is just, and not because it has been preceded by the "stand and deliver" of political highwaymen.

The coming Session will no doubt see the introduction of an Irish Land Bill. We trust that it may contain the seeds of peace. Many months must, however, elapse before those seeds can germinate—many years before the goodly fruit can ripen. In the meantime the exigencies of society, the fulfilment of the law, the safety of life and property, require the protection of a vigorous administration; and, unless some sudden transformation takes place in the aspect of Irish affairs, we regard as a painful necessity the introduction of a moderate measure of coercion.

* "Hansard," 3rd Series, ccli. p. 67.

DE SANCTO THOMA AQUINATE
PATRONO CAELESTI STUDIORUM OPTIMORUM COOPTANDO.

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

CUM hoc sit et natura insitum et ab Ecclesia catholica comprobatum, ut a viris sanctitate praeclaris patrocinium, ab excellentibus autem perfectisque in aliquo genere exempla ad imitandum homines exquirant; idcirco Ordines religiosi non pauci, Lycea, coetus litteratorum, Apostolica Sede approbante, iamdiu magistrum ac patronum sibi sanctum Thomam Aquinatem esse voluerunt, qui doctrina et virtute, solis instar, semper eluxit. Nostris vero temporibus, aucto passim studio doctrinarum eius, plurimi extiterunt, qui peterent, ut cunctis ille Lyceis, Academiis, et scholis gentium catholicarum, huius Apostolicae Sedis auctoritate, patronus assignaretur. Hoc quidem optare se plures Episcopi significarunt, datis in id litteris cum singularibus tum communibus; hoc pariter studuerunt multarum Academiarum sodales et collegia doctorum supplice atque humili obsecratione deposcere.— Quorum omnium incensas desiderio preces cum differre visum esset, ut productione temporis augerentur, idonea ad rem opportunitas accessit ab Encyclicis Litteris Nostris *De philosophia christiana ad mentem s. Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici in scholis catholicis instauranda*, quas superiore anno hoc ipso die publicavimus. Etenim Episcopi, Academiae, doctores decuriales Lyceorum, atque ex omni terrarum regione cultores artium optimarum se Nobis dicto audientes et esse et futuros una pene voce et consentientibus animis testati sunt: imo velle se in tradendis philosophicis ac theologicis disciplinis sancti Thomae vestigiis penitus insistere; sibi enim non secus ac Nobis, exploratum esse affirmant, in doctrinis Thomisticis eximiam quamdam inesse praestantiam, et ad sananda mala, quibus nostra premitur aetas, vim virtutemque singularem. Nos igitur, qui diu multumque cupimus, florere scholas disciplinarum universas tam excellenti magistro in fidem et clientelam commendatas, quoniam tam clara et testata sunt communia omnium desideria, maturitatem advenisse censemus decernendi, ut Thomae Aquinatis immortale decus novae huius accessione laudis cumuletur.

Hoc est autem caussarum, quibus permovemur, caput et summa; eminere inter omnes sanctum Thomam, quem in variis scientiarum studiis, tamquam exemplar, catholici homines intueantur. Et sane praeclara lumina animi et ingenii, quibus ad imitationem sui iure vocet alios, in eo sunt omnia: doctrina uberrima, incorrupta, apte disposita; obsequium fidei et cum veritatibus divinitus traditis mira consensio; integritas vitae cum splendore virtutum maximarum.

Doctrina quidem est tanta, ut sapientiam a veteribus defluentem,

maris instar, omnem comprehendat. Quidquid est vere dictum aut prudenter disputatum a philosophis ethnicorum, ab Ecclesiae Patribus et Doctoribus, a summis viris qui ante ipsum floruerunt, non modo ille penitus dignovit, sed auxit, perfecit, digessit tam luculenta perspicuitate formarum, tam accurata disserendi ratione, et tanta proprietate sermonis, ut facultatem imitandi posteris reliquisse, superandi potestatem ademisse videatur. Atque illud est permagnum, quod eius doctrina, cum instructa sit atque apparata principiis latissime patentibus, non ad unius dumtaxat, sed ad omnium temporum necessitates est apta, et ad pervincendos errores perpetua vice renascentes maxime accommodata. Eadem vero, sua se vi et ratione confirmans, invicta consistit, atque adversarios terret vehementer.

Neque minoris aestimanda, christianorum praesertim hominum iudicio, rationis et fidei perfecta convenientia. Evidenter enim sanctus Doctor demonstrat, quae ex rerum genere naturalium vera sunt, ab iis dissidere non posse, quae, Deo auctore, creduntur; quamobrem sequi et colere fidem christianum, non esse humilem et minime generosam rationis servitutem, sed nobile obsequium, quo mens ipsa iuvatur et ad sublimiora eruditur; denique intelligentiam et fidem a Deo ambas proficiisci, non simultatum secum excendarum caussa, sed ut sese amicitiae vinculo colligatae mutuis officiis tuantur.—Cuius convenientiae mirabilisque concordiae cunctis beati Thome scriptis expressa imago perspicitur. In iis enim excellit atque eminent modo intelligentia, quae quod vult, fide praeeunte, consequitur in pervestigatione naturae; modo fides, quae rationis ope illustratur ac defenditur, sic tamen ut suam quaque inviolate teneat et vim et dignitatem; atque, ubi res postulat, ambae quasi foedere icto ad utriusque inimicos debellandos coniunguntur. Ac si magnopere semper interfuit, firmam rationis et fidei manere concordiam, multo magis post saeculum XVI interesse existimandum est; quoniam per id tempus spargi semina coepерunt finem et modum transeuntis libertatis, quae facit ut humana ratio divinam auctoritatem aperte repudiet, armisque a philosophia quae sitis religiosas veritates pervellat atque oppugnet.

Postremo Angelicus Doctor non est magis doctrina, quam virtute et sanctitate magnus. Est autem virtus ad periclitandas ingenii vires adipiscendamque doctrinam praeparatio optima; quam qui negligunt, solidam fructuosamque sapientiam falso se consecuturos putant, propterea quod *in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.** Ista vero comparatio animi, quae ab inde virtutis proficiuntur, in Thoma Aquinate extitit non modo excellens atque praestans, sed plane digna, quae aspectabili signo divinitus consignaretur. Etenim cum maximam voluptatis illecebram victor evasisset, hoc veluti praemium fortitudinis tulit a Deo pudicissimus adolescens, ut lumbos sibi arcanum in modum constringi, atque una libidinis faces extingui sentiret. Quo facto, perinde vixit, ac esset ab omni corporis contagione seiunctus, cum

* Sap. i. 4.

ipsis angelicis spiritibus non minus innocentia, quam ingenio comparanda.

His de caussis dignum prorsus Angelicum Doctorem iudicamus, qui praestes tutelaris studiorum cooptetur. Quod cum libenter facimus, tum illa Nos consideratio movet, futurum ut patrocinium hominis maximi et sanctissimi multum valeat ad philosophicas theologicasque disciplinas, summa cum utilitate reipublicae, instaurandas. Nam, ubi se scholae catholicae in disciplinam et clientelam Doctoris Angelici tradiderint, facile florebit sapientia veri nominis, firmis hausta principiis, ratione atque ordine explicata. Ex probitate doctrinarum probitas gignetur vitae cum privatae tum publicae: probe vivendi consuetudinem salus populorum, ordo, pacata rerum tranquillitas consequentur.—Qui in scientia rerum sacrarum elaborant, tam acriter hoc tempore lassissita, ex voluminibus sancti Thomae habituri sunt, quo fundamenta fidei christiana ample demonstrent, quo veritates supernaturales persuadeant, quo nefarios hostium impetus a religione sanctissima propulsent. Eaque ex re humanae disciplinae omnes non impediri aut tardari cursus suos, sed incitari augerique sentient; ratio vero in gratiam cum fide, sublatis dissidiorum caassis, redibit, eamque in indagatione veri sequetur ducem. Demum quotquot sunt homines discendi cupidi, tanti magistri exemplis paeceptisque conformati, comparare sese integritate morum assuescent; nec eam rerum scientiam consectabuntur, quae a caritate seiuncta inflat animos et de via deflectit, sed eam quae sicut a *Patre luminum et scientiarum Domino exordia* capit, sic ad eum recta perducit.

Placuit autem hac super re sacri etiam Consilii legitimis ritibus cognoscendis perrogare sententiam; quam cum perspexerimus, dissentient nemine, votis Nostris plane congruere, Nos ad gloriam omnipotentis Dei et honorem Doctoris Angelici, ad incrementa scientiarum et communem societatis humanae utilitatem, sanctum Thomam Doctorem Angelicum supra auctoritate Nostra Patronum declaramus Universitatum studiorum, Academiarum, Lyceorum, scholarum catholicarum, atque uti talem ab omnibus haberi, coli, atque observari volumus, ita tamen ut sanctis caelitibus, quos iam Academiae aut Lycea sibi forte patronos singulares delegerint, suus honos suusque gradus etiam in posterum permanere intelligatur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die IV. Augusti MDCCCLXXX. Pontificatus Nostri anno Tertio.

THEODULPHUS CARD. MERTEL.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, of Cologne.

1. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

IN the September issue Dr. Kayser concludes his interesting paper on Egypt with further details on the Catholic united Kopts. To the October issue I contributed a critique on Dr. Mejer's biography of Febronius. Professor Mejer, University of Göttingen, describes Febronius entirely from a Protestant point of view, attacking at the same time in most unqualified terms the Catholic bishops of Germany of our time, and taunting them with want of patriotic feelings. On the contrary, he praises the conduct of Febronius, and excuses where he cannot defend him. Nicolaus von Hontheim was professor in the University of Treves, and in 1748 was appointed auxiliary bishop to the Archbishop Elector. When about sixty years of age he published the famous "Febronius," a work in which his flattery of secular princes is only equalled by his impertinence to the Holy See. By command of Pius VI. he published a retractation; but Mejer's book leaves no doubt that the retraction was insincere, and that he remained the same Febronius as he was before. A new process was opened against him in Rome, but before he was called to stand before his judge, he died at Treves in 1790 at the age of ninety years. Closely connected with the biography of Febronius are the articles commenced in the November issue on "The Wanderings of Jansenism through the Catholic countries of Europe." They open with the history of the church of Utrecht, and the support it derived for many years from the Abbé Bellegarde, formerly canon of the cathedral of Lyons. Owing to his unceasing efforts Jansenism could boast of a propaganda embracing Austria, Italy, Spain and Portugal. According to Picot ("Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Eglise pendant le 18 Siècle"), the sum spent by Bellegarde in propagating Jansenistical literature amounted to ten millions of francs. The church of Utrecht sent its emissaries principally to Vienna, where Van Swieten and De Haen, both of them surgeons to the Empress, exerted an immense influence. Bellegarde himself proceeded to the Imperial Court, and was favoured with the Empress's assurance that she would support his endeavours to have the church of Utrecht recognized by Rome. Afterwards he saw the famous Bishop of Pistoja, Scipio Ricci, and had intercourse with Tamburini, the head of the Italian Jansenists. But all the exertions of the Jansenist party to gain recognition by Rome were crushed by the immovable firmness of the Holy See. Clement XIV. declared that his recognition could be obtained only on the condition "incende quod adorasti, adora quod incendisti." Thus runs the narrative of Canon Mozzi in his "Storia delle Rivoluzioni della Chiesa d'Utrecht." In a second article our author describes the introduction of Jansenism into Austria.

Foremost among its apostles were two priests—Canon Stock of Vienna, and the priest Stöger. Thousands of French Jansenistical books and pamphlets were translated into German; even the seminary students were nourished on them. Cardinals Frankenberg of Malines and Migazzi of Vienna strenuously protested against this attack on the liberty and faith of the Church. Their protests were not only not attended to, but they themselves had to suffer most unworthy treatment at the hands of the Government.

2. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

Father Baumgartner continues his study of the poetical works of Joost van den Vondel. But our interest is principally claimed by the two articles contributed by F. Ehrh on "Blessed Albertus Magnus." On November 16, 1280, in the Dominican convent at Cologne, there went to his eternal reward one of the most remarkable men the world has ever seen, statesman, philosopher and theologian. Albert of Laningen (a small town in Bavaria, and in the diocese of Augsburg), when studying in Padua, became acquainted with Fr. Jordanus of Saxony, who afterwards became General of the Dominicans, and from him received the habit of S. Dominic. It is not quite certain, but recent historical investigations have rendered it probable, that Albert's first appearance in Paris was about 1220-1230; whereas the previously common opinion made him appear at the Parisian University only in 1245, when he was appointed by the General of his Order to teach theology there. After his return to Cologne, in 1248, he became Lector of Theology, and among his disciples was Thomas of Aquin. In 1256 Albert was summoned by Pope Alexander IV. to Anagni, where he solemnly refuted the book published by William of St. Amour against the admission of religious Orders as teachers of divinity in the University of Paris. For two years Albert was Bishop of Regensburg, but in 1262 he resigned his episcopal office and retired to Cologne, where he spent the rest of his life in the Dominican Convent. In Cologne Albert was a prominent figure; in the violent struggles of that time between the city of Cologne and the two Archbishop-Electors, who encroached on the liberties of the citizens, it was to the Dominican monk that both parties applied, declaring they would submit to his arbitration. Albert pronounced judgment in favour of the city. What most interests us here is the influence of Albertus on Catholic philosophy. There are other scholastics, as his disciple S. Thomas, who surpass him in profoundness of science; but in breadth of view and extensive knowledge he is second to none. Before the time of Albert Western Europe possessed of Aristotle only the books on logic, and of Plato only the "Timæus." But just in the beginning of the thirteenth century a new world was disclosed by the translation into Latin of all the writings of Aristotle. Strange to say, his works on psychology, metaphysics and physics were first translated by Syriac Christians into their language; of these versions were published in Arabic, and from the Spanish Arabs they found their way into Western Christianity. Owing to the fantastical and dangerous systems of the Arabian philosophers, as of

Avicenna and Averroes, manifold errors had been introduced into the works of the great Greek philosopher. It was the work of Albertus to reconquer for the Church the works of Aristotle, by purging them from these errors, and bringing them into harmony with Christianity. Hence he commented on them, but in a rather independent manner. Although Albert cannot entirely free himself from the influence of Aristotle, venerating him, as he does, as the greatest philosopher that ever existed, on the other hand, he not seldom undertakes to correct his opinions and establishes his own system in opposition to him. Above all scholastics Albertus has won a singular reputation for his increasing and keen observation of Nature. His treatises on plants ("Libri de Vegetabilibus et Plantis") have called forth the unqualified admiration of Alexander von Humboldt, and were recently published by Professor Jessen. Albert is excellent likewise for his explanations of many books of the Bible. His talent as a very sober interpreter, who is chiefly concerned to expound the literal sense, has been duly recognized not long ago by German Protestant divines. Like all the great scholastics, Albertus is also a mystical writer; to his extensive knowledge of the spiritual life, volumes xii., xx. and xxi. of his works amply testify. Whoever takes pains to inquire into the writings and merits of this remarkable man, who, for the unparalleled purity of life and the labours sustained for the maintenance of the Catholic Church and the Holy See, has been decorated by the title of "Beatus," will gladly concede him the praise sculptured beneath his statue in Cologne Cathedral: "Philosophorum flos atque doctorum, scholaque morum."

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Scuola Cattolica. 30 Settembre, 31 Ottobre, 1880.

The Pope-King and the Roman Malaria.

THE *Scuola Cattolica* has two articles, the one in its number of September 30, the other in that of October 31, on the insalubrity of the Agro Romano. In the first it examines some of the alleged causes of the pestilential miasma now affecting a large tract of land which was thickly populated in ancient times. Is this to be attributed to man's neglect or to the action of indomitable physical forces? Enmity to the Papacy and to Catholicism has disposed numbers to attribute the growth and spread of this miasma to culpable neglect on the part of the Papal Government. The King, in whose territory the Agro Romano lay, was bound to have provided for the interests of his subjects, but has failed to do so. The Liberals of Italy have been foremost in such imputations, and no sooner had Rome been seized by the Revolution than commissioners were appointed for rendering the Agro Romano healthful, draining the Pontine Marshes, and regulating the course of the Tiber. What success has attended these endeavours, so pompously announced, the experience of the last ten years has demonstrated. A sub-commission, charged with investigating the causes which have led to the present insalubrity, all

but unanimously agreed in inculpating the Popes. The prosperity of their subjects, it was said, was of little importance to Sovereigns who had all Christendom tributary to them; nay, they even preferred to have their capital girdled by a pestilential marsh to being surrounded by a rich population, adverse, possibly, to their temporal power. The appointment of the commission, in fact, was a subtle piece of malice, planned with the view of enabling the Italian Government to denounce to Europe the ineptitude of the Holy See's rule. The groundlessness of these charges has been made patent by their own mortifying failures; but their falsehood might have been gathered at the time from the admissions of the very engineers whom the Government employed, men most favourable to it in their sentiments. Several of these have alluded in their printed statements to the many previous efforts made by the Pontifical Government to remedy the evil; and, in particular, one of them, whose report was considered the most valuable, after speaking of the populous towns and numerous palaces existing in ancient times near the mouth of the Tiber, where death and desolation now reign, observes that the profound change which has taken place is to be attributed to natural causes. Man, he affirms, has had little to say to it. All these reports, with a happy inconsistency, were bound up in one volume with the sweeping accusations of the commission against the Papa-Re. The economic administration of the Agro Romano under the sway of the Popes continued to be taxed by their enemies with its present wretched state—in particular, its division amongst large and rich proprietors, and the alleged indifference and ill management of the religious corporations owning land there. For not having applied a corrective to these abuses, and to the mischief thence ensuing, the Pontiff-Kings were held responsible.

The writer satisfactorily disposes of these and other heads of accusation, and in his second article examines what he considers to be the true cause of the pestilential state of the once flourishing Agro Romano—namely, the formation of a delta at the mouth of the Tiber, caused by its gradual alluvial deposits. It is true that this large area of land, now a desert, was once populous; but this was at a period when the said delta had not been deposited. When the estuary of the Tiber was at Ponte Galera, and the sea bathed the foot of the hills which form the outer portion of the Agro, all the lower ground, now a pestilence-breeding swamp, was no doubt covered by the inflowing sea waters, constituting a sort of bay or lagune (for it had probably even then a cordon of sand-hills between it and the sea), but deep enough not to become stagnant or to foster a rank deleterious vegetation. But as every year the Tiber brought down fresh detritus, the soil was gradually raised, while the sand-hills were also continually increasing, and this delta in course of time was formed, in which the overflowings of the river (of which the writer likewise explains the causes) remain in shallow pools without exit, under an Italian sun. The whole process and its results are followed in detail by the writer, who notices also the ineffectual measures undertaken to find a remedy

by running a canal through the sand; but want of space forbids our doing more than directing the reader's attention to his full treatment of the subject. Another article is promised.

La Civiltà Cattolica. Settembre 4, Novembre 6, 1880.

Christianity and Democracy.

WE have read with interest two articles which have appeared in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the first entitled "Of a future Christian Democracy centred in Rome," and the other headed "Of Christianity and Democracy." In the former article the reviewer examines the notion put forward by a "Liberal Catholic" of a future Christian Democracy having its centre in Rome, which should recognize the Pope no longer as Sovereign but as the Supreme Pastor of the Church, and Arbiter in civil differences. He demonstrates the absurdity of this idea, both on the part of the hypothetical democracy which, if truly Christian, would never endure that any one should dominate in Rome save the Pope, and also on the part of the Pontiff himself, who would in such case be reduced to the state of a subject or of a prisoner, as he is at present.

In the second article the reviewer proceeds to examine the intrinsic relations which the author supposes to exist between democracy and Christianity, and from which he deduces the moral necessity that the last and most perfect triumph of Christianity in the world must be effected under the democratic form. True, he laudably insists on the necessity of a different sort of democracy to that with which we are at present threatened, which he stigmatizes as satanic in its tendencies, and which is one purely of demolition. The future democracy must be one that can build up, and, when the time comes, God will raise up giants for this purpose. Pigmies can pull down—profane hands and brutal instincts are all that is needed for such work; but to reconstruct there must be the spirit of order and of charity and heroic self-sacrifice. Democracy, to be genuine and enduring, must also be founded on faith in Jesus Christ, and must discard rationalistic philosophy and unbelief. He defines it as "the reign of justice, and the exact knowledge and observance by every man of his own duties." So far the definition would suit any good government, whatever its form; the remainder of the definition is more specific; "the nullity of fictitious privileges and the equality of rights in all"—that is, of rights political and social; an equality which implies, be it observed, the removal, not of "fictitious" only, but of all privileges. Christ, he says, was "the first Democrat, and the Gospel which He promulgated and imposed on His followers was this very democracy, as thus defined." Not to speak of the indecency of applying such an epithet to our Divine Redeemer, it is untrue to say that the Gospel He preached has any connection with political and social democracy. The writer confounds the natural and spiritual orders. Christian equality is to be found in the latter, not in the former. Our Lord never concerned Himself with political rights and privileges, and, with the one exception of the rule He laid down of "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and

unto God the things that are God's," no other rule with the least political bearing is to be met with in the New Testament. Christianity can accord with any form of government, but, so far from its being true that Christ commissioned His Church to establish democratic institutions, its own constitution is essentially hierarchical. It is a kingdom, not a republic, although a kingdom not of this world. The whole subject is well drawn out, but we pass on to advert briefly to the reviewer's treatment of a maxim which the "Liberal Catholic" styles "the just and supreme formula of democracy"—viz., "that no one has a right to what is superfluous so long as there is any one else who lacks what is needful;" and this, he says, flows as an inevitable corollary from the command of Christ: "Quod superest date eleemosynam."* This maxim, taken as it stands, would justify the fundamental thesis of Socialism. The confusion arises from the word *right*. Socialism would substitute for the charity which Jesus Christ enjoins a justice of its own invention, which belongs neither to the natural law nor to that of the Gospel, the sanctifier of nature. It assumes that he who possesses anything is bound on the score of *justice* to share what he owns with him who has a deficiency, thus making the alms of the rich an act of justice, not a work of charity. But since every right has its corresponding duty, so every duty has its corresponding right. It would follow, then, that the poor man has a title to the property of the rich, and of any who are in easier circumstances than himself, and can accordingly claim a share of it. The consequences of such a doctrine are obvious. Now, it is true that a sacred duty of succouring the poor rests on the rich, but not on the ground of justice towards the poor, but of obedience to the laws of charity laid upon them by God, for alms-giving is a duty of charity, expressly commanded by God both in the natural law and in the evangelic precept of love. The right, therefore, is on the part of God who enjoins, not on that of the poor man who can exact; and when the rich man fails in his duty of fulfilling this law, it is God he directly offends, not man's right that he violates. Our Lord in saying "But yet that which remaineth give alms," had no intention of depriving the rich of the natural rights of property for the benefit of the poor. This would directly lead to Socialism, an enormity which the Church alone can avert, in the order of ideas, by the light of its truth, and, in the order of facts, by the flames of its charity. The question is a very practical one, especially in the present day, and accurate ideas, as well as accurate language embodying these ideas, are of vital importance.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Octobre, 1880. Paris.

Saint Methodius, Apostle of the Slavs, and the Letters of the Sovereign Pontiffs preserved in the British Museum.

THE history of Saints Cyril and Methodius, called the Apostles of the Slavs, is, says Fr. Martinov, S.J., the writer of this article,

* St. Luke xi. 41.

one of those in which no advancement can be made until the *sources* have been first carefully and critically studied. And, in spite of the labours of eminent writers—Dobrovski, Schafarik, and a multitude of others—this preliminary study still needs to be prosecuted. Besides, new discoveries are constantly calling for new study. M. Voronov, a professor at Kiev, scarcely three years ago published the most remarkable and exhaustive critical study of these historical sources, and already some of his conclusions have been falsified by the still more recent discovery of materials. The chief of these are the letters of Sovereign Pontiffs preserved in the British Museum, several hundreds in number, and belonging to various periods—the sixth, ninth and eleventh centuries. The MS. of the Museum is numbered 3,873 of the Supplement, and is a quarto, of the beginning of the twelfth century, made by one copyist—a collection of the kind of those of Deusdedit or Gratian. Fr. Martinov in this article follows M. Ewald's study on these MSS., published in the *Neues Archiv* for 1880 (vol. v. pp. 275, 415, 505, 507, under the title, "Die Papstbriefe der Britischen Sammlung"), and with special reference to the letters of John VIII. and Stephen IV. bearing on St. Methodius, the Apostle of Pannonia. These letters, he says, "illuminate the grand figure of the Apostle of the Slavs with rays as unexpected as glorious," and still further light will doubtless be gained when the complete text of the letters is published. The collection contains, in series i., 138 letters of Gelasius I., Pelagius I. and Pelagius II.; series ii., 87 letters of Alexander II.; series iv., 55 letters of John VIII. (872-882); series vii., 31 letters of Stephen VI. (885-891), &c.; and out of the whole collection 233 letters have never been published.

The letters of John VIII. throw new light on a point of history hitherto shaded in great obscurity—Was St. Methodius, as Archbishop of Pannonia, really subjected to persecution at the hands of the Bavarian episcopate? and if so, what is the precise epoch of that persecution? Saints Methodius and Cyril, brothers, came into Moravia at the invitation of Prince Rostislas, and there introduced a liturgy in the Slavonian language, the Sovereign Pontiff approving of this innovation. The Bavarian episcopate claimed the sole right of exercising the ministry in Moravia and Pannonia, and regarded the two brothers as intruders and disturbers of the peace. The Moravian Prince meditated national independence, and to help it wished to withdraw the country from the influence of the German clergy. A Slavonic rite appeared to him to help his plans. Hence constant wars hindered the apostolate of the brothers. The war went against the Moravian Prince, who was delivered up to his enemies by his nephew Sviatopolk. The German prelates imitated their Prince; and although Methodius had been invested with the archbishopric of Pannonia by the Pope, they not only refused to acknowledge him, but the Archbishop of Salzburg, with his suffragans, cited Methodius before them and condemned him to prison. The only author who has been hitherto cited for this fact is an old Slav biographer of the Saint, supposed to have been one of his disciples. His testimony is quoted by Fr. Martinov: he says that Methodius was banished to the country of the Suabians, and there

detained two years and a half. Most historians attach great value to this testimony, others hold it to be of little if any value. Ginzel, placing the supposed exile in 871-873, rejects it as impossible—the Saint was in Pannonia at that time. But the letters of John VIII. in the British Museum definitively settle the question: the Slav biographer was right. There are three letters of same date from the Pope—one to Adalvin, Archbishop of Strasburg, and two to two of his suffragan bishops. They accompanied an instruction (also preserved) to Paul, Bishop of Ancona, legate to Germany and Pannonia. The latter was charged to maintain the rights of the Holy See in Pannonia. “I am sent to you,” said the legate, “not to discuss the question of the diocese of Pannonia, but to restore it to him whom you have for three years violently deprived of it.” The Pope even excommunicated the above prelates, and Methodius was restored to his see. In 880 John VIII. approved of Mass being said in Slavonic, though it had been one of the special instructions to the Papal legate to prohibit Mass in that tongue to Methodius.

Among the letters of Stephen VI. one refers to Methodius. It is entitled “Commonitorium,” and contains instructions given to the legates sent by the Pope “ad Sclavitos”—i.e., to Sviatopolk, Prince of Moravia. Three things are worthy of note in this document:—1. It gives in substance the Catholic doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost—“Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio, nec ingenitus ut duo patres, nec genitus ut duo filii, sed procedens dicitur;” and points out the Roman Church as the inheritor of the gift promised to St. Peter, “confirmat fratres.” 2. It contains a formal prohibition to celebrate Mass in Slavonic. How this can be reconciled with the express approval of John VIII., Fr. Martinov discusses in detail—it was a matter purely disciplinary. 3. It speaks of the fasts of the Church: “De veneratione jejuniorum firmiter tenete sicuti in sua decrevit epistola,” &c. This reference is to a famous letter of Stephen to Sviatopolk, the authenticity of which is placed beyond doubt by the discovery of these letters of the same Pontiff. M. Ewald raises some further doubt, chiefly about the chronological arrangement of the collection of Papal letters, which Fr. Martinov discusses at length. This letter of Stephen VI. has been the subject of much controversy; has been accepted by Wattenbach and others; rejected by Ginzel, Ratchi, and a larger following. Thanks to the letters so long preserved and now discovered in the British Museum, criticism may begin by accepting the letter and its important contents.

Revue Générale. Novembre, 1880. Bruxelles.

L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE EN ESPAGNE is the title of an unsigned but instructive article giving a large number of details as to the present condition of education in Spain. Spain does not enjoy any reputation for educational advancement in France—perhaps not much more in the popular estimation of this country. In 1867, and again in 1878, the article says, a M. J. Manier published an Education Atlas of Europe, marking degrees of advance and efficiency by varieties of colour. Spain was painted dark, to signify the

night of its ignorance. "Why should it not?" many thought; "it is the last European abode of Catholic superstition and priestly domination—not yet freed from all remembrance of the Inquisition." In the Spain of to-day few persons are unable to read and write: in the northern and eastern provinces primary instruction is as advanced as in the most advanced nations of Europe. In the last decade of years the progress has been rapid: from 1870-78, 3,000 new schools were opened, containing 200,000 scholars, and have added to the State burden an annual expenditure of 4,000,000 of francs. In 1878, Spain counted 29,038 primary schools, containing 1,633,288 children between five and twelve years of age—nearly ten per cent. of the population. All the 15,000 to 20,000 *guardia civil* (police), and the 12,000 Customs officers, without exception, can read, write, count, &c. Nearly every soldier of engineers, artillery, and of the *service de santé et d'administration*, can do the same; and in every battalion of infantry and squadron of cavalry there is a school. The Spanish budget for public instruction was, for 1878, 26,000,000 of francs. Let it be remembered that since 1856, when other nations have enjoyed peace, Spain has been disturbed by civil wars, revolutions, and endless Cuban revolts. Again, in Spain, partly from local custom, partly from early precocity, a child over twelve years of age is rarely seen in a school; more northern nations swell their statistics with children up to fourteen and sixteen. There are few schools taught by priests or brothers—only 140 schools of the *Padres Escolapios* in all Spain. Primary instruction embraces Christian doctrine and Bible history, the three R's, grammar, elementary notions of agriculture, commerce; and for girls, design and domestic economy, with, of course, needlework. The superior grades add geometry, design, surveying, history, geography, general notions of physics, and natural history. Each *curé* gives religious instruction once a week. Popular libraries are integral parts of each public school. Primary education is *obligatory* in Spain, and *free* to all poor children. There are normal schools for masters and mistresses in each province, and higher schools at Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, &c., for higher literary and scientific training of mistresses already certificated from the normal schools. The favourable condition of Spain as to primary education is shown by the writer at length, both in absolute figures and by comparing its statistics with school statistics of the other European nations.

He then proceeds to a very detailed account of the subjects taught, the faculties, income &c., of the ten Spanish universities. These statistics, too numerous to be quoted here, are extremely interesting. The writer compares Spain with France, and shows that if Spain, e.g., was content to progress in point of higher teaching no more rapidly than does France, she would have in her universities as students of law only 2,170, or 2,270 if she were measured by the population and proportion of Germany. Actually, Spain has 6,409 students in the faculties of law and 6,817 in medicine—three times the proportion of students in France comparatively to the population of France. The notable disparity between the income of the Spanish and other European, but more particularly English, universities, is well worthy of attention.

Notices of Books.

The Endowments of Man considered in their Relation with his Final End: a Course of Lectures. By Bishop ULLATHORNE. London: Burns & Oates. 1880.

A BOOK of calm and serene wisdom, a book of leisurely meditation, its texture woven in greatest part of patristic exposition and the lore of ancient saints, this work of the Bishop of Birmingham has already begun to grow on its audience, as solid and great books always do. It would be no compliment to it or its author to say that it was rapid or easy reading. But it is a book to use and to return to, a book to study and to take in, a book to become a kind of Summa of Christian thought, especially to the cultured laity of a generation almost wholly taken up with thought which is non-Christian or anti-Christian. No culture which does not embrace the philosophic and systematic knowledge of one's final end, and of one's faculties and opportunities, can be called true or absolute culture. The Catechism may do for the busy labourer and the rude but faithful multitude; the clergy have their curriculum of philosophy and divinity. But the men and women who have leisure, who may influence their generation, and who live amid the anarchy and noise of secularist and erroneous teaching, must take the time and the trouble which are necessary to learn their religion as a science. They must be at the pains to think things out, to analyze what they act upon, to dig down to roots and foundations; or else they run the risk which all badly-built structures run—of crumbling into wreck and ruin when a storm comes upon them.

We have often insisted, in the pages of this Review, that the Catholic body, in English-speaking nations, stands as much in need of "constructive" exposition as of controversy or spiritual reading. If we except a few sermons, admirable of their kind, hardly anything has been done in English which corresponds with such books as either Laforet's "Dogmes Catholiques," or Scheeben's "Mysterien"—widely different books, it is true, but agreeing in this that they give a philosophical exposition, for a cultured audience, of the principal points of revelation and of natural religion. Bishop Ullathorne's Lectures are an instalment of what we pray may grow into a complete development of the fundamental truths connected with our being as men and as Christians.

The difficulty in treating such matters as man's last end and his endowments of Nature and grace, is that they have been over-much treated—that is, in one way. They have become the very commonplaces of the preacher and the moralist. Their phraseology has become so hackneyed that the hearer is usually no more affected or arrested by it than he is by the beating of his own heart—an experience which would most assuredly startle him if it happened to him suddenly for the first

time. The most anxious work of the man who would stir his generation is to brighten up the meaning of well-worn language. This may be done in more than one way. It may be done by the preacher who invests old forms with new life by his imagination and his natural gifts; by the writer who so commands the best literary forms of his day that he makes men feel the points of contact between current thought and deep philosophy; or, finally, by one who so wields a wide mastery of the best thoughts of the best periods of the world's thinking, that he forces his generation to hear the deep voice of universal truths beneath current form of speech, like those who are made to hear the roar of the ocean in the common shells of the sands. Bishop Ullathorne's fashion is somewhat akin to that of the last-mentioned class. A long life, in which action and meditation have never been separated from each other, has given him a most complete acquaintance with the greater Fathers of the Church, and with the soundest philosophic thinkers of all times. This book of his is an invocation of the spirit of every man who has thought worthily of human dignity and human destiny to deliver its testimony to an age which runs after the external and the superficial. It is by no means a mere string of citations. Nothing kills the life of a book more effectually than inverted commas; nothing is duller than incessant extracts. The distinguished author has plenty to say that is his own. He has elaborated his views on the great truths of humanity and divinity in many an hour of reflection, preparatory, perhaps, to many a memorable discourse. But incessantly, behind his own speech, there is heard the solemn note of some undying voice out of dead centuries—some monumental Father or some wise man of a period older still.

The work was originally a series of lectures, and it bears traces of its origin. Under fourteen heads are treated all the subjects which concern the destiny, nature, supernatural gifts, and shortcomings of man; the Definition of Man, God's Image and Likeness in Man, Creation, Providence, Conscience, Evil, Justice, Punishment, the Fall, the Restoration and Regeneration, and the final Beatitude for which, by God's grace, man is intended. The author's general method is to take simple and obvious expressions of Christian doctrine, and to analyze them phrase by phrase, or word by word. But he does not express the doctrines or the dogmas at the beginning of his exposition: he rather works up to them, and discloses them, at the end, in their fulness and reasonableness. His summings up of long and intricate courses of reasoning are frequently not only very just but most striking and beautiful. Many of them would bear to be quoted, and doubtless will be quoted. We must confine ourselves to one or two. This is the conclusion of the chapter, Why Man was not Created Perfect:—

Had we not been tried and found wanting, until the inmost core of our nature was searched through with Divine light and grace, the deepest grounds for that profound and sweet humility, which is the soul's inmost expression of truthful sincerity, justice, and right dependence, would not be there to make her virtue most pleasing to God. These highest

motives of gratitude for the deliverance from evil would be wanting to the soul; and, finally, the overpowering argument to superabounding love, arising from the contrast between all that God has pardoned in the past and all the beatitude He gives in the everlasting present, would not be there to perfect the ardour of grateful love. For "to whom less is forgiven, he loveth less" (p. 278).

Some of the Bishop's most telling passages are those in which he illustrates, with deep-lined imagery, full of force and intensity, some half moral, half philosophical axiom, which sounds to shallow hearers just on the verge of a paradox. He is fond of these axioms. They are a most useful herald or signal, to bid men stop and listen to what he has to say. Many preachers and writers are tempted to say something slightly extravagant in order to be attended to; but none have a right to do so except those who have the gift of putting true and trustworthy generalizations into epigrammatic form, and then of showing their truth and trustworthiness by powerful illumination. The following is a good example of what we mean:—

The more sin the less freedom. Freedom lifts up our will to great and high things; sin depresses us to low and mean things. When we reflect what self is, we must see at once that a man chained to himself cannot be free. He is a captive within the narrow crypt of his egotism, and enveloped with the darkening shadows thrown off from his pride and sensuality. The pathways to the divine truth and eternal good are far beyond his flight; the wings of his spirit, both the wing of faith and the wing of love, are clogged with the mire of his ways, so that neither his heart nor mind can ascend to the regions of truth and justice. Fastened as with rivets to the things beneath him, his will loses its freedom in the clay of its concupiscence, and that concupiscence is blind, sensual, and egotistical of the body. A man is corporally free in proportion to the space over which he can move and in which he can freely act. He is mentally free in proportion to the breadth and elevation of the sphere of truth in which he can think. He is morally free in proportion to the grandeur and elevation of that justice to which his will can conform its actions. He is spiritually free in proportion to the greatness and purity of that good with which his soul is allied. But, though he has the freedom of responsibility, he has no large or generous freedom when, with the glue of concupiscence, his will cleaves to himself, and through himself, to the base things of this lower world, first to one and then to another, the bond slave rather than the master of what was ordained for his service, so that his will is neither truly free, nor luminous, nor elevated, nor pure (p. 218).

There is a breadth about the book which will be very refreshing to those who are wearied with much reading, with much contriving, or with much working. The life of the present day, even where there is no question of sin, is a kind of life which diverts the thought from the grand question of all questions. Mere excess of occupation, mere rapidity of living, merely the quick succession of one piece of news after another—all this so occupies one's available time and nerve-force that God is lost sight of. It does good, therefore, to the soul of man to sit and be silent in the company of such a book as this. It lifts us to simplicity and to purity: to simplicity, by presenting to us the only end of our being, the only philosophy worth living for; to purity, by

making us feel to how much nobler things we were born than to accumulate, or to make things pleasant on the earth.'

The world repeats the saying of the poet, that the proper study of mankind is man; but whilst the men of the world commend this study as of chief importance, they pronounce their own condemnation. For what man of the world cares to know himself? And how can any one know man who is ignorant of himself? The knowledge of his earthly frame is not the knowledge of man, nor the natural history that marks the external diversities of the various branches of the human family, nor the science of his mental faculties and their operations, nor those other sciences that investigate by parts the several elements that enter into his composition. . . . These partial studies of the components of human nature will not teach us the profounder things that belong to our humanity; on the contrary, from the mind absorbed in the study of the external man, this internal man is too apt to escape (p. 1).

Extracts might be multiplied, each of which would be full of that patristic philosophy which occupies itself rather with the development of truth than the objections of adversaries. But the book will be read; and although we have made extracts, yet we are very anxious to let it be understood that it is a book to which extracts cannot possibly do justice. Each chapter or lecture is closely woven; paragraphs are not inserted for the sake of being quoted, but in order to carry on the argument. In order to give some idea of how Bishop Ullathorne works an exposition through, let us choose the Fifth Lecture, on Self and Conscience, and follow it from beginning to end. Starting with the inquiry, "Why does man not care to know himself?" he points out that it is because our self-love has the ominous instinct that better knowledge would bring pain with it. Besides, to know one's self is difficult; because we come in contact, not with self directly, but only with the surroundings and circumstances of self. The moment a man comes to his pure self, without anything intervening, without the sense of God, without the sense of creatures, without even the images of creatures as distractions from self, then the taste of self is not pleasant. The author proceeds to define or describe "self." It is the "subjective man" in that nature in which he was born into the world. It is man's nature as taken apart from all that God does for him, and from all that God provides for him. A man whose will does not seek its content in God is a man who, by that very fact, is a lover of self. The utter unreasonableness of such self-love is seen in the phenomenon of pride. Pride is condemned by the natural sense of man, as well as by the voice of those cultivated thinkers who have had no light from revelation. But pride is nothing but self-sufficiency in operation. The fall of man in Adam implied the substitution of the love of self, as his dominant disposition, for the love of that good for which his soul was made. Regeneration, though it heals the soul does not heal the body. The fuel of concupiscence still continues to feed the consciousness of self. Hence the necessity of the great law of self-denial. Self-denial is the expression of that hatred which is the adversary of self-love. But are we right in not loving "self" in any sense of the word? Undoubtedly there is a good and

lawful love of one's self. But the true love of ourselves is the love of our objective good—of God; and therefore it is included in the love of God. Face to face with “self,” claiming to rule and to lead “self,” is Conscience. The Bishop's exposition of the nature and effects of Conscience is one of the best wrought out portions of this book. Conscience, implanted by God within us—the organ of God, the expression of God's will to us, at once a light, a sense, and a witness—is that mysterious element in the reason of man which imprints upon man's heart the imperishable obligations which he owes to the Divine Author of all things. Definitions or descriptions of Conscience are given, in the words of St. John Chrysostom, of St. Bonaventure, and St. Augustine. The elevation and clearness given to Conscience by Christian faith and charity are explained; the judicial, the recording, the warning office of Conscience are set forth in words of great force; and it is shown how conscience may be blind-folded and cheated, though never killed. The writer then enters into the relations of Conscience with self. Conscience is the light of truth—of truth as known by natural reason, and of truth as confirmed or revealed by supernatural means. To act against Conscience is to act against reason and God; to try to suppress Conscience is to extinguish reason, intelligence, law, order, the sense of good and evil, and whatever distinguishes man from the beast. Self, therefore, must be ruled by Conscience. The conclusion of the chapter is a homiletic exposition, which deserves to be quoted at length as an example of forcible and picturesque analysis, of the way in which self-love works.

We have given a very inadequate account of an admirable book. But there can be little doubt that most of our readers will, by this time, be reading it for themselves. It is a very good specimen of that “theology in English” which is now becoming absolutely necessary. It will be found most useful by the young pastor and preacher who wishes to make his exhortations a little more searching in their philosophy. It will help professors and teachers to innumerable useful thoughts, modes of expression, and passages of the great Fathers; and, as we have said, Catholics with any pretence to culture ought to make it not only a manual of instruction, but a test to measure the degree in which their earnestness is falling a sacrifice to light literature and non-Catholic reading.

No book is utterly out of the reach of criticism; but it will be quite understood that we would not, even if we might, criticize the book of a father and master like the Bishop of Birmingham. But, in truth, criticisms on the book before us would reduce themselves mainly to matters of form and external presentment. Perhaps, also, we might have something to say in mitigation of the severe judgment passed in the first lecture on the Aristotelian definition of man. But the first thing to do—and we do it with all possible haste and earnestness—is to welcome a work of laborious effort, of weighty thought, and of admirable effect. The present generation has known Bishop Ullathorne for a long time; but it may be safely said that we should have fallen far short of knowing him in the degree he deserves to be

known, as a thinker and a pastor, had he not given us the present book.

Manual of Universal Church History. By the Rev. JOHN ALZOG, D.D., Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg. Translated, with additions, from the ninth and last German edition, by the Rev. E. J. PABISCH, Doctor of Theology and of Canon and Civil Law, President of the Provincial Seminary of Mount St. Mary's of the West, Cincinnati, Ohio; and the Rev. THOMAS S. BYRNE, Professor at Mount St. Mary's Seminary. Four vols., with Chronological Tables and Ecclesiastico-Geographical Maps. Vols. I., II., III. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1879.

IT is a remarkable fact that, until within a very few years, we have had no respectable text-book of a Catholic history of the Church in the English language. Wherever a course of Church history was attempted in our Catholic colleges, recourse was had, of necessity, to books in a foreign language, to Wouters's "Compendium," supplemented by the "Prælectiones" of Palma, or to the "Histoire de l'Eglise" of Fleury, or Rohrbacher, or Chantrel, or to the less voluminous works of Darras, or Drioux, or Blanc, or the still briefer manuals of L'Homond or Jorry. There was always a disadvantage attending the use of any of these books. Some of them were by far too long; sometimes they were too lengthy on some points and too brief on others; sometimes there was a want of clearness and method, and in all cases there was the drawback of their being in a foreign language, which is found, practically, in a large class composed of students of various degrees of culture, to be a hindrance to progress.

However, thanks to the industrious labour of American translators and to the spirit and enterprise of American publishers, we have now several excellent books on Church history in our own language. Some time ago we received from the American press a translation of Artaud de Montor's "Lives of the Pontiffs," then a translation of Abbé Darras's "History of the Church," and lately Alzog's "Universal Church History," in an English dress. The American publishers set an excellent example of devotion to Catholic literature, and we are glad to see this example being, at length, followed by Messrs. Gill & Son, of Dublin, who are now giving us an admirable reprint of Alzog's "Universal Church History." The whole work will occupy four large octavo volumes, three of which have already appeared, bringing us down to the year 1649. The fourth volume will be published shortly, and will contain the history of the Pontificate of Pius IX. and much original matter concerning English-speaking countries.

The translators have left nothing undone to make this history of the Church all that could be desired. The edition from which the translation is made is the ninth and last German one, and one which has therefore received the learned author's latest emendations and corrections. As a manual of history, it will not be easy to find another which is so orderly and methodical, so full and comprehensive, so clearly and lucidly

written, and one which embraces the whole complexity of Church history in so reasonably brief a form. Though the author considers this work only the outlines of Church history, yet it possesses the interest usually found only in more developed narrative. It is singularly well-adapted to promote research and study in the young student by the comprehensive list of authors and works, prefixed to each chapter and section, which Dr. Alzog has consulted, and which he indicates as *sources*. Every page is, moreover, enriched by a perfect wealth of appended foot-notes. It may be said to be emphatically an educating work in the highest sense of the word.

But though so much can be truly said in praise of the work, and though the translators have done a great deal to make it perfect, yet a few blemishes remain in the very marrow of the book, which it would be perhaps impossible to eradicate without breaking up the very form of it. There is no unsoundness of doctrine that we have detected, but there seems to us a want of that pleasing quality which we find, for instance, in the "Church History" of the Abbé Darras—a tone of devotedness and sympathy towards the Holy See and the Sovereign Pontiffs. For instance, when Dr. Alzog is treating of some of the Popes of the Middle Ages and of the times immediately following, he seems too much influenced, in summing up their characters, by such writers as Platina and Villani. The Popes of those stormy days had difficult work to do in defending the Holy See against the lawlessness and violence of unscrupulous princes and nobles, and the historians of Italy were always on the side of such powerful parties. In their account of those times these writers give a false colouring to facts, and accuse the Sovereign Pontiffs of aggression and avarice, whereas it was the princes and nobles who were really guilty. Machiavelli, writing of the close of the fifteenth century, unconsciously gives us the key to a truthful view of the Papacy of that era when he says:—"To keep down the Papal influence, the power of the Pontiff was secretly neutralized by engendering jealousies and hostilities and causes of dissension in Rome between the principal houses of the nobility. Dissensions were sedulously promoted. The magnates of Rome were divided into two factions, the Orsini and the Colonnas; and pains were taken to have them with arms in their hands, so as to keep the Court of Rome weakened and disabled."* Hatred, however unjust, against the Popes is sufficient to account for all kinds of foul accusations against them. It does not seem as if Dr. Alzog had taken all these things into consideration in delineating the characters of Innocent VIII., Sixtus IV., and Alexander VI., all of whom lived in this era. He does not show much desire to defend the characters of the Popes, otherwise he would have found something better to say, for instance, of Sixtus IV. than that "It is difficult to determine whether his vices or his virtues were more prominent," and again—

Sixtus died August 12, A.D. 1484, in the seventy-second year of his age, and so generally detested was he, that a contemporary writer said of him, on the day of his death, "To-day has God delivered his people

* "Hist. Flor.," cap. ii.

from the power of this unjust man, who, destitute alike of the fear of God and the love of his fellow-men, sought only the gratification of his avarice and ambition" (vol. iii. pp. 63, 65).

Dr. Alzog's estimate of Sixtus IV. we consider to be untrue and unjust.

Again, in speaking of Innocent VIII., he yields too much to the malignity of this Pope's defamers, and leaves the reader under a bad impression. With regard to the much-misrepresented and much-maligned Alexander VI., Dr. Alzog has scarcely a word to say in his defence. He certainly does not go so far as his very worst enemies, but still a great deal farther, we believe, than real facts warrant. We are told by the translators in their Preface that Dr. Alzog does not hide the truth of facts, though they be unpleasant, and this is considered a great excellence in him. But the question is, What is the truth? We certainly want historic truth, even if in some cases it be not pleasant to contemplate, but we think Dr. Alzog has not always given it to us. There is no doubt that some of the Popes have been much slandered, and it is the duty of a candid historian, and especially of a Catholic one, to defend and exculpate them whenever it is possible. Dr. Alzog has somewhat failed in this important duty. On these matters we prefer the tone and spirit of the Abbé Darras, and we think the effect likely to be produced by him on young minds much more beneficial.

In sketching the character and career of that much-discussed and problematical friar, Jerome Savonarola, the author does not seem to be acquainted with the latest attempts to rehabilitate him. He does not help us to understand the extraordinary Friar of St. Mark's any better.

The history of the "Temporal Power of the Popes" in these volumes is to us decidedly unsatisfactory. The author does not show the origin of this power, and, in fact, dismisses that part of the subject without a word. He never for a moment alludes to the possibility of any such theory as that of the Popes having an inherent right to exercise such power. The translators and editors might well have exercised their privilege here to append a note, and have directed the student to the excellent little work of Cardinal Manning on "The Temporal Power of the Popes." But they have not thought of doing so.

These are the most marked defects of this otherwise most excellent and learned "History of the Church." The work has so many really good and sound qualities that we are sorry to find any fault with it. For practical use we think it adapted especially for the highest classes in our colleges, and for the Divinity student it is an excellent manual. Taking it on its united merits it is a very great boon to all Catholic educators in particular, and to all English-speaking Catholics in general. The editors have performed their task admirably, and we hope their labours will be rewarded by an extensive sale.

Anglican-Ritualism, as seen by a Catholic and Foreigner. A Series of Essays: with an Appendix, on the present position of the Church in France. By ABBÉ P. MARTIN, D.D., Licentiate of Canon Law, Professor of Holy Scripture in the Catholic Institute of Paris, and Honorary Canon of Cahors. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.

ANGLICAN-RITUALISM—a strange but expressive compound word, representing a strange and indefensible compound phase of Protestantism in England—is a remarkable book by a remarkable man. Its author is the Rev. Abbé Martin, who is best known in this country, at the present day, for his subtle criticisms on High-Church Anglicans, for his striking revelations of their system, and for his masterly exposure of their pretensions, claims, and policy, in his controversy with their foremost champion, Dr. Littledale. But, Abbé Martin is better and more widely known in his own country, and beyond its bounds, for his theological attainments as a divine, his familiarity with Oriental philology, and his many and valuable contributions in ecclesiastical history, liturgiology and current literature. As a recognition of his labours, Dr. Martin has been decorated as Canon of Cahors: and in order to utilize his Biblical powers, he has been appointed to the Chair of Holy Scripture, as professor in the University, or, as it is now called, the Catholic Institute of Paris.

Amongst other contributions from Abbé Martin's pen on Oriental subjects may be mentioned a series of essays from the "Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques," on the Armenian and Monophysitic-Syrian Churches. These works contain learned disquisitions on the religious history and ritual books of these Eastern communions. He also contributed a monograph on the Martyrdom of St. Stephen I., in the "Revue des Questions Historiques." Another of his theological contributions is entitled, "Saint-Pierre, et le Rationalisme devant les Eglises Orientales." The Abbé has also entered a more strictly dogmatic region of controversy by publishing a Letter to Dr. Pusey, on the double Procession of the Holy Ghost, and the heresies and historical inaccuracies and fables boldly put forth by Mr. Meyrick and others at the "Conference at Bonn," and defended by newspapers at home. And as these pages are passing through the press, he has published another thoughtful pamphlet, bristling with facts and figures, on Catholic primary education in England.

Abbé Martin has thus proved himself a ripe scholar, a learned divine, and an accomplished controversialist in many fields of ecclesiastical letters. But, he has taken up another line of polemics which is distinct from all his former efforts, and which, perhaps, more keenly than they tests his sagacity, reading and information. It is a singular fancy which has made a French Abbé deal with purely English topics, and topics only indirectly affecting the Catholic Church, and not at all affecting the Church in France. But, Dr. Martin has been attracted, for many years past, to what is known, by a figure of speech, as the Anglican Movement, and to the body which teaches the Established

Religion in England. In this trying ordeal to a foreigner and an alien from the anomalous system which, with firm but delicate hand, he vivisects, the Abbé has acquitted himself with distinction and has emerged with applause. There is no doubt that he has logically and historically annihilated his most pretentious of opponents: and Dr. Littledale seems to admit his moral defeat, by his own silence, or his ineffective replies, by the silence of his organ of opinion in the press, and still more by the silence, the indefensible silence of the society which once patronized his pamphlet and then suppressed it, the English Church Union.

In addition, however, to the articles of the *Nineteenth Century*, and the *Contemporary*, which are reprinted in this volume, the Abbé has written a series of papers in the Paris *Correspondant* on similar topics. These papers have been reprinted in a pamphlet form; but they have not been collected, arranged, translated, or published in England. They fully deserve to be systematized and supplemented: and it is to be hoped that the publisher of the present book may be encouraged by its sale to issue a sister volume from these and similar materials. The Abbé's essays in his own tongue discuss these points: the Abolition of the Established Church; Existing parties in the Church of England; Anglicanism, and the use of the confession of sin to an English minister; Anglicanism, its characteristics, phases and transformations. These four treatises, together with Abbé Martin's essays in English reviews, give evidence of a wide knowledge of, and an intimate acquaintance with, the literature, opinions, and practices of the Ritualists and other parties in the Establishment. He quotes freely from the High Church papers, the *Guardian*, *Church Review*, and *Church Times*; from the Low Church, and Dissenting organs; and from the secular press, the *Times*, the *Post*, the *Standard*, and the *Telegraph*. Neither has the Abbé confined himself to a mere literary estimate of the Ritualist school of thought, by the study of papers, books, and pamphlets. He has made several visits to England and has had much personal intercourse and correspondence by letter with those who from their former or present position could afford him trustworthy information. He has cultivated the acquaintance both of converts and born Catholics, priests and laymen, and has held conference with clergymen of the Church of England at the head-quarters of Ritualism, in London and in the country. In short, he has mastered his subject, and the result of his manifold inquiries has resulted in the present volume, which is partly original and partly a reprint.

The reprinted portion of the volume contains, amongst other essays, the original paper by Abbé Martin, "What hinders the Ritualists from becoming Roman Catholics?" which produced Dr. Littledale's notorious "Reply." The new part consists of three essays, in the last of which Abbé Martin opens a direct attack upon Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome." That Dr. Littledale lays himself open to attack at the hands of a theologian, a liturgiologist, an historian, and a man of honour and probity, admits of no doubt. But, none could conceive the extent of the Abbé's exposure of Dr. Littledale's

controversial malpractices, who were not already familiar with the endless charges of inveracity, misquotation, false statements, calumnies, and reckless invective against everything, every person, and every dogma, bearing the title of Catholic, which crosses his path—charges which have been clearly proved against him by other opponents, and upon documentary evidence, in the *Contemporary Review*, in the *Month*, in the *Tablet*, in the *Weekly Register*, in the *Catholic Times*—charges which, as a rule, Dr. Littledale and his friends in the Church Union and the Christian Knowledge Society esteem it wiser to bow before and acknowledge silently, or to brave and allow judgment to go against them by default. Neither is the manner in which these charges are made less open to objection than their matter. The whole tone of the book, says Abbé Martin, “the courtesy of the language employed, the vulgar levity with which serious charges are brought forward, the bitterness of the attacks, the severity and harshness of the expressions”—all are characteristic of Dr. Littledale. One quotation must suffice to show the opinion of a clergyman and gentleman, whose judgment may be considered unprejudiced, upon the controversial work of the foremost and main spokesman of the Ritualists. Abbé Martin is dealing with the work of the Church, “in furthering the spiritual and temporal welfare of the poor.” This subject, he says—

Is treated by Dr. Littledale in a tone at once of levity and scepticism, which makes one fear that he is incapable of approaching it with the delicacy so necessary in touching upon what relates to the spiritual life. He writes, indeed, in a manner which goes far to prove that he utterly misunderstands the Catholic Church; that he does not even know the A B C of her belief, her practice, or her laws. He is, evidently, in a state of mind in which he reads everything backwards, and interprets everything in a contrary sense to the reality (“*Anglican Ritualism*,” pp. 216, 217).

There is charity not less than discernment in the words. Perhaps, after all, Dr. Littledale is not so vicious as he is ignorant. It may be that he is more to be pitied than blamed.

We must not omit to add that an Appendix contains a most interesting essay, “On the Present State of the Church in France.” To this portion of the volume many of our readers will naturally, and at the present moment, turn in the first place. They will not be disappointed in what they shall find. And it would be remiss not to remark on the comely form of the volume in which the Abbé’s thoughts are reproduced; and still more ungrateful not to commend the translation of his original essays. The rendering from the French is idiomatic and scholarly. It does not read like a translation.

The Church under Queen Elizabeth: an Historical Study. By the Rev. F. G. LEE, D.D. London: Allen & Co. Two Vols. 1880.

ON the whole, we are disposed to think that the most remarkable fact about Dr. Lee’s History of “The Church under Queen Elizabeth” is, that it should have been written by a beneficed

clergyman of the Establishment—by a minister of that religion the commencement and early development of which it professes to tell the tale, and which continues to this day to monopolize Catholic property, to anathematize Catholic doctrine, and to glory in the Protestant principles then first enunciated.

Cardinal Newman, in the introductory lecture to his volume on the "Present Position of Catholics," seeking for some explanation for the popular English view of the Catholic Church, for its grotesque misrepresentations, and for the positive falsehoods which it welcomes and shelters, tells the old story of the picture of the lion as painted by the man: a parable in which he thinks we may read a true explanation of an undeniable fact. Had Catholics, he says, written the histories which Protestants have alone chosen to read, their views too might have been different. However, had Dr. Lee's book been written at an earlier date, the Cardinal might have pointed to it as an exception. Here we have a picture painted indeed by a man, and yet one to which the lion need certainly not object; for far from exhibiting his religion and its Foundress in the position of moral conquerors, Dr. Lee gives a life-like and accurate, and therefore a hardly flattering account of the history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and of the rise of the Establishment. In these volumes the lion indeed rules triumphant; and, as our readers need not to be told, such a picture being far truer to fact than the daubs which often pass current for history, we, as Catholics, need not complain at the unusual occurrence of a Protestant writing that at which no Catholic can take umbrage.

Dr. Lee begins his history with Elizabeth's accession. He describes her coronation, which was effected with full Catholic ceremonial, and her reception of the Holy Communion with all but complete Catholic rites. Such conformity to the faith of her forefathers was, however, short-lived. Within a few weeks of her accession the two Houses of Parliament passed some momentous laws, "the full force and importance of which upon the National Church are even now scarcely realized," Dr. Lee tells us, and he adds—

All spiritual and ecclesiastical authority of every sort and kind (was) thus vested in the Crown, though now worn by a woman. . . . Furthermore, and at once, all ministers and officers whatsoever, whether temporal or spiritual, whether bishops or judges, canons or magistrates, parish clerks or pikemen, were bound to take an oath acknowledging the Queen to be "the only supreme governor of the realm as well in spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as in temporal."

These Acts were the cause of all the horrible persecutions which stain Elizabeth's reign, and which as Dr. Lee details them page after page, are, even at this distant date, most sickening to read. Elizabeth, however, a true Tudor, if wanting in every other virtue, can never be accused of lack of firmness in carrying out her will. She meant to establish the Royal Supremacy. She meant to be *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, "Supreme Governess of the Church." And as (if by *Church* we understand the Catholic Church) God's care for His vineyard and His promises to His people made this last intention impossible, she-

practically destroyed, or, speaking more truly, she succeeded in silencing for a while the old religion, and established a brand-new faith, with the one all-important doctrine of belief in the Royal Supremacy as its basis. To this first principle all else, during her reign, was subordinated; and any failure to subscribe to it, whether in Catholic or Puritan, was most cruelly persecuted.

These persecutions were not long in commencing. The episcopate being Catholic, of course resisted these innovations to a man; but one by one the Bishops were either deprived, or imprisoned, or died, some few first escaping to Rome. The Queen, however, unheeding all opposition, caused a new service-book to be issued which, with a few trifling exceptions, was identical with the Second Book of Edward VI. Our space forbids our criticizing in detail the peculiarities of this substitute for the Missal and Breviary; but their character may be gathered from the fact that, according to Dr. Lee, the omissions in what is known as the "consecration prayer" were of so important a nature, as to make the reality of any consecration at all taking place doubtful. It follows, therefore, that supposing for argument's sake we grant that England still possessed priests, the State religion was yet for a hundred years without the Blessed Sacrament, and any true Communion was impossible. Dr. Lee says—

The Act of Uniformity enjoining the use of the revised service-book, indirectly decreed that after the Feast of St. John the Baptist, 1559, any one who said mass according to those rites of the Church of England, which had been followed essentially for nearly a thousand years, as well as any one and every one who heard mass, or administered baptism, or any of the sacraments, according to the old directions and services, or who used any but the new, should, for the first offence, be fined one hundred marks; for the second, four hundred marks; and if these respective fines were not promptly paid, imprisonment for twelve months followed; with imprisonment for life, and the forfeiture of all goods and chattels, if a third offence were proved. . . . On the day appointed, therefore, the public celebration of mass ceased. . . . As the records of this reign are examined, step by step, and the harrowing tale of persecution is told, it will be seen with what a high hand those carried affairs, who, by the use of might over right, had secured influence, authority, and power.

The Queen having thus disengaged herself of the old bishops and of the old services, yet still wishing to preserve the Episcopate as a form of church government, if not as a grace bestowing order, proceeded by the much questioned and often disputed consecration of Matthew Parker, to found the present succession of Erastian Bishops. Of this consecration Dr. Lee (after detailing numerous important ceremonial omissions) says, "Here then and in this manner the new succession began." The validity of this consecration, although he speaks very doubtfully, Dr. Lee does not altogether deny. He admits the possibility of real order having been bestowed on Parker (of true jurisdiction there was not, of course, a shadow), though at the same time frankly owning the many difficulties existing as to any complete proof, he seems to sympathize both with the Catholic Church and with the Eastern Christians in their disavowal of the validity of

Anglican orders. He quotes, without blaming, Canon Estcourt when he writes—

It may be confidently asserted that there is an unbroken tradition from the year 1554 to the present time, confirmed by constant practice in France and Rome, as well as in this country, in accordance with which Anglican ordinations are looked upon as absolutely null and void; and Anglican ministers are treated simply as laymen, so that those who wish to become priests have to be ordained unconditionally. Not a single instance to the contrary can be alleged.

Dr. Lee also tells us of a re-ordination by a Greek Archbishop; and of the severe reprimand, by authority, of an Archimandrite who communicated a London clergyman; this last being described as without the priesthood, and as belonging to an “unorthodox” and “Protestant” Church.

Whatever may have been the truth in Parker’s case, if he really was consecrated a Bishop (which of course we may grant without its at all following that the Anglican succession of to-day is a true and real one), it must have been as much by good luck as by actual pre-meditation; for the value of the Apostolic succession and the true meaning of ordination seem to have been hardly realized at this date. The country was overrun by a multitude of foreign Protestants and of Englishmen who had merely received a Lutheran or Calvinistic “call;” and these preachers of the “new religion” seem to have been considered (perhaps not very wrongly) on an equality with the Episcopally ordained ministers. They administered equally the sacraments, occupied the livings, and were raised to capitular honours. The case of Travers is well known and to the point. On the strength of his foreign Calvinistic ordination, he was made lecturer at the Temple, and generally occupied the pulpit in the afternoon; in the morning it was handed over to the more orthodox “judicious” Hooker, who was, however, at a disadvantage, for as he preached *first*, his thoughtful sermon after Matins was usually flatly contradicted by an eloquent discourse after Evensong from the rival occupier of the same pulpit.

A still more remarkable fact bearing on the character of Anglican ordinations is the well-authenticated story of Archbishop Lancaster, who for some months *previously* to his own consecration as bishop was himself busy ordaining priests! We can here only beg all who are interested in the question of Anglican orders to study Dr. Lee’s book for themselves; to the High Churchman, we need not say, the matter is of paramount importance. For all he advances on this, and we may add on every point he discusses, Dr. Lee gives us full and complete contemporary authority; he asks us to believe no fact for which he cannot bring unimpeachable witnesses. We need take nothing on trust: and the researches necessary to disentangle a connected story from the copious authorities quoted by Dr. Lee, must have involved him in a work of which it is difficult to exaggerate the labour, and for which we, in the interests of truth, cannot be too grateful.

There is one other feature of the English Reformation which has

been popularly misrepresented, and the placing of which in its true light we owe to Dr. Lee. We are within the mark, we believe, when we assert it to be a common Protestant belief, that the change from the old religion to the new was greeted as a sort of spiritual liberation by the English people; that they were groaning under the tyranny of a corrupt priesthood and of a foreign usurper; and that they welcomed the change with exuberant delight. Indeed, the popular text to denote the distaste of to-day for any Catholic restoration is, that it forms part of that "yoke which neither they nor *their fathers* were able to bear." A perusal of these volumes will, however, soon dispel this illusion. It would be as true to fact to descant on the joy of Poland at being oppressed by Russia, at the delight of Ireland at English rule, and the charms of the *ancien régime* for the French peasant, as to tell of any far-spread satisfaction in England at the loss of her old religion. Dr. Lee records well-authenticated stories of popular risings in defence of the Faith; of tortures bravely endured; of the spoiling of goods, and of deaths too horrible to be more than hinted at, all in the same sacred cause. His interesting and graphic volumes contain page after page of such stories. After reading them we need not be surprised at Elizabeth's success. Half-hearted persecutions, no doubt, generally fail in their object; but such drastic measures as she and her ministers devised, and which were fully and ruthlessly carried out, are more effectual. A church composed of martyrs is, no doubt, very powerful in heaven: but dead men cannot fight against the Royal Supremacy; and after the sufferings, which all who ventured to resist were called to undergo, it is not wonderful that a day at length came when it was only with bated breath that any ventured to question Elizabeth's spiritual usurpation, or to deny that a secular woman was "Supreme Governor of the (Anglican) Church."

Organ School for Catholic Organists. By H. OBERHOFFER, Organist of Luxembourg Cathedral. Translated from the third German edition by R. W. OBERHOFFER, Organist of St. Wilfrid's, York. New York & Cincinnati: F. Pustet & Co. 1880.

THE very complete "Organ School" of Prof. H. Oberhoffer is now at the service of English organists in an English dress. We wish we could be sure that it will be taken up as it deserves. There are two, and only two, classes of organists in this country; the one is that of the men who live by playing the organ and teaching it, such as the organists of the Anglican cathedrals, or the professional men employed by the corporations of large towns; the other, of those who play the organ merely on Sundays. In the latter class are the greater number of those who play even in our best Catholic churches. You can hardly expect men who are either amateurs or who at least teach the piano or the violin all the week and every hour of it, to spend much time in preparing for scientific organ-playing on the Sunday. There are a few churches where you do hear true organ-playing; but they are by no means the majority even of the churches which

have organs capable of playing organ music. And it need not be said that the number of those who can accompany the plain chant of the *Graduale* is smaller still. The carefully-translated, clearly-printed, and well-edited volume before us is calculated to produce a school of real organists. It is at once a preparation for the organ and an introduction to the special accompaniment of the Church modes. It is divided into six parts, of which the first (a short one) treats of fingering, and proposes exercises for the memory; the second is a fairly complete treatise on harmony, after the well-worn fashion—that is to say, making harmony, to our thinking, far too much of a mathematical mystery and too little of an experimental and progressive art. The third section (of some 80 pp.) is dedicated to the mysteries of Plain Chant. We are sorry to see the author writes an accompaniment to the "Preface" of the Mass. His rules for the accompaniment of the Plain Chant, however, are good and sensible. The fourth part contains ample exercises for the use of the pedals; the fifth is thematic form and phrasing; and the sixth treats of counterpoint and fugue, and contains several good and instructive examples of fugue. Three useful Appendices conclude the work, which we earnestly recommend to every organist who aspires to understand his noble instrument and his own position as a promoter of God's worship by music.

Freville Chase. By E. H. DERING, author of "Sherborne," &c.
2 Vols. London: Burns & Oates. 1880.

ALTHOUGH we do not generally notice and discuss novels, an exception must be made in favour of this latest work of Mr. Dering. If we say that it is a tale which contains much controversial theology, and a great deal of serious Catholic thought, it is possible that many readers may be frightened, and may consider themselves warned off. It remains true, however, in spite of a very common prejudice, that some of the very best novels are those which have a strong infusion of sound philosophy. The truth is, no novel worthy of the name can possibly be written without a strong "motive" in it; that is to say, without touching some one of those deeper human convictions which all men agree in recognizing. The novelists of this country have nothing but natural convictions to fall back upon, and therefore the large majority of current novels depend for their "philosophy" on the passion of love. A few venture to make use of such motives as filial duty, parental tenderness, honour, or patriotism. There are many reasons, however, why these are not so powerful or so interesting. But with Christians, supernatural motives may well be used, because with believers they are as full of interest as any that are drawn from Nature. The love of God above all things, the workings of that "Grace" which is such a real power in the world, the vicissitudes of a soul, the history of the Kingdom of God, the operation of the Holy Sacraments, all these have a powerful attraction even for those amongst us who are very far from being saints. Doubtless, a novel ought to be very far from being a sermon; or,

rather, one had better say that a novel must interest, amuse, and recreate; and if it does this, it may resemble a sermon or anything the writer pleases. Mr. Dering does not disguise his "controversy," or his Christian ethics. Yet the book is interesting, amusing, and attractive; and this, not in spite of the serious pages, but because there is in the book such an assertion of strong and rational purpose that the intelligent reader feels the moral of it all to be true and sound. A tale of real life may or may not be attractive, but a tale grounded on true human and Christian insight is sure to touch a human and Christian heart. The tale before us is that of a young Catholic gentleman, rich, handsome, and strong, who suffers the greatest of earthly sufferings, and heroically sanctifies himself by their ministry. The "intrigue" of the story is not, perhaps, all that it might be from the point of view of art. The knot of the story—the complication arising from the old device of the substitution of one child for another—is tied and untied with too lavish a use of improbabilities, and with too large an apparatus of nurses, villains, and narratives. Then the series of misfortunes or machinations which finally drive the hero into his brain fever is not only too great a strain on our feelings in the atrocity and the amazing persistency of the calamitous shower, but it almost succeeds in making us rebel against the writer, and cry out that so many chances could not all have failed, and so many letters and telegrams could not all have been suppressed. Perhaps this, after all, is a compliment to Mr. Dering's art, and not a proof of the want of it. At any rate it may be freely confessed that Lady Dytchley, who is the principal villain of the story, is the most powerful character-portrait in the book. No one can doubt about her for a moment. She gradually stands out of the page; no melodramatic heroine with paragraphs of declamation, but a mere "county" lady, speaking as such ladies speak, and storming, caressing, lying, bullying, and laying schemes which must mean murder, in language which, for perfect truth to Nature, is a triumph of the artist. The other villain, the Marquis Moncalvo, is not by any means so good. The principal heroine, Ada Dytchley, whom the hero was to have married, and who becomes the bride of another by the train of harrowing ill-luck to which we have alluded, may be a possible young lady, but she is a strange compound of feebleness and violence. There are a number of characters whom the hasty reader will find it somewhat trying to keep distinct. The strong part of the book, however, is its Christian (Catholic) spirit; and it is not the least of its merits that it contains clear, neat, and eloquent expositions of a number of points of faith and morality. The style is clever, agreeable, and trenchant, with a pleasant ripple of humour showing itself from time to time. It is altogether a book which may be strongly recommended and which will do good.

Tractatus de Actibus Humanis. Auctore GULIELMO J. WALSH, S.T.D.
Dublin : M. H. Gill et Filium. 1880.

THE learned author of this volume, now President of Maynooth, was previously Professor in that College of both Dogmatic and Moral Theology. In the course of his lectures on the last-named, he had observed, he tells us, that the brief and meagre treatment of the important subject of "human acts" in Gury's admirable "Compendium," had led recent editors of it to supply deficiencies and lend it fulness by copious notes. We quite agree with Dr. Walsh that a book like Gury thus added to and explained in ever-recurring footnotes or appendices is not a satisfactory manual—certainly not attractive to the young student. Ballerini's Gury has always been to us, spite of its merits, a most teasing book. Dr. Walsh judged that he would accomplish a useful task if he composed a treatise of sufficient fulness and detail, which should follow the plan and method of Gury, and yet be characterized by that unity, homogeneousness, and consequent clearness, that would result if the work were the native design of one author.

Thus, the writer modestly suggests that his volume is only, as it were, a resetting of old treasures, but it is, as a perusal of it at once shows the theologian, very much more than this. Indeed, it is, so far as a manual of theology can be, an original work. It retains, for the benefit of professors and students, the form of Gury's book—even his distribution into chapters and sections; but the erudition and labour bestowed on it by the author make it distinctly his own. It is great praise of it to say that it is worthy of the College from which it emanates. An examination, rapid but sufficiently complete, persuades us that it is, in its own special line, a fitting companion to Murray's "De Ecclesia" and Crolly's "De Justitia et Jure." Dr. Walsh appears to contemplate the probability of continuing his task, and treating other headings of moral theology after a similar manner. It is greatly to be desired that he may find leisure to do this; he will be bestowing a boon on theological students.

There are points and questions in Dr. Walsh's treatment on which we should be disposed, with great diffidence, to disagree with the learned author. There is no more interesting subject than that which is concerned with the essence of morality itself. The question, "Why is a human act good or bad?" is one which Dr. Walsh fully discusses.* He cites and adheres to the solution of St. Thomas of Aquin—that an act is good or bad because it is conformed or not conformed to a certain law or rule, and that this rule is the *lex aeterna*, or eternal law. This, so far, is beyond doubt right and excellent. But we hardly follow him in his proof of this position. No other law, he says, except God's eternal law is obligatory on all creatures universally. But the dictates of reason are just as universally obligatory. In fact, the law of God, or the eternal law, is only known by the dictate of the reason of man, in the last resort. And there can be no "obligation" arising from the

* Pp. 111, *et seqq.*

existence of the law of God unless that obligation is recognized by the reason of man. The truth is, that the eternal law—by which is not meant any order or prohibition on God's part, but the *rationes aeternae* of His intellect and will, arising from the necessary relations between the Creator and the creature—this law, we say, and human reason, as a law, are completely co-extensive. Neither St. Thomas nor St. Augustine says that an act is evil because it offends God, or because God forbids it, but because it is against God's "law." The line from St. Augustine which our author quotes, could be shown not to contradict this, if space allowed. This meaning of the *lex aeterna* should have been, we think, more clearly brought out. We are far from saying Dr. Walsh is not perfectly acquainted with it. But there is, to our minds, a want of clearness in the first few pages of his otherwise admirable exposition of "morality." We submit that the consequence of teaching that God's "prohibition" is necessary before there can be "formal" sin would be, that an infidel who did not know there was a God could not commit sin; whereas it is St. Thomas's clear teaching, and the dictate of common sense, that any man who has the use of reason and rejects, or does not conform himself to the *bonum honestum* as far as presented to him by his reason—that is, his last end, and the means to attain it—may commit grievous sin.

Young Ireland: a Fragment of Irish History. 1840–1850. By Sir CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY, K.C.M.G. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., London, Paris and New York. 1880.

"YOUNG IRELAND" has certainly appeared at a time highly favourable to its chances of success. The interest taken in Irish affairs has become intense, and a certain similarity can be traced between the events of to-day and those described by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. The remarkable and romantic career of the author, too, serves to stimulate the curiosity of the public; but, independently of these advantages, this book contains literary merit of too high an order, and historical matter of too great value, to allow of its being, under any circumstances, ignored or forgotten. It is written in a perfectly clear and unaffected style, and the earnestness of history is here and there enlivened by amusing anecdotes and witty *bon-mots*; so that the reader is borne on through the somewhat bulky volume without the sense of fatigue that too often accompanies the perusal of personal recollections. The following anecdote is an example of the author's happy powers of illustration:—

An Irish priest once asked a milkman, who admitted that he filled his pail occasionally from the pump, "How do you know, Michael, when to stop watering?" "Begorra, your reverence, we go on watering till the customers cry out agin it." This story supplies the rationale and justification of political agitation in Ireland—Parliaments and Governments go on blundering till the people cry out vigorously against it.

It is impossible to extract such gems from the setting without injury; as the appropriateness of the illustration and the sudden burst

of fun in the midst of serious thoughts add considerably to the amusement of the reader. In the vivid description of persons our author greatly excels; a few graphic touches and the man stands before us like a picture! Let us take for example the following piece of word-painting:—

The man most essentially a poet among the writers of the *Nation* was Clarence Maugan. He was as truly born to sing deathless songs as Keats or Shelley; but he lived and died in a provincialized city, and his voice was drowned for a time in the roar of popular clamour. He was so purely a poet that he shrank from all other exercise of his intellect. He cared nothing for political projects. He could never be induced to attend the weekly suppers, and knew many of his fellow-labourers only by name. He lived a secluded unwholesome life, and when he emerged into daylight he was dressed in a blue cloak, midsummer or midwinter, and a hat of fantastic shape, under which golden hair, as fine and silky as a woman's, hung in unkempt tangles, and deep blue eyes lighted a face as colourless as parchment. He looked like the spectre of some German romance rather than a living creature.

The present volume deals only with the earlier half of the decade, which will ultimately be included in this history. The second and concluding part is announced to be in preparation; and, the events of the second lustrum being so closely connected with those of the first as to form almost a continuous chain, we think it expedient to reserve an exhaustive Review of this important work until its publication shall have been completed. We must caution the reader that he will not find in "Young Ireland" a general history of the country during the years 1840-45. It is called "A Fragment," and its fragmentary character consists not only in its limitation to a single short epoch, but also in the exclusion of all but two of the many currents that make up the flood of history. The Repeal Agitation and the influence of the *Nation* are described so minutely, and brought into such prominence, that all other subjects of national interest either disappear or, at all events, are dwarfed into insignificance. We derive from Sir Charles G. Duffy's book no knowledge of the condition of the people, very little of the Parliamentary history of the period. The Reform of the Municipal Corporations in 1840; the Drainage Act of 1852, inaugurating practical legislation on the subject of waste lands; the Arms Act of 1843; the ever-burning Land Question, with its evictions and consequential outrages, receive little or no attention; and, still more remarkable, the crusade of Father Mathew against intemperance is only incidentally alluded to. We mention these omissions only to forewarn our readers that they must not expect to find in the "Fragment of History" a complete record of the country's affairs, but rather the development of the political aspirations of the Young Ireland party. The author, indeed, in his preface seems to disclaim the idea of completeness by asserting that his narrative is the history not of certain men, but of certain principles; and no one is better qualified than the first editor of the *Nation* to furnish us with a luminous treatise on the principles of Young Ireland.

The present instalment is mainly occupied with the Repeal Agita-

tion and its consequences ; and this will be perused with avid politicians of to-day, attracted by the analogy it bears to the agitation now in progress. Nothing, however, is more striking to the observer than the fundamental difference between the two. It was a purely political movement, resting, at all events in part, on unselfish feelings of patriotism ; the other is merely social, & its mainspring in material discomfort. But the points of resemblance are more numerous if they are more superficial. The Repealition was not the voice of a people struggling to be heard, it originated with their discontent, but was created by the restless and persistent eloquence of a single leader. Week after week O'Connell address himself to scanty audiences on Burgh Quays, he did not withdraw discouraged from the contest. He presented his case to the Corporation of Dublin, and, after a three days' session, succeeded in carrying his motion for a petition to Parliament in favour of Repeal. He organized monster meetings throughout the country ; he established arbitration courts to supersede the old tribunals ; he received the offerings of the peasantry in the shape of "repeal rent;" his progress through the country was one of ovation ; and he ultimately succeeded in stirring to the deepest and most passionate feelings of the multitude. A higher class of recruits began to join the movement after "Repeal" had received the support of the Corporation. The O'Conor Don, "lineal heir of the Celtic king of Ireland," Lord Ffrench, the Bishops of Meath and Dromore, were enrolled as members of the association ; and the bishop M'Hale, "the Lion of the West," joined at the head of the hundred of his priests. Half a million of people stood round O'Connell at Tara ; and still greater numbers would have mustered at Cahir but on the eve of the meeting the Government at length interceded and in a high-handed fashion issued a prohibition. The meeting was not held, and shortly afterwards O'Connell and his lieutenants were arrested on the charge of seditious conspiracy. The history of the celebrated trial is probably familiar to all our readers ; for a very interesting account of its most picturesque points we refer them to Sir C. G. Duffy's pages. Though he was ultimately acquitted, O'Connell never recovered the humiliation of his imprisonment or the annoyance of his trial. The Repeal Movement passed into other hands, and soon threw off the semblance of Constitutional agitation. Although the efforts of O'Connell and those of the friends of the *Nation* were at first directed to the same end, yet their aims and arguments were essentially different. O'Connell was thoroughly loyal to the Crown, while he sought to destroy the Legislative Union and restore the Constitution of '82. The toast of "The Queen" proposed and duly honoured at the Mullaghmast banquet, as it have been at the Mansion House. He rested his case on the increased commerce and manufacture that had resulted from the Union ; assailed with bitter invective the means by which it had been effected. The brilliant knot of enthusiasts, on the contrary, who started the *Nation*, did so with the express purpose of developing a national

They were all under thirty, and filled with the uncalculating poetry of patriotism. They dreamed of an ideal past; they aspired to an impossible future. They cared nothing for the Crown, and England was to them only another name for a harsh and cruel mistress, who for centuries had stifled the yearnings of Ireland for individual growth. The mere material interests of the people were a secondary consideration in comparison with the elevation of Ireland to her place amongst the nations; and they sought, by their teaching, to propagate far and wide the transcendental patriotism which inspired their own minds. Still they worked with O'Connell for simple Repeal; and Sir Charles G. Duffy claims for the *Nation* no inconsiderable share in the awakening of the people.

The existence of these two currents of thought must be clearly apprehended by any one who wishes to understand the political history of this decade. The one, of which O'Connell was the incarnation, may be said to have abruptly perished in his fall; the other, though for a time subservient to his genius, outlived him, and developed naturally and logically into the more advanced opinions of the party of action which ended in the fiasco of Balingarry.

The Case of Ireland Stated. A Plea for my People and my Race.

By M. F. CUSACK. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1880.

THIS interesting contribution to the solution of the Irish difficulty arrived too late to be considered in our Article on that subject. Miss Cusack has put together a large amount of useful information. Her conviction, and her main reason for writing, is that the English people do not know the true state of Ireland. They do not read the Irish papers, and the English papers give, with few exceptions, only one side of the question. The work, which is over 400 pages, is mainly taken up with five subjects:—Irish land, Irish landlords, the agent system, the late “outrages,” and the Irish clergy. On each of these matters Miss Cusack has something really useful to say. A large part of the book is made up of quotations, letters already published, and cuttings from newspapers. But it is convenient to have such materials in an accessible form. The writer brings out clearly—and this we take to be the most valuable part of the book—that the present system of letting land in Ireland is equivalent to “usury” on a gigantic scale. Whatever the legal protection of the tenant may amount to, practically, he has no freedom of contract; he must have land or starve; and he is, therefore, at the mercy of his landlord, who fixes the rent at what he thinks fit and raises it whenever he pleases. Now, as in all civilized countries it is considered a matter of public policy to discourage and put down “usury,” as a pestilent plague which enriches a few and kills the very life of the community at large, so legislation must put a stop to the system of “usury” in Irish land. This we hold to be a sound view. We have already insisted upon it in the Article in our present number. Miss Cusack adds fresh evidence and new illustrations to its general truth. But there are other considerations which make the

demand for an Irish Land Law much more imperative than the mere statement of this economic principle would demand. There is the fact that in Ireland a large number of the landlords are absentees, and that consequently some £9,000,000 of the rents of Irish land is spent outside of the country. There is the fact that, in spite of the Land Act of 1870, 75 per cent. of the Irish farmers are liable to eviction *for non-payment of rent* at three months' notice, and that without any compensation for improvements. And there is the third fact, which in some respects is the most important of the three, that the authority of the absent landlord is exercised by an "agent" who has power to hurt, but none to help, whose duty is to gather and not to spend, and who has to administer a system and a set of "rules" instead of taking thought for the poor and promoting the well-being of men, women and children. All this is excellently brought out in the book before us. English sympathizers with Ireland—and there are more who both know and feel about Ireland than Miss Cusack seems to admit—would do well to go through its pages carefully, and to be prepared to state her case strongly when nonsense is talked about Communism, revolution and rebellion. Perhaps Miss Cusack does not speak with sufficient plainness about the undoubted facts of murder and outrage which have occurred. There is, no doubt, gross exaggeration. Over and over again, "outrages" have been reported in English papers and contradicted in Ireland immediately afterwards, and the contradictions have never found their way to the English side of the Channel. But even the contradictions which reach the English papers themselves should put us on our guard against accepting the reports of frightened "correspondents," and the imaginative narratives of the Royal Irish constables. But the evil deeds which have been done are shocking, if few; they are the indication of a much wider lawlessness than they express; and they are to a large extent sympathized in by the people in various parts of the country. These three truths cannot be denied. Sometimes it is lawful to palliate, at other times it is necessary to denounce the very same crimes. The time seems to have come to denounce the agrarian outrages, even whilst we do our best to acknowledge their source and to remove it. Of one thing we are convinced. Unless Mr. Parnell should separate the Irish people from their priests, lawlessness will continue to be merely sporadic and will be kept down. We are willing to leave the denunciation of the crime which too generally accompanies agitation to the action of the bishops and clergy of the land. They speak when it is necessary to speak.

The Apostle of Ireland and his Modern Critics. By W. B. MORRIS, Priest of the Oratory. With an Introductory Letter by AUBREY DE VERE. London: Burns and Oates. 1881.

IT is gratifying to find that the excellent Paper by Father Morris, of the Oratory, in our July number of the present year, has met with so much appreciation that he has reprinted it for general

circulation. The article was undertaken in order to establish the authenticity of the Records of St. Patrick, and to bring out the remarkable consistency which is in itself one of the strongest proofs of their authenticity. Father Morris admits that the Saint's first biographers have given prominence chiefly to his miracles, without attempting to portray his personal character; but he holds it to be quite clear that St. Patrick's character can be successfully brought out by the careful study of authentic materials. He takes his stand, therefore, against all who "divide" St. Patrick. There can be no personal devotion, he holds, to an undefined and shadowy hero of a myth. He is anxious, therefore, to prove the Apostle of Ireland, as represented in the Records which profess to refer to him, to be a real being of flesh and blood, "an angelic spirit tempered by the tenderness of a compassionate human heart."

Great interest is given to this new edition of an able study in hagiology, by the letter which Mr. Aubrey de Vere has addressed to the writer, and which is prefixed to the article itself. We wish we could quote the whole of the six pages of which it consists. Mr. de Vere, with his insight as a historian, a student and a poet, fully enters into Father Morris's argument from the "consistency" of the Records.

St. Patrick's character, as indicated in his writings, attests the authenticity of those historical documents which illustrate his life. That character was pre-eminently the *Apostolic* character in its marvellous union of heroism with humility, of the supernatural with the practical, of the soaring with the judicious—with sweetness, meekness, childlike innocence, and manly self-sacrifice (p. 4).

It would almost seem as if the writer of the "Legends of St. Patrick" was foreshadowing a new volume of moving word-pictures in the following lines:—

The day cannot be far distant when many a spot in Ireland will catch a new lustre reflected from Ireland's heavenly Patron. . . . The wilful disbelief of Milcho, and the glad belief of Dichu, which sprang from his good heart, will again be themes on the tongue of the peasant; and the boatman will point out where St. Patrick may have landed at Imber Dea, and later on the grassy shore of the great sea-lake not far from Downpatrick. Other youths will feel for the Saint the personal love which the youth Benignus felt, and tell how he carried the fawn down the woody steep of Armagh. The cry of the children in the wood of Foclut, the happy death of the two newly-baptized princesses, the strange interment of King Laeghaire, the baptism of Aengus at Cashel of the Kings, the feast of Knock Kae, the diverse fortune of the illiberal mother and the large-hearted son, King Eochardh's wonderful pact with the Saint—all these things will again, as of old, be the subject of popular discourse in the field, in the mountain, and at the fireside. But most often, surely, will be recounted the wonderful "Striving of St. Patrick on Mount Cruachan." . . . What a breadth and compass of character must have lain between the hardihood that sustained him week after week in that conflict, and the childlike tenderness of his anguish as it hung in suspense! . . . For sublimity and for depth of significance it finds no parallel outside the inspired Scriptures (pp. 7, 8).

The Life of Henri-Marie Boudon, Archdeacon of Evreux. (Library of Religious Biography, edited by EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON.) London: Burns & Oates. 1880.

THE real excellence, both of matter and style, that has marked the former volumes of Mr. Healy Thompson's series and made them deservedly popular, is quite sustained by the present addition to it. It is written in easy and idiomatic English, and its subject is the life of a man in whom busy and practical people of the present day can feel a real interest. It is the life of a man who has not been either canonized or beatified by the Church; who was not a monk because of the delicacy of his health, who was not a priest until he was thirty, because of his excessive humility. It is the life, too, of a man who was well-born and well-educated, who lived in the world and knew it—had witnessed both the good and the bad, the wealth and the poverty of it. The inference is, of course, not intended that cloistered saints, or saints of the most heroic and ascetic life do not contain a very useful, important, vital lesson to people of all classes and times. Quite the contrary: the story of their lives is likewise one for which we can all feel a deep interest. But treasures may lie untouched because not polished and set to present taste. To all intents and purposes the life of Henri-Marie Boudon is modern—it is not mediæval; it is a life in which incidents will directly portray the very scene and circumstance in which many readers will recognize their own need and read their own golden lesson. We welcome the book heartily; it is much superior to many of our translated biographies in style and tone, and very wisely adapted to the needs and special mental complexion of our own generation.

One reason, we are told in the Preface, which led to the publication of this biography, was the desire of bringing Boudon's writings before the notice of English Catholics. There has long been, in many minds, a supposition that some of his works were tainted with the errors of Quietism, and Mr. Thompson shows how this came about from the censure of an edition of one of his books that (as was the fate of some other books in those troublous times) had been tampered with and added to unknown to himself. The learning and genuine spirit of Catholic piety, as exhibited in Boudon's life, would be enough to raise a presumption against his unorthodoxy. Mr. Thompson has already made known to the English public three of Boudon's volumes, and he promises some more translations, which we trust, for the sake of that public, he may be enabled soon to publish. Any one who reads in these pages of Boudon's learning, profound wisdom, innocence of life, long and varied experience as a missionary and spiritual director, will need no further incitement to procure for themselves the works he has written. Space forbids any extracts or more particular account of this volume, but what has been said is only a moderate expression of the pleasure derived from a perusal of it, and will, we hope, send many to the volume itself. One point may attract some to it: Boudon's spiritual life was characterized by a tender devotion to the Providence of God, very much as St. Francis of Assisi's was to the virtue of

poverty. There is something of the seraph's own enthusiasm and poetry about Boudon's "Good Mistress and Mother Divine Providence." But the beautifully worded lessons of conformity to that Providence are most wonderfully illustrated in his own remarkable conduct in sufferings and trials. That these were not light, let it suffice to say, that from being Vicar-General, friend, and confidant of his Bishop, he came through the false representations, the calumnies and plots of his enemies, to lose (for a long time) that friendship and confidence, his office, the esteem of all good people; came, in fact, to such a point of general and unquestioned disrepute, that lay-sacristans of churches felt themselves free to refuse him vestments or an altar at which to say Mass, and that without a word of excuse—often with gratuitous insult. He not only bore all this, but rejoiced in it, and patiently withheld the words of self-justification that would have prevented it all. This is a great lesson to an age wrapped up in the conceit of self-worship; it is the apostolic lesson, too, of the "vivo, jam non ego." And the life shows also, what lends the lesson new persuasion, that Boudon did not trust to this Providence in vain; nor can any man. He accomplished all he undertook "in nomine Domini, qui fecit cœlum et terram."

Irish Songs and Ballads. By ALFRED PERCIVAL GRAVES, author of "Songs of Killarney." Second edition. Manchester: Ireland & Co. 1880.

THIS is a pleasing collection of verses upon Irish subjects. The "Songs and Ballads" of which the first half of the book consists, are too persistently amatory, and, though quite inoffensive, they are somewhat monotonous. Verses of this kind soon grow uninteresting:—

The hour we parted
When broken-hearted,
You clung around me,
 Maureen, aroo,
I swore I'd treasure,
Thro' pain and pleasure,
 Thro' health and sickness,
 My love for you. (P. 40).

Here is a fair specimen of the author's powers, in a humorous lyric:—

FATHER O'FLYNN.

Of priests we can offer a charmin' variety,
Far renowned for larnin' and piety;
Still, I'd advance ye widout impropriety,
 Father O'Flynn as the flower of them all.

CHORUS.

Here's a health to you, Father O'Flynn,
Slainté, and slainté, and slainté agin;
 Powerfulest preacher, and
 Tinderest teacher, and
 Kindliest creature in culd Donegal.

Don't talk of your Provost and Fellows of Trinity,
 Famous for ever in Greek and Latinity,
 Faix and the divels and all at Divinity,
 Father O'Flynn 'd made hares of them all!
 Come, I venture to give ye my word,
 Never the likes of his logic was heard,
 Down from mythology
 Into Thayology
 Troth! and conchology if he'd the call.
 (Chorus repeated.)

Och! Father O'Flynn you've the wonderful way wid you,
 All ould sinners are wistful to pray wid you,
 All the young childer are wild for to play wid you,
 You've such a way wid you, Father avick!
 Still for all you've so gentle a soul,
 Gad, you've your flock in the grandest control;
 Checking the crazy ones,
 Coaxin' onaisy ones,
 Liftin' the lazy ones on wid the stick.
 (Chorus repeated.)

And though quite avoidin' all foolish frivolity,
 Still at all seasons of innocent jollity,
 Where was the play-boy could claim an equality
 At comicality, Father, wid you?
 Once the Bishop looked grave at your jest,
 Till this remark set him off wid the rest:
 "Is it lave gaiety
 All to the laity?
 Cannot the clargy be Irishmen too?"
 (Chorus repeated.) (P. 71.)

Institutiones Philosophiae Naturalis secundum principia S. Thomae Aquinatis. Ad usum scholasticum accommodavit, **TILMANNUS PESCH**, S. J. Friburgi: Herder. 1880.

THE exiled Fathers of the German province of the Society of Jesus have just issued the first volume of a work that deserves to be "aere perennius." It is dedicated to Blessed Albert the Great, who was the professor of St. Thomas in the Dominican convent at Cologne, where he died in 1280, and where his sacred remains are still preserved in a magnificent shrine in the parish church of St. Andrew—the district in which the old Dominican convent was formerly situated. As the Catholic Church keeps in the month of November, 1880, the sixth centenary of Blessed Albert's death, the author of this work, which is entirely occupied in developing and vindicating the principles propounded by the old philosophy, has very appropriately dedicated it to the memory of that man who was foremost in introducing into the schools the study of the works of Aristotle, and employing his wisdom in the service of Catholic science. Father Pesch's book is not only dedicated to Blessed Albert, but it quotes largely from his works, a fact the more worthy of notice since copies of his works are

now very rare, and a new, correct, and complete edition of them ought soon to appear.

The book we are noticing may be traced to the Holy Father's encyclical recommending the study of St. Thomas's original works; since every page amply testifies to the author's intimate acquaintance with the angel of the schools. The present volume will be followed by five others, treating of logic, psychology, metaphysics, morals, and the history of philosophy. We hope the fathers will ere long succeed in accomplishing this noble task; they will then have given the Catholic world the most exhaustive philosophical textbook of our time. The line taken by Father Pesch differs from the course commonly followed in schoolbooks. He begins with that part which is generally styled "Cosmologia," treating of the nature of corporeal substances. As the students of philosophy, according to the tradition handed down in Catholic schools, ought to start from the study of logic, Father Pesch could scarcely be defended were it not for the fact that the questions he so ably treats are especially suited to our epoch, when all interest seems to be monopolized by "natural" sciences, and deep dislike is felt for anything suggestive of another and a spiritual world.

The work consists of four books:—1. On the essence, nature, and principles of corporeal substances (pp. 74—374); 2. On their attributes (pp. 375—540); 3. On their origin and dissolution (pp. 541—694); 4. On the order and laws of Nature (pp. 695—725). Excellent indices and a synopsis of the whole work increase the facility of using it. A diligent perusal of the book leads me to point out two excellent qualities that mark it. The *manner* in which the all-important questions of this branch of study are grappled with is masterly. It is useless to look for a book written in a brilliant classical style; but what we have before us is a first-rate textbook. Going through it we were reminded of the great axiom—"Verum et ens convertuntur"; may we not justly propound the principle in this shape—"Verum et clarum convertuntur"? The author employs the scholastic method which claims preference to any other, as it stimulates the mind of youth, and trains it to answering an adversary's objections. Father Pesch embodies his doctrines in short and clear *theses*, which he immediately goes on to explain and vindicate. These theses amount to sixty-eight in number; and it seems to us that, owing to the very exhaustive treatment of the subject, Father Pesch's work could not be made use of in the ordinary courses of philosophy unless these come to be extended from one to three years. No professor, however, of philosophy or theology, wishing to do his work thoroughly, can afford to be without the book. The other quality we remark is the perfect knowledge the author shows of the physical sciences—in other words, he is perfectly acquainted with the enemy's position. Hence his work deserves especial attention and diligent study on the part of Catholic divines, both in Germany and England; for it cannot be denied that it is in these countries that so many modern literary men have encroached on the department of faith by outstepping the limits

of physical science, in which we are justified only in examining into manifest facts, but are not entitled to pass judgment on the constituents of corporeal substances. There is, perhaps, not one modern physicist who is not here dealt with; but it is to Mr. Darwin and his erroneous system that our author has paid especial attention. As every error is prolific of many other errors, so we see Mr. Darwin's system developed in the course of time into manifold kindred and equally unfounded theories. Hence, Father Pesch accurately distinguishes between Darwin's system (p. 71) and evolution (p. 623), between transmutation and the theory of descent, between the latter and transformation (p. 658). Amongst the modern German pseudo-philosophers who have opposed the true doctrine on the world's origin, Schopenhauer and Hartmann rank foremost. The first not only teaches the system of monismus, but derives everything from a blind volition (pantheismus); while Hartmann exaggerates the scholastic doctrine of matter and form, and claims life and will for every corporeal substance. They are both refuted in a masterly manner by Father Pesch, who shows the origin of these modern sophists by tracing them to the Greek philosophers.

The space allowed to us renders it utterly impossible to point out the more positive theses of Father Pesch. But there is one point we wish to bring into due prominence—viz., his comments on the several systems dealing with the constituents of corporeal substances. He commences by discussing the nature of the *continuum*; this is made up of divisible parts, but “divisible” taken in a mathematical, not in a physical sense. Next, he proceeds to refute the atomistic and dynamical systems, and establishes the hylomorphic system held by St. Thomas, in defending the following theses:—“1st. The hylomorphic system in its principal tenets is absolutely certain; 2nd. It is likewise certain in its immediate consequences; 3rd. In the explanation of chemical changes, although it cannot be styled absolutely certain, it is nevertheless the best hypothesis; 4th. As to the facts on which it rests, the observations of modern physicists may be substituted for the less accurate observations of mediæval doctors” (p. 315). To the question whether or not, and how, the elements composing a new corporeal substance are continued in the latter, the writer answers that they are to be found in it “not *formaliter*, but only *virtualiter et radicaliter*.” But whether all those opinions for which Father Pesch, in this part of the work, claims probability do really deserve that praise, we will not here express an opinion. Closely connected with theology are theses 48–52 (pp. 506–518), treating of the mode in which corporeal substances exist in space; and theses 64–68 (pp. 196, 726), commenting on necessary laws as regulating the course of Nature. Lastly, we may claim special attention for Father Pesch's dissertation on astrogyony. His thesis is embodied in the following words:—“Concerning astrogyony, it may reasonably be asserted, that the formation of the world, after the creation and formation of its ‘materia,’ was left to the agency of corporeal substances; hence the order of the world admits, in a certain sense, of a mechanical explanation” (p. 588).

The language in which Father Peach has chosen to write, is, as we have said, the Latin. Whatever may be the arguments for modern idioms in our textbooks, it is a subject for congratulation that this very eminent one is in the language of the Catholic Church, and, by the fact, is at once at the disposal of cultivated readers of every nationality.

B.

Historia S. P. Benedicti, a Ss. Pontificibus Romanis Gregorio I. descripta et Zacharia graecè redditæ; nunc primum e codicibus saeculi VIII. Ambrosiano et Cryptensi-Vaticano edita et notis illustrata, cura JOSEPHI COZZA-LUZI, Abbatis Monachorum Basiliensium Cryptæ-Ferratae et Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ Scriptoris. Tusculani: Typis Abbatiae Cryptæ-Ferratae. 1880.

FATHER COZZA-LUZI, favourably known to the literary world as the editor of the "Codex Vaticanus sacrorum bibliorum graecus," has just published a precious book, worthy of the attention of every Catholic divine. It is a gift consecrated to S. Benedict on his fourteenth centenary. This fact accounts for only the second book of the dialogues being edited, as it expatiates on the miracles of the great patriarch S. Benedict. The effect of S. Gregory's dialogues during the Middle Ages was immense. But it was only in the eighth century that S. Zacharias, who governed the Church from 741 to 752, translated his predecessor's works into Greek. S. Zacharias was born in Southern Italy of Greek parents. When comparatively a young man he came to Rome, and was educated by the Benedictine monks, who were first driven out by Saracens from Monte Cassino, and then put in the Patriarchium of the Lateran by S. Gregory II. S. Zacharias' translation was largely used in the Oriental convents; but it claims a peculiar interest from having afforded many ideas to the great abbot S. Nilus, who celebrated S. Benedict in his immortal Greek hymns. S. Nilus, as founder and first abbot of Grotta Ferrata, ordered a special office of S. Benedict to be said. Hence the friendship and intimate connection which for centuries bound the two remarkable convents, Grotta Ferrata and Monte Cassino. S. Zacharias must have been an eminent Greek scholar. Whoever goes through his translation will easily agree that it breathes the genius of the Greek language perhaps in a higher degree than the Latin employed by S. Gregory approaches to the classic idioms of the Augustan period. But be this as it may, the special interest claimed by Father Cozza-Luzi's work is derived from its critical and palæographical importance. Both for the Latin and Greek texts of the dialogues he examined and employed the oldest existing codices—the Latin codex belonging to the Ambrosian Library, Milan, and the Greek belonging to the Vatican Library. The latter, having been written in the year 800, ranks amongst the oldest Greek manuscripts we at present possess, and belongs to that small class of Greek codices which bear a certain date anterior to the tenth century. The edition is accompanied by a learned introduction, commenting on

the codices, contents, and importance of the second book of the dialogues; besides, we are presented with a facsimile of the Latin and Greek codex.

In bringing Father Cozza-Luzi's work before the public, we venture to indulge the hope that it may ere long find a place in every great Catholic library. Would it not form an excellent text-book for Greek lessons in Catholic schools?

B.

Messianic Prophecies. Lectures by G. FRANZ DELITZSCH, Professor of Theology, Leipzig. Translated from the MS. by S. J. Curtiss, Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880.

THIS is a book of 119 pages, translated from the MS. notes of lectures delivered by the veteran orientalist Delitzsch, in the University of Leipsic. We need scarcely say that any one who merely reads this little book through without previous study of the subject, will finish the persual as wise and no wiser than he was when he began it. With the student who has already given some attention to the prophetic writings it will be very different. He will find here a most admirable summary of the results attained by ancient and modern research, an invaluable help to memory when he wishes to recall what the prophets have said of the Messias, and how others have interpreted the prophets. We have seen no other book in German or in English which can at all compete with the little work before us, in this respect. Nor is this all, or nearly all. At every turn we meet with original and suggestive remarks. Even the grammatical and philological side of the Messianic prophecies is carefully treated, and it is really wonderful that means should have been found of compressing so much matter into so small a space. In some ways, we think, Delitzsch gains by the limits which the nature of his work has imposed upon him. His commentaries, with all their undoubted excellencies, are often diffuse and disfigured by fanciful sentiment, which distracts the reader's attention from the real points of the question. The former of these faults is altogether, the latter nearly altogether, avoided in the Lectures. We cannot of course tell with certainty how far the English translation is an exact reflection of the original, for the German is not published; but the English is on the whole clear and good, nor are there many misprints, either in the Hebrew or in the Greek and English words. On p. 24, *ινταροι* in the quotation from Epictanius seems to be put by error for *ἀπτοραι*, and on p. 90, the third year of Cyrus is given as 555 instead of 535.

We cannot pretend to analyze the contents of a book which is itself a brief compendium, but we may call attention to some of its special excellencies. The Lectures open with an account of the prophetic office—and a most instructive contrast is drawn between the prophets of the true God and the soothsayers of heathen religions. With the latter the prediction of the future was all in all; they considered every means permissible. They tried to hold communion with the spirits

of the dead and with demons. They forced themselves into a state of *ecstasy* by the use of narcotics, or else worked themselves up into an excitement which bordered upon madness. The prophets, on the other hand, drew near to God and waited patiently for his voice. Hence—*i.e.*, from the very fact that they were the friends of God—their office was a much nobler and higher one than mere prediction. “Hath the Lord done anything?” Amos says, “and has he not revealed his counsel to his servants the prophets?” They saw God’s purposes unveiled before their eyes, in his past dealings with the chosen people and with all nations. They supplied the place of preachers, for there was no preaching in the temple. They kept alive the spirit of the law and prevented it from degenerating in the hearts of the people into a dead formalism. They proclaimed the inefficiency of the Mosaic Law and pointed to that “new covenant which was destined to replace it.” Lastly, although it was a principal, indeed the principal, part of their office, to unveil the future, in doing so they sought a far higher end than the gratification of natural curiosity. The whole religion of the Jewish people was a religion of expectation. All that they cherished most was to perish, but only that a higher order might replace the old. “Destruction, destruction, destruction will I bring upon it (*i.e.* on the Jewish crown) until He comes to whom the government belongs and [to him] will I give it (Ezech. xxi. 32, in the Hebrew text).

After explaining the nature of the prophetic office, the lectures proceed to trace the gradual development of Messianic prophecy. We cannot have an intelligent, not to speak of a scientific, knowledge of prophecy, till we understand that the Messianic ideas were not given at once in their fulness but were gradually enlarged, and perfected, by the direct action of God’s spirit on the one hand, and by the course of His providence on the other. God spoke to the “Fathers by the prophets, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως,” “in many portions and in many ways:” *i.e.*, the prophets had certain portions and aspects of the truth conveyed to them, and this in a manner and under images adapted to their own times and to their own characters. In the lectures, this history of the Messianic expectation is set forth with great power and clearness. On the whole matter we must refer the reader to the lectures themselves, but we will mention two points in this history, as Delitzsch gives it, which strike us as specially important.

First then, whereas the energy of the heathen oracles, and indeed of the heathen religions generally, grew with the growth of the national spirit and decayed with its decay, the very opposite of this holds good of Hebrew prophets. National disasters, nay, what seemed an annihilation of the people under the Assyrians, did but purify and strengthen the belief in the Messias. Even the personal imperfections and consciousness of human weaknesses in the prophet, did the same work. Thus, in many psalms David scarcely seems to distinguish himself, the “anointed of the Lord,” from the Christ, whose type he was. But after his double sin, into which he had fallen when at the height of his glory, he makes a sharp distinction between his own person and that of Christ, and in Psalm cx. (Dixit

dominus domino meo) "he bows as if he had descended from his throne, before the Christ of God, as his Lord." Again, on his death-bed, "he grasps the pillars of the promise," he asserts his faith in "the eternal covenant" with his house, and looks forward to "a ruler of men, a just one, a ruler in the fear of God" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1-9). Next, the supernatural, we had almost said the Christian, characteristics of Hebrew prophecy are wonderfully illustrated by the account of the "servant of the Lord" in the latter part of Isaias. As a rule the prophets insist on the insufficiency of sacrifice. But the "servant of the Lord" pours out his soul as "a trespass-offering," and atones for the sins of the people. The prophet finds the true explanation of the sacrificial rites in Him, "who is the true realization of all sacrifice."

We have one remark to make in conclusion. There is scarcely anything in these lectures to which a Catholic need object, but in one respect they are incomplete. The prophets speak not only of Christ, but of Christ's Church, though Delitzsch, like other Protestants, seems blind to this fact. Yet we venture to say, that there is not a single prophecy of Christ's passion more distinct than that of the Mass in Malachias: "For from the rising of the sun even to its going down, great is my name among the heathen, and *in every place* incense is offered to my name, a pure meal-offering (*i.e.*, an offering of flour, as distinct from the sacrifice of animals), for great is my name among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts." The prophet emphasizes the fact that sacrifice is to be offered "*in every place*." He cannot have meant, as Hitzig thinks, that the heathen sacrifices were acceptable to God, because such an idea is utterly opposed to the whole spirit of the prophet; nor can he have simply meant to say that prayer was to be offered everywhere, for there would have been nothing remarkable in this, and in fact for centuries before the prophet's time Jews had prayed to the true God in distant parts of the earth. The whole context shows that the prophet is contrasting the sacrifices offered in one place—viz., the temple—with the "clean oblation" offered all over the world which was to replace them. A further argument may be drawn from our Lord's words to the Samaritan woman, John iv. 23; nor is the prophecy of the Mass in Ps. cx. "Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec," less striking. Melchisedec was, as every believer in the New Testament must acknowledge, a type of Christ. The Psalm points out one point of the resemblance between type and antitype. Melchisedec foreshadowed Christ, because he (Melchisedec) was at once priest and king, and because Melchisedec's offering of bread and wine, prefigured that perpetual oblation of Himself which Christ was to make under the forms of bread and wine. We can imagine only one other interpretation in any way plausible. Some of the most extreme adherents of the negative school (*e.g.*, Hitzig and Olshausen) refer the words to the Maccabean princes who were both priests and kings. But even to this explanation there are two objections, one of them overwhelming, the other very strong. The Maccabean princes were priests by natural descent, and in no sense "priests after the order of Melchisedec." Next, the historical

reasons against referring any part of the Psalter to the Maccabean period, appear convincing, not only to Delitzsch himself, but even to pronounced rationalists such of Hupfeld. W. E. ADDIS.

The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel. External Evidences. ' By EZRA ABBOT, D.D., LL.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University. London : Trübner & Co. 1880.

THREE is nothing very original in Dr. Abbott's book, which is a defence of the Johannic authorship of the Fourth Gospel. But he gives an account of the literature of the controversy which is very clear, and which embraces the very latest books which have appeared in Germany. Dr. Abbot writes with full knowledge of his subject ; he is clear and logical, and he writes with great moderation and with uniform courtesy to his opponents. We think it is a pity he attaches so much importance to the book called "Supernatural Religion." It has been long since demolished by Dr. Lightfoot, and will probably soon be forgotten. One point Dr. Abbot brings out very forcibly. Those who deny the authenticity of St. John's Gospel have been forced to place its composition at a very early date. Keim, for example, placed it, in the last volume of his "History of Jesus," at about 130, and the quotations from St. John's Gospel in Justin Martyr make it impossible to put it much later. Now it is the uniform tradition, Dr. Abbot writes, "supported by great weight of testimony, that the evangelist John lived to a very advanced age, spending the latter portion of his life in Asia Minor, and dying there in the reign of Trajan, not far from 100. How could a spurious gospel of a character so peculiar, so different from the early synoptic gospels, so utterly unhistorical as it is affirmed to be, gain currency as the work of the apostle, both among Christians and Gnostic heretics, if it originated only twenty-five or thirty years after his death, when so many, who must have known whether he wrote such a work or not, were still living?" This is a question more easily asked than answered.

W. E. ADDIS.

The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God. By Sister MARY FRANCES CLARE. London : Burns & Oates. Dublin : Gill & Son. 1880.

LIKE the authoress of this fluent and pious, but very redundant, Life of our Lady, we feel that some apology is necessary for its production. It is very long—it was not to be expected that it should contain anything new in regard to our Lady's life—and it is both tiresome and inaccurate. Its tiresomeness arises from its excessively wordy style, its "preaching" tone, its commonplace eloquence, and its continual repetitions. There is, besides, a strain of false sentiment, which may perhaps be considered piety by some, but will assuredly repel more than it attracts. As for its inaccuracy, we

will content ourselves with giving a single example. The writer is speaking of the mystery of our Lord's circumcision. She states that, according to tradition, our Blessed Saviour wept. She continues,—“Alas! did He then foresee all the sin which even this suffering would be powerless to avert? Did He foresee the millions who, &c.? We may but conjecture.” Now some would call this expression of uncertainty as to our Lord's omniscience by a harder name than inaccuracy; but with the authoress it seems to be nothing more, for in the very same passage she has these curious sentences:—“Did He weep, knowing all things as God, and as man feeling pain, as a little child would do? Did He, knowing all things as God, foresee the millions who should wilfully neglect,” &c. (pp. 445-6). She states in these words that He knew all things as God; but leaves it quite doubtful, as far as words go, that He knew also *as man* all that was, that had been, and that was to be.

Other examples of inaccuracy could easily be given. It is a pity that so much labour should have been spent in our Lady's honour, and that competent literary and theological assistance should not have been secured to make the work less unsatisfactory.

Outlines of the History of Religion to the Spread of the Universal Religion.

By C. P. TIELE, Dr. of Theology, Professor of the History of Religions in the University of Leiden. Translated from the Dutch by J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A. Second Edition. London: Trübner. 1880.

IT is not very easy for a Catholic writer to criticize satisfactorily such a book as this of Dr. Tiele's, because while its learning, its candour, its clearness, merit great praise, the author's point of view is altogether alien from ours. He writes of the religions of the world in the spirit in which a Pagan philosopher might have written; and of course we know that in such a spirit only one side of truth, and indeed only a portion of that one side, can be discerned. We know, too, that partial truth is often whole error. The propositions that “all the truths of religion flow from the natural force of human reason,” and that “the prophecies and miracles recorded and narrated in Scripture are poetical fictions,” are, as we Catholics are assured upon sufficient authority, false. But these are the main propositions, as we judge, wherewith Dr. Tiele sets out. Hence his book is radically unsound. Still the Catholic student who has any just occasion to consult the work, and who bears this in mind, may learn much from it. The author's object is, as he tells us in his preface, to give us “outlines, pencil-sketches, nothing more,” of the history of religion until the spread of what he calls “universal religions:” that is to say, until Buddhism diffused itself in Eastern Asia, Islam in Western, and Christianity in the Roman Empire.

There is great danger [he writes] that so young a science [as the science of Religions] may lose itself in abstract speculations, based on a few facts and a great many dubious or erroneous statements, or not based on any facts at all. For the philosopher who wishes

to avoid this danger, for the theologian who desires to compare Mosaism and Christianity with the other religions of the world, for the specialist who devotes all his labours and all his time to one single department of this vast science, for him who studies the history of civilization—none of whom have leisure to go to the sources themselves, even for him who intends to do so, but to whom the way is as yet unknown, a general survey of the whole subject is needed, to serve as a kind of guide or travelling-book on their journey through the immense fairyland of human faith and hope. My book is an attempt to supply what they want. In a short paragraph-style I have written down my conclusions, derived partly from the sources themselves, partly (for no man can be at home everywhere) from the study of what seemed to me the best authorities; and I have added some explanatory remarks and bibliographical notices on the literature of the subject—very short where such notices could easily be found elsewhere, more extensive and as complete as possible where nothing of the kind, so far as I knew, yet existed (Preface, p. viii.).

So much may suffice to indicate the scope and spirit of this work. The bibliographical portion of it seems to us to be the most valuable. In making this remark we are far from intending any disparagement of the learned author. Indeed, we think that he would agree with it, for often and strongly as we are obliged to differ from him, we bear ungrudging testimony that his learning is only equalled by his modesty.

Monarchy and Democracy: Phases of Modern Politics. By the Duke of SOMERSET, K.G. London: J. Bain.

IN this little volume the Duke of Somerset gives the world, through a series of short essays, his views upon some of the principal political topics of the day, such as "Constitutional Sovereignty," "Modern Democracy," "the Functions of Government," "Liberty," and "Progress." The ostensible object of the work, indeed, is not to set forth the noble author's own opinions, but to test, by later experience, certain doctrines proposed by distinguished French, English, and American writers, and to compare their predictions with subsequent events. The Duke of Somerset's own conclusions on the various subjects which he passes under review are, however, not obscurely indicated. They are not hopeful conclusions; but, as we must frankly admit, they are, for the most part, only too well founded. The great fact of the age is the advance made everywhere by the movement which found its most perfect experience in the French Revolution of the last century; and, as the Duke of Somerset clearly discerns, the tendencies of that movement are not in the direction of rational liberty or durable peace, or any true progress of the human race. But what he does not discern is that the essential principle of the Revolution, its radical vice, is its atheism; the elimination of the idea of God from the public order and the substitution of the idea of man in His place. This is clearly expressed in the "Catéchisme Populaire Révolutionnaire," published by the Commune for general instruction, where we are taught "qu'il n'y a pas de puissance et de justice au-dessus et en dehors de l'homme et que nier Dieu c'est

affirmer l'homme unique et véritable Souverain de ses destinées." But we are afraid that the Duke of Somerset is little more disposed to acknowledge God than the Communists themselves. Still his little work, as far as it goes, is very telling, and is likely to have quite an enlightening effect upon many readers.

Outlines of the Philosophy of Aristotle. Compiled by EDWIN WALLACE, M.A. Parker & Co. 1880.

IN the compass of seventy octavo pages, Mr. Wallace has succeeded in giving us the cream of Aristotle. He has put the Stagyrite into a nutshell. An introduction of six pages gives a miniature history of the philosopher, of his works, and of their influence in ancient and modern times, and some brief but satisfying remarks on their genuineness and arrangement. Then follow six chapters, exhibiting in a series of compact little sections, each supported by well-chosen extracts from the original texts, the leading doctrines of Aristotle on logic, metaphysics, the philosophy of Nature, psychology, moral and political philosophy, and the philosophy of art. Finally, an index of Greek terms warns us that the book is intended chiefly for those who can read the philosopher in his own tongue.

This description will sufficiently recommend the work to philosophical students. To Catholics, especially, the "ipsissima verba" of the man who laid the foundations of the Scholastic Philosophy must always be of great interest and value; and they who have not the leisure to peruse his works in their integrity, will find a good substitute in these faithfully drawn outlines.

The Story of Philosophy. By ASTON LEIGH. Trübner & Co. 1881.

WE are tempted to call this book "The Ancient Philosophers in the Magic Lantern." It is eminently pictorial, and there is about the pictures an unnatural brightness, a vividness of colour that reminds us of the oxy-hydrogen. The author invites us to behold the sages of ancient Greece, passing before us in visionary procession, like the kings in *Macbeth*; Thales, the father of philosophy, "the old man with the flowing beard, and kindly face," Pythagoras, "a lofty figure with folded arms and regal head," the weeping Heraclitus, Democritus the laughter-loving, and so on till the airy pageant closes with the celebrities, such as they are, of the New Academy. Socrates and Plato are evidently the author's favourites, and he exhibits them and their surroundings with minute care, and, we must add, with great felicity. He brings before us, with captivating brilliancy, ancient Athens, with its transparent atmosphere, its golden sunshine, and its sparkling marble, its magnificent public edifices, and its shabby dwelling-houses; the physical and intellectual beauty of its people, and, withal, the odour of unspeakable corruption that hung about it and them. The personal characteristics of his philosophical heroes are portrayed with not less success. Socrates, especially, seems to live before our gaze, as we follow him from scene to scene, and listen to

him, now engaged in one of those intellectual contests which Plato has immortalized in his Dialogues, now pronouncing his noble *Apology* before his judges, now discoursing calmly of immortality on the brink of the tomb.

The doctrines are not described so well as the men. The chief points only are stated, and in a broad, popular fashion, so that one who runs may read, but, in the main, as correctly as such conditions permit. On page twenty-eight, however, the author seems to defend, or at least, apologize for Hegel's bewildering statement, that being and not-being are one and the same; and at page thirty-two, after describing the Atheistic atomism of Democritus, he asserts that Leibnitz held opinions almost exactly similar. Scripture texts are introduced here and there in new and, to our mind, somewhat incongruous connections. Taking it altogether, the book is pleasant reading, and will be, no doubt, acceptable to such as would be glad to learn something, without much trouble, of the wisdom and of the follies of the ancient philosophers.

The Student's Handbook of British and American Literature. By the Rev. O. L. JENKINS, A.M. Edited by a Member of the Society of St. Sulpice. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1880.

THIS is a substantial octavo volume of some 500 pages, well printed, well bound, and of very moderate price. The Rev. Mr. Jenkins has conferred a decided benefit on our Catholic colleges and schools by publishing this book, which is meant to be a manual for the more advanced classes in our educational establishments.

The work is divided into two parts, and each part sub-divided into periods. The first part comprises British literature, and is divided into five periods—the old Saxon or Anglo-Saxon period, from 449 to 1066; the semi-Saxon, or transition period, from 1066 to 1250; the old English, or early English period, from 1250 to 1350; the middle English period, from 1350 to 1580; and the modern English period, from 1580 to 1880.

Part II. comprises American literature. This part is divided into three periods—the colonial era, from 1607 to 1761; the Revolutionary period, from 1761 to 1800; and the present century.

The plan of the book is to give a history of literature, according to each period, and of the men who have contributed in the most striking way to the development and perfection of the language. Such selections are made from the best writers as the author thinks are calculated to awaken and improve the student's literary taste.

A special feature of the book is that it was composed for Catholic students, and hence the author has taken particular care, especially in this new edition, to point out the danger to which the reading of some authors exposes them. He rightly observes in his preface to the book that, "Catholic authors are generally ignored or sneeringly slighted by Protestant textbooks of literature," and this he considers

a special reason why *he* should not neglect them. We are pleased, therefore, to find that he gives, in their places, a short notice of the most remarkable of our Catholic modern authors. But we are at a loss to account for the omission of certain names which are an honour not only to Catholic, but to English literature in general. We are sorry to find forgotten, for instance, Kenelm Digby, the erudite and graceful author of "Mores Catholici," the "Comptitum," and other works; Dr. Ward, one of the most clear and powerful writers of our day; Father Harper, a cultured writer and profound thinker; Father Dalgairns, and some others. We hope this defect will be remedied in a future edition.

Vie de Frédéric Ozanam, Professeur de littérature étrangère à la Sorbonne.

Par son frère, C. A. OZANAM, Chapelain d'honneur de sa Sainteté, Missionnaire Apostolique, &c.

Le Vicomte Armand de Melun, d'après ses Mémoires et sa Correspondence. Par M. l'Abbé BAUNARD, chanoine honoraire d'Orléans, &c. 8vo. Paris: Poussielgue.

WE have included in the same notice the biographies of two distinguished Frenchmen who served the same holy cause with equal devotedness, and whose names will live so long as there remains here below any love for what is true and noble and just. A time must come when the history of the Church during the nineteenth century will have to be written, and one of the most interesting chapters in that history cannot but be the one describing the efforts made by France to shake off the trammels of theological Gallicanism, and to claim complete freedom of action for Christian thought, Christian philanthropy, and Christian education. Lacordaire, Montalembert, Gerbet, Gratry, Ravignan are, of course, the best known amongst the representatives of that movement; but the group of Catholics who frequented the *salon* of Madame Swetchine, and there discussed the ever-important question of the *entente cordiale* between faith and reason, included also the subjects of the two volumes we have now to notice—Count de Melun and Frédéric Ozanam.

We can quite understand and we thoroughly respect the feeling which prompted M. l'Abbé Ozanam to crowd the pages of his book with all the materials calculated to illustrate the early years and rich promise of his gifted brother; but he has forgotten, we think, that such relics are not likely to interest the general public, and from the point of view of mere artistic composition, they should have either been suppressed altogether, or at any rate considerably curtailed, and given at the end of the volume in the shape of an appendix. The biographical notice of Ozanam, the mathematician, is also a *hors d'œuvre*, interesting no doubt, but out of proportion with the rest of the work. Having thus done the disagreeable part of the critic's duty, we can now all the more heartily recommend M. l'Abbé Ozanam's volume as an excellent contribution to what we have no hesitation in calling the modern *acta sanctorum*.

It is curious to observe the early manifestations of all the great qualities which were in after-life to distinguish the brilliant successor of M. Fauriel at the Sorbonne, the eloquent and at the same time learned author of "Dante et les philosophes Catholiques au XIII^e siècle;" no one ever showed in a greater degree the happy union between the thoroughly practical view of life and the intellectual aspirations which too often adopt as their motto, if not *odi*, at any rate *sperno profanum vulgus*; in this respect he stood out in perfect contrast to the philosophic Ampère, with whom he had the good fortune of being intimately acquainted, and who was undoubtedly the man the least fitted for the duties of society. Faith was their common ground, and Ampère found in Ozanam's soul a ready and enthusiastic response when, one day, after meditating for a long time on the wonderful works of God, he buried his head within his hands, and exclaimed: "Oh! que Dieu est grand, Ozanam, que Dieu est grand!"

The young student had started in life with the firm intention of showing to those around him that a man may be at once a Christian and yet gifted with common sense; such were his own words, and he completely acted up to them. His first appearance as a public character was at Lyons, his native town, in a controversy with the Saint-Simonians who had attempted to proselytize the working classes, and to spread their new doctrines on political economy. The events of July, 1830, had brought the French Revolution one stage forward in its fatal career, and the wild theories of Enfontin, Cabet, with Louis Blanc and Fourier were preparing the way slowly but surely for the social dreams of Auguste Comte, Prud'homme and M. Littré. It was at the same time that Frédéric Ozanam, with the genuine ardour which knows no impossibilities, sketched the plan of a gigantic work destined never to be carried out, but portions of which were transferred to his lectures and his essays. None but a young man could have dreamt of raising to Christianity a monument supposing, on the part of its author, a complete knowledge of ethnology, metaphysics, philology, history, geography, natural philosophy, in fact, *omnium rerum scibilium*. The programme of this vast conception will be found in the Abbé Ozanam's volume (pp. 125-129); it is worth reading.

We do not mean to trace, step by step, our hero's career: suffice it to say that, in his capacity of lecturer, at Lyons first, and then in Paris, he obtained the most brilliant and deserved success. His biography illustrates very well the attitude assumed by the University of France towards Catholic teaching; when we consider the lamentable *fiasco* in which the rationalism of the late Victor Cousin and his school has ended, we see one more proof that there cannot be two paths towards the attainment of truth, and that, as Maine de Brian strikingly said, "La religion résoud seule les problèmes que la philosophie pose;" but this truism was not universally recognized forty years ago, and the *jeune France* of those days sincerely believed that the spiritualized doctrines of Damiron, Jouffroy, Rémusat, and Cousin were all the stronger because they had shaken off the yoke of Christianity. How utterly wrong such an hypothesis must ever be is now plainly apparent to all unprejudiced minds.

The other event with which Frédéric Ozanam's name will ever remain associated is the establishment and progress of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Socialists of every hue, Fourierists, Positivists, Communists, could not but fail in their endeavours to settle the momentous problem of pauperism, for the simple reason that their starting-point was essentially wrong; by taking up their position at the foot of the Cross, Ozanam and his noble-minded coadjutors saw at once the real solution of the difficulty, and the success they immediately obtained proves that they alone had discovered the right track. All our readers know with what jealousy the government of Napoleon III. watched the development of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and endeavoured to transform it into a means of political influence. The whole history of this episode is given in detail by the Abbé Ozanam in his excellent volume.

If we now turn to the life of Viscount Armand de Melun, we find ourselves still face to face with the problems of pauperism, of Catholic charity, and of the relations between capital and labour; but it is a politician whom we have to consider, a man constantly engaged on the battle-field of parliamentary discussions, and called upon to hoist the banner of Christianity amidst antagonists who aimed at working out in the sphere of *practical* government the revolutionary principles of which Ozanam's opponents sought to realize the *intellectual* consequences. As a work of art, the Abbé Baunard's volume is infinitely superior to the one we have just been noticing, and although the author had his materials ready prepared for him, so to say, in the shape of memoirs, letters, speeches, and documents of every kind, yet a considerable amount of taste and of discrimination is always needed in putting together documents which were not originally meant for publication, and in this respect the Abbé Baunard has been quite successful.

Born in 1807, Viscount de Melun was six years older than Frédéric Ozanam, yet he survived him, and after having witnessed the third exile of the Bourbon family, he lived long enough to see, not the fall of a royal house, but the very foundations of society threatened with destruction during the horrors of the Commune. In a book where every chapter is full of interest, it is difficult to select one for special consideration, and therefore we shall content ourselves with remarking on two or three points which seem to us landmarks in the life of Viscount de Melun. The description of the fatal errors which sealed the fate of Charles X. is extremely curious, and we are led to wonder how even the popularity obtained by the King during his excursion of 1826 through the provinces of eastern and northern France could have blinded him as to the state of public opinion. The famous decree of July 26, 1830, had hardly been signed when the Cardinal de Rohan, in the midst of the universal fermentation, persisted in looking upon Prince de Polignac as the best friend of the dynasty, and the sight of the tricolour flag waving from the top of Notre Dame scarcely woke him out of his dream.

Thus having received his earliest political training, so to say,

amidst the Paris barricades, Viscount de Melun was for some time hesitating as to the best way of spending his activity, when he became acquainted with Madame Swetchine. This gifted lady soon discovered the high qualities he possessed, his love of truth, his practical mind, and the common sense with which he viewed the important questions then occupying the attention and awakening the anxiety of all genuine patriots. Her influence had proved of the most beneficial kind for his intellectual progress, it acted likewise upon his heart, and determined his career for the future.

"As for me, dear friend," said he in a letter to Madame Swetchine, "I have no longer any doubt with respect to my vocation. I have struggled against science, I have argued all the great questions of philosophy, I have had my days of thought and of speaking. But since the longing for action has taken possession of me, my only aim is to render that action more fruitful and holier, without feeling anxious as to the employment of my time and of the future."

"This action was thoroughly reasoned out; prompted by philosophy and faith rather than by instinct and inclination, it was inspired by three principles which reveal the whole thought, animate the whole conduct, and direct the whole life of M. de Melun. These three principles are the following. 1. Society can be saved only by charity. 2. Charity should take up its position independently of politics, and derive its inspiration from religion alone. 3. Religion itself can be all-important only with the help of liberty."

This quotation, which we borrow from the Abbé Baunard's work, illustrates admirably the whole course of Viscount de Melun's life, and furnishes the key to his political views. Armed with the critical acumen which nothing can give but a familiar acquaintance with revealed truth, he appreciated most accurately the wild theories preached by Laniennais and Pierre Leroux, exposing their hollowness, and showing that the Gospel alone realizes the notion of fraternity. Both in his autobiography and in his correspondence we have noted a number of passages which should be attentively weighed by those whose duty will be to write the history of France between 1848 and the present day.

The designation of *Législateur de la Charité* has often been applied to Viscount de Melun; it could not be more justly given, and the enumeration of all the works in which he was engaged and the charitable societies to which he belonged would astonish those who do not know how much can be accomplished with the help of method, regularity, perseverance, and especially *Christian faith*. Thus occupying in the political world a position which gave him influence of the weightiest character, Viscount de Melun was brought into contact with Louis Napoleon, who, in 1850, was aspiring to the presidency of the French Republic. The chapters xiii. to xviii., treating of the imperial *régime*, are amongst the most interesting in the book, on account of the light they throw upon the policy of a despot, who, after endeavouring to secure the immediate enjoyment of power by the support of *respectable* men such as Count de Falloux and the leading members of the Right

in the National Assembly, threw them overboard as soon as his object was accomplished, and sent them to prison on the day of the *coup d'état*. The policy of Napoleon III. with the Holy See, the occupation of Rome, the Vatican Council, the Syllabus, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, all come in for their due share of notice, and in many instances Viscount de Melun's narrative supplements usefully the details given by the Abbé Ozanam. In conclusion, we have seldom read two works which we can more cordially recommend than those we have just been reviewing; and we feel no doubt that they will soon obtain the amount of popularity they so thoroughly deserve.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

De la Certitude Morale. Par LEON OLLÉ-LAPRUNE. 1 vol. 8vo.
Paris: Eugene Belin. 1880.

BY moral certitude, M. Ollé-Lapruné would denote, not merely that lowest degree of certitude which just rises above probability, but certitude of whatever degree, applied to moral truth. Moral truths he reduces to four cardinal points—the moral law, moral liberty, the existence of God, and the future life; and his chief object is to determine the sources whence this moral certitude is derived.

In his first chapter he explains that moral certitude is both real and rational, practical, and speculative. In the second he shows that the will does not itself judge, as Descartes erroneously taught, but that it has an immense influence on our judgments of all matters not immediately evident, and especially in truths of the moral order. Next he explains that the great moral truths are known to us partly by proof of reason, partly by belief; that there is great danger to both reason and belief in disturbing the equilibrium between them; and that those writers who have exaggerated the influence of faith—he would call them *fideists*—have sown the seeds of scepticism and positivism. Finally, having shown that moral certitude contains a large subjective element, he proves the objective validity of moral truth.

In making our way through this volume we sadly miss the richness of illustration with which the same or cognate subjects are treated in the "Grammar of Assent." Still, it is written clearly, and with a certain vivacity of style; it treats of questions of the highest interest now-a-days to philosophers and to theologians; and it possesses an additional attraction for English readers, from the fact that it exhibits the views held on these questions by the leaders of English Thought—by Cardinal Newman on the one side, and on the other by Hamilton, Mansel, Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Bain.

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DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL, 1881.

ART. I.—WESTERN SUSSEX.

THE BORDERS OF THE ARUN AND THE ADUR.

NO. II.

PROCEEDING—in continuation of our subject—to consider the history and antiquities of Western Sussex, we are met by the difficulty involved in the use of these terms. In popular parlance, and even in what appears to be the accepted terminology of our learned societies, as well as the usage of so thoughtful a writer as Mr. Carlyle, history is the term applied to the investigation into, and exposition of, the main events in the life of nations, the succession of dynasties, the course of wars, the acquisitions of commerce, of everything that, comprehensively viewed, has moulded, for good or for evil, national destinies. Antiquities, on the other hand, are relegated to the shelf as trivial and puerile, or, in Mr. Carlyle's phrase, "parochial," as mere raspings and filings that cannot be turned to account in the shapely work of history, and that may be the appropriate interest and employment of petty minds. It is sad to think that the Prospero, whose wand appears to have been buried with him in the tomb we lately re-visited in the solemn aisle of St. Mary at Dryburgh, should in one of his most engaging and popular works have aided in stereotyping this erroneous conception. As the "Don Quixote" of Cervantes is the dirge of chivalry, so is the "Antiquary" of Sir Walter Scott the dirge of Antiquarianism. We cannot doubt that Cervantes had much sympathy with what he ridiculed. So assuredly had Sir Walter Scott, both with the thing and with the person he ridiculed, who was in some sense his very self. But the mockery has had its effect, and has been echoed back from all quarters. From far America, Emerson tells us that the race of antiquaries should be extinguished. Few and far

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between, nay perchance altogether exotic, are the antiquaries of New England! And yet what does this outcry mean? What is an antiquary but the student and expositor of the past? Some years ago, in a now forgotten pamphlet, we threw together various testimonies of the ancients as to the scope of antiquarian study. With this result: Plato (speaking in the character of Socrates), Cicero, and St. Augustine confess with one mouth that archaeology, the Latin *Antiquitates*, has for its scope the study of the past in its most extended significance, that of religion, law, philosophy, art, as well as of manners and customs, that, in fact, the narrative of human achievements which is history should be a section or sub-section of antiquities, and not antiquities a by-path of history. Here we have a treatment of the subject widely different from that of the antiquaries of the Stukeley and Monk barns breed. Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck, railing at Mrs. Macleuchar, bargaining with the Mucklebackits, holding aloof from the machinations of the German adept, Dousterswivel, is contrasted in all his Scotch pawkiness and shrewdness, with the same person dealing forth to Lovel all his tediousness with a resolution worthy of Dogberry in his Essay on Castramentation, and showing his credulity in his identification of the *Prætorium* of Agricola with the Kaim of Kinprunes. These it may be said are the follies of the wise, but in truth the character of the antiquary is a folly, however much redeemed by good sense and good feeling, that plentifully infused yet fail to leaven the whole mass. He is not indeed "an old tup-headed ass," as he discriminately describes his *bon camarade*, Sir Arthur Wardour, but he does nothing even in his favourite study beyond writing some unpublished essays, and boring his friends with theories hard of digestion. But if Sir Walter Scott pulled down, he also built up. To him Dr. Thomas Arnold attributes "the genius of history." To him history in large measure owes it that a vast number of subjects previously tabooed as unbecoming its dignity are now universally admitted to be altogether within its range. It has in truth now the ease and freedom the ancients ascribed to the study of antiquities. It now contemplates all the past, with the exception of such portions as have been shorn from its province by the greatly extended domain of physical science. Antiquities and history are simply one and the same thing. For the sake of convenience, it may be necessary to speak of them as separate, but no really satisfactory line of demarcation can be fixed between them. All we can say is, that what is now generally recognized as history is the more generally valued ingredient of a composite whole. The frivolous study of antiquities has yielded to their orderly and sober study. Conjectures and chimeras have disappeared. When Sir Walter Scott wrote "Marmion," and the fine clear narrative of the

Second Series of the "Tales of a Grandfather," he was a sounder and better antiquary than in his museum at Abbotsford, with its mingled flavour of St. John's Wood and Trotcosey; Terry and the property-man pass from view, and the very stones of his much-loved Scotland become vocal as the lips of Memnon.

The Arun and the Adur must yield in natural beauty and romantic interest to the Tweed and the Teviot. But the Poet-Chronicler of these streams has taught a lesson of general application. Local history must be elicited from the objects of the country and the traditions of the people, and we should compose the dullest of narratives if we viewed the history of any locality, however favoured, merely or chiefly in connection with the general history of the country. For example: That King John sailed with a numerous fleet from Shoreham harbour, that Charles II., after Worcester finally made his escape from the same port, are facts that, however interesting, are, nakedly stated, no way characteristic of Sussex; but let us view them through a local medium, and they will be found to wear a very different complexion. We have given a sketch in our former article of the physical transformation of Shoreham harbour. It declined as a seaport till, from being a successful rival of the great harbour of London, it did but carry on a minor trade with France, and, as has been the case with so many an inferior and neglected seaport, became the haunt of smugglers. Viewed then, we say, with reference to that change in Shoreham harbour from a wide, shallow estuary, such as may be seen at Porchester, suited to the small draught of the fleets of early days, to its present form, these facts acquire a new significance; they are not thrown down casually as seeds at random, but upon prepared soil where they take root and grow.

We shall proceed, in dealing with the antiquities of our division of Western Sussex, to consider them in the following order: The Celtic; The Roman; The Saxon; The Mediæval, subdivided into Episcopal, Monastic, Feudal, and Parochial; The Domestic; Antiquities relating to the former Iron Manufacture. This will, we think, be a pretty complete division of the whole subject, and will be, at any rate, amply sufficient for everything we can at present undertake. It is our intention, as will be seen as we proceed, to throw aside, as far as may be, the too rigid distinction between ecclesiastical and secular, and to consider the work of the churchmen and nobles as forming a homogeneous whole. Such an amalgamation is, we believe, true to history, as the powerful spirit of chivalry so wrought upon the fabric of feudalism as to give it a religious character and purpose, and it is abundantly certain that it is in and through the fabrics of our Churches that we must read many a page in the history of feudalism. Again, the churchmen of those days held—as the only men possessed of

to throw off low level galleries. From the way in which they are traversed by the earthworks, it appears evident that the latter are of subsequent date. The Camp of Cissbury is an irregular oval, and not circular, as is so frequently the case with British camps, many of which we have visited in other years, and more particularly in Northumberland, where well-nigh every hill and mount is topped by a rampart of that form. The intention at Cissbury appears to have been so to form the Camp as to include the more important of the previously formed vertical shafts which—whatever may have been their purpose—appear to have been important to the occupants of the fortified work. But this regard for them was eventually laid aside: they were disused and finally closed up. Major-General Rivers concluded his Paper before the Anthropological Institute, as follows:—"Considering the nature of the implements at the service of such a people, such shafts and galleries must have been great and laborious undertakings, having corresponding advantages, as connected with their means of living, such as winter underground retreats for themselves, after the manner of the Cave people, for which the small galleries would be well suited, or else as storing-places for grain and provender, as was done underground by the Rhemi of Gaul, whence the early inhabitants of this part of England came."

We owe to Major-General Pitt Rivers the information that excavations in which he was engaged in the outer part of the "ring" at Chanctonbury were attended by no interesting discovery, and the explorations conducted by that gentleman and by Mr. J. Park Harrison, in successive years at Cissbury, and fully recorded by them in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, having been unusually fertile in results, we shall leave the subject of Celtic antiquities with such short notice as our limits have enabled us to give of the latter Camp, and proceed to treat of the Roman roads in Sussex, and of the structural remains bequeathed us by that people.

We premise, that—our Anglo-Saxon ancestors gave the name of Street (*stræt*), doubtless derived from the Latin *Strata*, by which term the Romans and Romanized Britons designated their means of communication, to those Roman roads which they re-baptized from their own theology and traditions. From Ermyn, one of their chief divinities they named Ermyn Street, which led from Chichester and Pevensey, through London, Lincoln, and the Yorkshire towns to the south-east of Scotland.

Of Roman roads in Sussex, our knowledge from the Itineraries is somewhat obscure. That of Antoninus begins, *a Regno* (Chichester), and pursues the following course, altogether without the bounds of Sussex:—Clausentum (old Southampton), Venta

Belgarum (Winchester), Caleva (probably Silchester), Pontibus (old Windsor), London. The Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester traverses the coast from west to east, with the omission of that next beyond *Ad Decimum*, which is—as we shall see—with much probability identified with Bignor. The missing link is supplied by the Itinerary of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, and Mutuantonis (Lewes) is considered the completion of the course. This would be the Eastern Stane Street, the traces of which have entirely disappeared. The Stane Street Causeway, or Western Stane Street, opened out from the Ermyn Street, south of London. According to Higden, in his "Polychronicon" (strangely quoted as an authority by Horsfield, whilst saying nothing to the purpose), the Ermyn Street was constructed by Belinus, the son of Molmutius, from whom Billingsgate derives its name. This Belinus, if Higden may be trusted, was a great road-maker; passing over, however, his other exploits, we transcribe in modern guise the extravagantly incorrect passage relating to the Ermyn Street. "The third way is called Ermyn Street, and stretcheth out of the west-north-west to the east-south-east, and beginneth in Menævia, that is, in St. David's land, in West Wales, and stretcheth forth anon to South Hampton"! The Western Stane Street was, according to Horsfield, probably a *diverticulum* from the Ermyn Street, the course of which is certainly not determined by Higden. Leaving London by Billingsgate, it entered Sussex at Rudgwick, a parish to the south-west of Horsham, where it crossed the river Arun at Rowhook. To the north of Slinfold *Roman Gate* marks its course, and the long undeviating line of road from that point to the village of Slinfold may safely be attributed to a Roman origin. From Slinfold it passes by Billingshurst (another suggestion of Belinus?) to Pulborough, where it crosses a branch of the Arun. To the west of the line of road, there is at Hardham a square Roman entrenchment, now much torn up by the railway, at which remains have been found. No further trace occurs of the road, which must have recrossed the river by a ford, probably near Bury, till it arrives at the foot of Bignor Hill, where its gradual ascent is very perceptible. On arriving at the summit of the hill, it deviates a little, to avoid a cluster of barrows there situated, evidently shown by this circumstance to be of previous construction. From this point, it strikes across the Downs and through North Wood, on the confines of which it reaches the modern road from Petworth to Chichester. Its further course lies beyond our special district, but we may briefly mention that, leaving the Chichester and Petworth road, and passing straight over the hill, it rejoins it at the entrance to Hahnaker, successively the seat of the Dr. Haid, St. John, and Poynings families, and accompanies it into Chichester,

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past the village of *Strettington*. This road even runs beyond Chichester by Birdham Common to Bracklesham, where probably was the last station, now with nearly the whole of that parish swept away by the sea, which has so greatly reduced the dimensions of the peninsula of Selsey.

The material of this road was] pebble and gravel from the sea-shore, and that apparently throughout its whole course, however distant from the coast. At Pulborough, where descending the hill, the road was paved with large stones. From the foot of Bignor Hill to Hahnaker the road is marked with very great distinctness; the *dorsum* is seen to have been over twenty feet wide, and the sides three or four feet high.

A Roman road led from the *Portus Adurni* across the Downs to the east of the Adur, and by Clayton Hill across St. John's Common to Ardingly and Wakehurst, in Sussex, and thence into Surrey. This road, pronounced "undoubted" by Horsfield, is unnoticed by the Itineraries. As Horsfield, against the better-received opinion, places the *Portus Adurni* at Aldrington, his notion of this road may be adopted with caution.

The Roman architectural remains of this portion of Western Sussex are of much importance. The most memorable of these are the foundation walls and pavements of the villa at Bignor, a secluded hamlet on the northern side of the Downs, at a distance of some six miles from Arundel, and an equal distance from Petworth. The Roman road—known by the Saxon appellation of Stane Street, of which we have been speaking—runs near the village on its way from Chichester to Pulborough, and S. Lysons, in his contribution to the *Archæologia* on the subject of the Roman remains at Bignor, conjectures with much probability that here was the *Ad Decimum* of the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, omitted in that of Antoninus.

The province of the *Regni*, of which *Regnum*, Chichester, ten miles distant hence, was the capital, was in all likelihood in the occupation of one of those two most powerful peoples who, according to Suetonius, were subjugated by the Romans under Vespasian in the reign of Claudius. Certain it is that a British prince, Cogidunus, submitted to the Romans, received several cities from them, and, as we learn from the inscription preserved at Goodwood, ordered the erection at *Regnum* of a temple of Neptune and Minerva by the *Collegium Fabrorum*.

The colours found upon the walls at Bignor are similar to those employed at Pompeii and Herculaneum, and in the baths of Titus at Rome. Such was the testimony of Sir Humphry Davy, to whose examination specimens of each of their varieties were submitted.

The ornaments and general character of the pavements nearly

resemble those of Pompeii, and they, we know, cannot be later than the time of Titus. These beautiful works are therefore to be ascribed with some degree of certainty to the early days of the Roman Empire. The ground-plan is somewhat irregular, but supposing it described by a parallelogram having its greatest extension from east to west, the more important portion of the buildings will be found in the western half of such a parallelogram, where they surround a vast oblong court. The position and character of the principal pavements may be briefly indicated as follows :—

(A.) On the north side of the court, somewhat westward of the middle line, is a room conjectured to have been a *triclinium*, or banqueting-room, having a pavement representing in one compartment Ganymede borne off by the eagle, surrounded by a braided guilloche, or twisted band, composed of five rows of *tesserae*, whilst the other and larger one—also circular—contains six hexagonal subdivisions, each of them bordered with a fret and guilloche. These compartments contain figures of dancing nymphs. The spandrels of the great circle were filled in with ivy leaves. In the centre of the great compartment is an hexagonal cistern, four feet in diameter. Beneath the floor was a hypocaust, or underground furnace, several of the flues of which have given way with much injury to the pavement above.

(B.) At the north-western angle of the great court another pavement was discovered, consisting, like the first, of two compartments, that at the north end containing four octagonal divisions, each having a figure resembling a star formed by interlaced squares enclosing heads, one of which remains and was evidently designed for Winter. The other three probably represented the other seasons. The other compartment included a circle with eight hexagonal divisions, each connected with one side of an octagon. The spandrels were filled in with ovals, one of which still contains part of a figure of a boy, whilst at each side of the oval is a pheasant and a cornucopia.

(C.) Between these two pavements, in an apartment adjoining the recess in the great *triclinium* having the pavement first described, another was discovered later, consisting of two square compartments with an oblong between them, having in its centre a goblet from which issued two scrolls of ivy leaves, surrounded by a guilloche and an indented border. In the centre of one of the square compartments was a minor square enclosing a large rose, around which figure was an octagon filled in with squares and rhombs in which were frets and ivy leaves. The other square compartments also enclosed a minor square surrounded by a star-shaped figure formed by rhombs.

(D.) Interesting and artistic as are these pavements, they are

far surpassed by that laid open later, near that last described, and towards the exterior north-west angle of the entire block of buildings. Here the design consists of a large square compartment, between two narrow oblong ones, with a semicircular fourth division occupying an apsidal recess at the north end. The square encloses an octagon, having within it eight oblong compartments converging towards a centre which—though now destroyed—appears to have been in the form of an octagon. The small oblong compartments contain figures of Cupids or Genii dancing as Bacchantes. The large oblong compartment to the north of the great square has twelve winged figures of Cupids or Genii habited as gladiators. Here may be seen the *Retiarii*, with net, trident, and short sword; the *Secutores*, with the armour on account of which they obtained the appellation *Samnites*—viz., a shield wider at the top than at the bottom, a crested helmet, and a greave for the left leg; and the *Rudiarii*, or veteran gladiators, with the rod which was the token of their manumission, and wherewith they regulated the combat. In four scenes these parties are shown as, (1) preparing for the fight; (2) as just engaged in it; whilst (3) shows the *Retiarius* wounded by the bloody sword of his opponent, and the *Rudiarius* coming to his assistance. In the last scene, (4) the *Retiarius* is fallen, disarmed, whilst his thigh exhibits a wound. In the midst of the apsidal recess is a female head adorned with a chaplet of flowers, whilst her tresses fall upon her shoulders which are nude. This head is nimbed, and, being evidently that of a deity, is generally supposed to represent Venus. The colour of the nimbus is a light blue. The *tesserae* that form the pavements are a dark brown, red, yellow, white, ash colour, blue, and black. The apartments in which these pavements are found are undoubtedly the household apartments of the villa, but the *triclinium*, or banqueting-hall, is probably the only one the destination of which can be assigned with absolute certainty. The household rooms stood round the vast oblong court which we mentioned. The entire extent of the remains at Bignor, as traced by excavation, is about 600 feet in length, and 350 feet in breadth. A gallery, or, in classic phrase, *Cryptoporticus*, surrounded the whole inner court. In a chamber, at the south-east angle of this portico, is a pavement with a circle composed of a guilloche, between two indented borders, containing a head of Medusa, a subject we find repeated at Bramdean, in Hampshire.

The remains of the villa are shown by the family of the discoverer, Mr. George Tupper, who struck up the first fragments of mosaic pavement when ploughing, now seventy years since. They are, perhaps, the finest remains in England, unless surpassed by those recently discovered at Brading, in the Isle of Wight.

The remains at Bignor are splendidly, though incompletely, illustrated in the third volume of S. Lysons' "Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ."

There is a ground-plan, apparently reduced from that given by S. Lysons, in Dallaway's "Sussex;" where will also be found a representation of the Ganymede not contained in the "Reliquiæ," or at least that copy of it which is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, which we may presume to be as perfect as any. There is a drawing of a corner of the *Cryptoporticu*s at Bignor, in Mr. T. Wright's "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," but this is apparently merely an adaptation—*minus* the colours—from the tail-piece to S. Lysons' "List of Plates." It is much to be regretted that Mr. C. Roach Smith should have written nothing upon Bignor in his valuable *Collectanea Antiqua*, whilst explaining and illustrating the very inferior villa at Carisbrooke, and dwelling upon Roman remains in our very district, at Hardham and Lancing. We had completed the above account ere we received the thirtieth volume of the "Sussex Archaeological Collections," in which the subject of the Villa at Bignor is treated afresh by the Rev. T. Debary. So much for the bibliography of the subject; it may be expedient to subjoin a few remarks upon the general character of Roman villas.

Ancient writers commend as sites gently sloping ground as preferable either to hill or vale, a choice that, opposed in the former case to much modern, and in the latter to much mediæval practice, has the very evident advantages of avoiding the damp, which is one trying vicissitude, and the winds, which are another trying vicissitude, of our climate. The condition was well observed in the villa at Woodchester, in Gloucestershire, and in that at Bignor. The former is situated in a beautiful valley, in the uplands adjoining the Vale of Gloucester, by the side of a stream that thence winds its way to the Severn, at a distance of some four miles from the Roman road leading from Cirencester (*Corinium*) to Aust Passage (*Trajectus Augusti*), and in a position very favourable to that country seclusion and retirement that the Romans loved. The Roman villa at Bignor has a somewhat analogous position. It has the good road, the pure air, the wholesome water from the stream, the fertile soil, that were thought needful accessories to an edifice of this sort by the Roman masters of the art of life. A page from the younger Pliny ("Epistolarum," lib. ii. 19) may be here introduced as showing how fondly the Roman dwelt upon his rural retreat:—

You wonder why my Laurentinum, or, if you prefer it, Laurens, so greatly delights me. You will cease to wonder when you shall have learned the attractions of the villa, the convenience of the locality, and

the extent of the shore. It is seventeen miles from the city, so that after concluding one's affairs, one can reach it and yet have the whole day before one. The approach is not by a single road, as both the Laurentine and the Ostian lead hither, but the Laurentine has to be left at the fourteenth milestone, the Ostian at the eleventh. The remaining journey, after leaving either road, is in some part sandy, somewhat heavy and tedious to beasts of burden, but short and easy for the saddle. The appearance of the country is diversified. At times the road is hemmed in by the approach of forests, at times there occur the widest meadows, to which it lies open. Many flocks of sheep, many horses and herds of cattle are to be seen, that have been driven by the winter from the mountains, and are sleek there with the herbage and the warmth of spring. The villa is of ample accommodation, not costly to keep up.

Into the details of Pliny's villa, whether at Laurentum, or on the Lake of Como, we need not enter. The arrangements of an Italian villa must have been greatly modified by the necessities of our climate, and we understand that the attempt made by S. Lysons to apply strict Vitruvian principles to the ground-plan of the villa at Woodchester has not met with the general assent and approval of antiquaries. And the villa at Bignor is more irregular in plan than that at Woodchester. They have in common the division into two courts. The aspect, however, is different. Those at Bignor run north-west and south-east, whilst those at Woodchester run nearly due north and south. The *Cryptoporticu*s at Bignor is more extensive than that at Woodchester. The baths, which are at the south-east corner of the inner court, are larger and more clearly marked than those at Woodchester. We may here remark that baths are never found in Roman remains in England on such a scale as in Italy; they here served the purpose of cleanliness, and nothing more. We may further note that rooms, frequently called baths, are in truth merely winter rooms heated by the hypocaust, or underground furnace. May we not say further, that a distinction frequently drawn between summer and winter apartments is not to be too hastily made? If the fire of the hypocaust were extinguished, a room heated by it might, if it were not of unsuitable exposure, be very well adapted for summer use. Indeed, over-ingenuity of conjecture is a thing very much to be avoided. In Messrs. Buckman and Newmarch's work on the Roman remains at Cirencester (*Corinium*), they suppose, from the fact that the hypocaust extends only under one-half of the floor, "that the two parts of the room were intended for use at different seasons of the year, and that it was the *triclinium* of the house; that portion over the hypocaust being the *triclinium hibernum*, and the other end the *triclinium aestivum* for use in warm weather. As

Mr. T. Wright very sensibly observes, if you extinguish the fire in your hypocaust, what superior warmth has your *triclinium hibernum*, and, if you light it, where is the coolness of your *triclinium aestivum*?

There is a valuable remark in the third volume of Waagen's "Treasures of Art in Great Britain" (p. 31) having reference to Bignor, which we make haste to transcribe: "The ornaments (of the pavements) are partly of very beautiful designs, and many of them may be immediately distinguished as the originals of the entwined forms met with so constantly in the border decorations and initials of the Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Frankish MSS. of the eighth century."

This observation appears to us of very great interest, and there are within our district the means of its verification in the carvings of this character in the chancel of the undoubted Saxon church of Sompting, and, we believe also, in the ornate capitals of the chancel arch of the small and hitherto little observed church of Selham, between Midhurst and Petworth. There will probably be an illustration of these by Mr. J. L. André, Architect in Horsham, in the forthcoming volume of the Anastatic Society. Here a curious question arises: How could the Anglo-Saxons form designs from the Roman pavements, if these were buried under the débris occasioned by the fall of the superincumbent roofs and of the walls? If the Anglo-Saxons drew from these art treasures, they must have been in great measure visible in their time. We can perhaps reply to this question by asking another: Were the Roman houses in England constructed of stone or brick from the floor to the roof, or did these solid materials always, as now, merely form a *dado* round the apartments, the upper part of the walls being formed of wood? That the latter suggestion is not improbable, is shown by the fact that in very many instances the low remaining walls do not end in a broken line, but are on the same level throughout the building. We can very well suppose that if the upper walls were of wood, and the roofs—barring the covering of tiles—of the same material, the weight and amount of the débris would be comparatively inconsiderable, and would in Anglo-Saxon times leave the pavements upon which it had fallen partially open to inspection. That the Anglo-Saxons were acquainted with the Roman pavements appears matter of just inference. That the Romans had a timber architecture subsidiary to their permanent work in stone we know from the wall-paintings of Pompeii, and certain forms of Romanesque architecture evidently drawn from timber construction, as is shown by Mr. Fergusson in his "History of Architecture." The Anglo-Saxons endeavoured to build *more Romano*, upon the Roman model, and in their work, even more markedly than in other Romanesque or

debased Roman, we find forms imitated from timber construction. And the timber construction they appear to us to have imitated, as evidenced in particular by the very remarkable tower at Earl's Barton, in Northamptonshire, was that half-timbered construction, the use of which survives in some parts of England to the present day—that, viz., in which a timber framework is filled in with brick or tile. This is very distinctly represented by the stonework at Earl's Barton, with its raised and depressed surfaces. We shall not, therefore, perhaps, greatly err in supposing that the Romans were masters of a half-timbered construction, and that the upper portions of the walls in their villas were so formed. If this were the case, we can readily understand how when the timber decayed the upper walls would fall down, and from the unbinding of the roofs, as frequently as not outwards, away from the substructure, which would remain intact and level at the top. It may, however, be said that the Anglo-Saxons, probably, merely imitated their own timber buildings. But we cannot attribute to them, at the date of their arrival in England, or indeed for a long time afterwards, timber buildings above the character of mere huts, and the timber construction imitated in their stone buildings is not of that character. We believe them to have derived their more ambitious timber construction from the Roman remains in Britain, and thence immediately, or meditately, through their own timber buildings, formed upon that model, to have given that character of being derived from a wooden prototype which has been so frequently remarked upon, to their work in stone.

It is much to be regretted that we have no sufficient data for the restoration of the elevations of Roman edifices in this country. That of the temple of Sul-Minerva at Bath has been attempted—perhaps successfully—by Lysons. If he is correct, it may be remarked that the frieze was altogether wanting from its entablature, and indeed we may suppose that Roman architecture in a remote province would deflect not a little from its classical purity. In this it may but have gained the more in force and spontaneity, and herein we may see a further probability that the architecture of the Romans in this country and of the Romanized Britons would furnish a model for the sacred and secular edifices of their successors. It may be remarked finally, in support of what has been adduced above, that the Roman method of heating apartments by means of a subterranean hypocaust, from which the heated air passed upwards by means of flues formed by flanged tiles, whilst militating severely against the supposition that the upper part of the walls was composed wholly of wood, is little if at all inimical to the suggestion that they were partly formed of it, as the wooden beams could be shielded by tiles and thereby secured against any probable risk of catching fire.

There is a very observable peculiarity in Roman houses in

Britain, and to which the Roman villa at Bignor furnishes no exception, that one of the rooms has a semicircular recess or alcove resembling in plan the apse of a small church, such as that of St. Margaret's oratory in the Castle of Edinburgh, or such as we have frequently seen—one in a ruined condition—in the smaller churches of the Northumbrian border. And to a religious purpose Mr. T. Wright would devote this recess in the Roman villas. There is generally where the alcove joins the room an advancing projecting wall or pier, as though a curtain had been drawn across from pier to pier, and the alcove secluded from the body of the apartment. In a suburban villa excavated at Leicester, a short pillar was found lying upon the tessellated pavement of the recess, and this, Mr. Wright thinks, may have served for an altar, or to support a small statue of the patron divinity of the family. Mr. Wright would, however, appear to advance this opinion in ignorance, or in some forgetfulness, of what can be brought against it from the very well-known source of that description of Pliny's Laurentinum, the opening sentences of which have been given above. In that description the following passage occurs:—"There adjoins this angle a small chamber curved in the form of an apse (*in apsida curvatum*) into some of the windows of which the sun perpetually shines. In its wall is an aumbry wrought into a kind of library enclosing books rather for reading again and again than simply for reading." The oval-shaped apartment here described was then a library and not an oratory, and we should require a very strong inference, or rather a direct positive proof, that the apsidal recess was a chapel in any given case. At Bignor the pavement of the recess has a nimbed head of Venus, and this may at first sight appear favourable to Mr. Wright's hypothesis. But it is to be considered that this figure falls into the general decorative scheme of the whole apartment, and that its very position indicates that it was not an object of worship, whilst conclusively proving that an altar or pillar supporting a statue did not occupy that site. Further, what proof is there that the figure that Mr. Wright supposes was placed upon the pedestal at Leicester was that of a divinity? If we suppose the recess to have been a library, such a pedestal may have been placed there for a lamp, when the circling sun had completed its course round the windows. Roman lamps of varied forms may be seen in the fifth (supplementary) volume of Montfaucon's "Antiquité Expliquée."

In concluding our notes upon the Roman villa at Bignor, we desire to draw attention to the very interesting and suggestive comparison drawn in the late Professor Spalding's "Italy and the Italiaus" (vol. i. p. 175) between the plan of a Roman *Villa Rustica* and that of a monastery with its spreading courts. We were forcibly reminded of it when lately viewing the immense

cloisters and groups of independent yet united edifices, now being erected by the Carthusian Fathers, near Cowfold.

Fragments of Roman pottery have been discovered in the parish of Sutton, which adjoins that of Bignor to the north-west.

Four years later than the more important discovery at Bignor, the remains of an hypocaust were found near the church at Duneton, a parish rendered conspicuous by its possession of Duneton Beacon, the eminence that forms so remarkable an object in the view southward from the high grounds about Fittleworth and Petworth. The building stood north and south. At the south was a room paved with tiles, in which the flue was heated. Dallaway conjectures that the hypocaust belonged to a Roman military bath, such as were placed near the great roads for the accommodation of the soldiers. Certainly the building was more *en bloc* than is usual in the widely spaced out Roman villas, the heating apparatus very complete, and the fact that, whilst fragments of painted stucco were discovered, there were no *tesserae* from mosaic pavements, points rather to its having been such a plain utilitarian building as a bath rather than a villa. It is lamentable to have to relate that since their discovery nothing has been preserved of these remains.

Rather more than six miles south from Bignor, a Roman sepulchre was discovered at Avisford, in the parish of Walberton, at the distance of seven miles from Chichester on the road to Arundel. A workman repeatedly struck with his crow-bar upon a hard object that proved to be a stone chest, four feet in length, and one foot eight inches in breadth. It was filled with various vessels of a coarse red pottery, including two earthen basons placed in saucers; fifteen plates, six of a larger and nine of a smaller size; two earthen candlesticks, six inches high; two globe-shaped jugs, eight inches in diameter, with handles and exceedingly narrow necks; and another jug of similar dimensions, but with a wider orifice. Besides these, there were a circular saucer with an engrailed border, containing a smooth oval pebble about the size of a pigeon's egg; another saucer containing a hard round black stone; a third with an oyster-shell, and a thin glass lachrymatory, with two small glass handles. Four of the smaller dishes contained fragments of bone. In the centre of this group of ancient pottery stood a square glass bottle, twelve inches in height and eight in breadth, of a clear sea-green colour, nearly filled with calcined bones, with a handle with ruder mouldings attached to one of its sides and to the narrow circular neck. In the corners, at one end of the coffer, two brackets supported earthen lamps. On the floor of the chest, at the farther end from the lamps, were a pair of tiny sandals studded with hexagonal-headed nails of brass. The sandals were the only objects that showed signs of the decaying touch of

time. A similar discovery to this at Avisford was made at Donnington, near Chichester, when the workmen were engaged in constructing the now abandoned Arun and Portsmouth canal, in 1819. Formerly preserved and shown to visitors in the entrance-lodge to Avisford House, the Avisford coffer may now be seen in the Museum of the Philosophical Society at Chichester. An account of a similar deposit at the Bartlow graves in Essex will be found in the 25th volume of the *Archæologia*.

With the account of this affecting memorial of pre-Christian times, we close our record of them, and come to the light of Saxon Christianity, here identified in its first beginnings with the Apostolate of St. Wilfrid, during his second exile. The list ordinarily given of Saxon churches in Sussex is: Bishopstone Church; the tower of the Church at Bosham; St. Botolph, chancel arch; Burwash; Sompting, chiefly the tower; Worth, part of Church; Yapton. Of these, St. Botolph's and Sompting alone stand within our special district, but we would fain add to the enumeration Hardham and Selham. Of these Sompting is the most deserving of observation. The church stands in a very beautiful situation on the slope of the Downs, at a distance of three miles from Worthing, in a north-easterly direction. It is surrounded by elm-trees, from which the visitor observes with interest a tower peeping forth, of a form such as is met with nowhere else in this country, though his travels may have made him very familiar with it on the banks of the Rhine and the Lahn. Approaching the church, the visitor finds it, notwithstanding its small dimensions, a cathedral in miniature, cruciform in plan, with nave, chancel, and transepts all complete. The tower is situated at the west end of the fabric. Against it on the north are the remains of a chapel, that may either have had a distinct appropriation, or simply have served as the north aisle. On the east side of the north transept is an isle of two bays, anciently divided into two separate chapels, whilst adjoining the south transept on the east side is a small single chapel, now used as a baptistry. The principal entrance is at the end of the south transept. In the chancel is an altar-tomb that doubtless served, according to the Sarum rite, as the Easter sepulchre, with the arms of the ancient and now extinct Sussex family of Tregoz. Each side of the tower ends in a pointed gable, from which rises the shingled spire, set diagonally to the faces. In this tower may be seen specimens of the "long-and-short work," the timbers, like flat pilasters, and the small windows that are universally regarded as characteristic of Saxon work. But let us not be too certain. It is regarded as evident by Hussey, that the tower is the work of two epochs. The upper part has ornaments that would seem rather Norman than Saxon, and the central rib that

appears on each face of the tower varies in the upper from the contour in the lower portion. The spire was lowered, according to Cartwright, in 1762, by so much as twenty-five feet. There is a figure of our Lord, in the act of benediction, on the exterior of the north transept, and that of a bishop in the same act in the south. This figure is twenty inches in height, and is beneath a semi-circular arch. At the east end of the church internally is some curious interlaced work to which antiquaries generally seem agreed in assigning a Saxon date. We have thus Saxon, or at least very early work, at every one of the four extremities of the building, and we are drawn to the conclusion that the shell of it may be to a considerable extent Saxon, whilst the lower portion of tower is undoubtedly so. It may also be said that other antiquaries do not share Hussey's scruples with regard to the upper part of the tower, but claim for the Saxon period the window openings with their boltels or convex mouldings. To the Saxon period undoubtedly belongs the tower-arch with the carved capitals of its piers exhibiting a strange intermixture of forms derived from the Ionic volute and some foliated, perhaps Corinthian, capital. To the same period belongs the peculiar ornamented string-course of the exterior.

It is a singular theory of Mr. Fergusson with reference to Anglo-Saxon architecture, that it became progressively worse from increasing imitation of timber construction. He happily provides us with ready-charged material for his own demolition by showing in the very ancient doorway at Monkwearmouth the unmistakable imitation of wooden forms. Gothic architecture in England declined owing to the imitation of timber construction in stone, but that was at a period when architecture had attained a very advanced development, and was worked out very much as a problem, and an attenuation of bulk and a superficial fritter of ornament—what Sir Christopher Wren contemptuously called the crinkle-crankle of the [late] Gothic style—was the result. Here we have no parallel to the depravation of Saxon architecture; indeed, what evidence is there that Anglo-Saxon architecture ever declined? It yielded, no doubt, to the advance of the more developed and majestic Norman style, but both must, from the necessity of the case, have been wrought out for a time by the same hands, and there is no good evidence to show that the one is not the perfectly legitimate development of the other. In truth, to parody and reverse Mr. Fergusson's observations, as in India, in Syria, in Egypt, and in Greece, so in England, a wooden, or rather—as we have suggested in an earlier part of this article—a half-timbered construction was gradually developed into one of stone.

ALEXANDER WOOD, F.S.A.

ART. II.—METHODS OF HISTORICAL INQUIRY.

1. *Comparative Politics.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1873.
2. *Ancient Law.* By Sir H. MAINE. Sixth Edition. London: John Murray. 1876.
3. *Village Communities in the East and West.* By the same. Third Edition. Same Publisher. 1876.
4. *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D. Fourth Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1874.
5. *The Study of Sociology.* By HERBERT SPENCER. London: Williams & Norgate. 1874.

IN the present Essay we offer a few remarks on various methods which have been pursued in historical investigation. Let us first settle our terms. The term *method*, used in the sense of method of inquiry, has at least three meanings, of all of which we have availed ourselves. It may mean simply the subjective attitude or posture of the inquirer, which is the statical sense of the term. Or it may mean the manner in which the mind, in its active search after truth, deals with or handles a given subject-matter, as when we speak of the analytic and the synthetic method. Or, thirdly, it may denote the general path or course which the mind traverses in any particular inquiry. This is determined by the starting-point which is begun by being assumed. In this sense the term is used when, in philosophy, we speak of the ontological and the psychological method. Next, as to the term *history*, it is to be observed that this word has two meanings; for historical facts are of two kinds—the veritable fact such as it actually occurred, and the account of it which has been given by more or less competent writers. The first is irrecoverable. It is the second that the historical inquirer has to deal with; and in doing so he has a twofold office to discharge—he has to collect his material correctly, and he has to distinguish in that material reality from misrepresentation. Again, historical facts do not mean simply the current events of the day, but include beliefs, customs, institutions, even forms of language. History is not to be considered as principally made up of the rise and fall of Governments, the shifting of frontier lines, wars of succession, and the like. These do not even give us the salient lines or contour of history, but are rather the frame in which history is set. They are the shell rather than the kernel of history. They are the staple of the drum-and-trumpet histories with which the shelves of libraries are packed.

I.

We will first say a word on what is called the Comparative Method.* Mr. Freeman does not hesitate to call the establishment of this method the greatest intellectual achievement of this century, and a contribution to the advance of human knowledge at least as momentous as the revival of learning of the fifteenth century. It has supplied an *organon* by which moral certainty may be attained in regions before shrouded from the eye of the inquirer. "The characteristic difficulty of the historian," says Sir Henry Maine, "is that recorded evidence, however sagaciously it may be examined and re-examined, can very rarely be added to."† It is here that the Comparative Method comes to his assistance, by supplying to matters in which external testimony gives him little or no help, a form of strictly internal proof, which is even more unerring. By this means an entirely new world is revealed to the historical inquirer. And more—the knowledge thus acquired by him throws a completely new light on the previous knowledge derived from historical records, by enabling him to see more truly the nature and comparative importance of the facts recorded. The method has not only gone a long way towards restoring the faded colours of history, but has also, so to say, altered its perspective.

The chief use of the Comparative Method is that it enables us to trace to a common origin beliefs, customs, institutions and forms of language distributed through distant ages and nations. This it has in a large measure enabled us to do for that great family of races to which the common name of Aryan or Indo-European has been given. The great preliminary step was effected by Comparative Philology, which, by a corollary from its own more immediate conclusions, established the common parentage of the Aryan races. This accomplished, the next step was to apply the method to the study of the beliefs and usages which characterize, or have characterized, those races, in order to discover which of them are referable to a common source. And it is to be especially noted that to trace a number of beliefs and usages to a common source, is clearly, in addition, to throw very great light on their history as given in records. For, when once they have been shown to have a common descent, this connection enables them to aid immensely in explaining each other's course, by disclosing missing links or revealing the significance of half-obliterated traces of past ideas or customs; often one of the

* Mr. Fowler says that the Comparative Method is really what is called in Inductive Logic the Method of Concomitant Variations ("Inductive Logic," p. 190).

† Maine, "Village Communities," p. 7.

things compared affording the key to some intricate puzzle which would otherwise have remained insolvable. Thus the Comparative Method shades into the Historical Method.

We may here observe that, in comparative inquiry, a most important factor is direct observation of such ideas and customs still existing among Aryan races as have not yet passed beyond a very early stage of development; which are, in other words, arrested growths. They not only aid the inquirer in establishing common descent, but throw immense light on the past history of ideas and customs; for we are enabled to infer the past form of beliefs and usages from examples yet surviving at the present time. In the East we see societies full of arrested growths. Here the Past is brought directly under our eyes. In the light of the Comparative Method, indeed, Past and Present, Ancient and Modern, have acquired a new and a truer meaning. For, firstly, that method, by disclosing an unbroken continuity in history from times for which we have no historical records down to the present, has broken down the artificial party-wall which had been set up between so-called "ancient" and "modern" times. It has, further, shown that the "ancients" are not to be confined to the Greeks and Romans. It has revealed a new world in which tongues and nations that before seemed entirely unconnected, now find their true places, side by side, as "members of one common primæval brotherhood."* And more, it points to societies existing at present in the East, which are in the true sense of the term ancient, as being full of social phenomena strongly resembling like phenomena that can be shown to have characterized the West in times here belonging chronologically to the Past.†

The greatest triumphs of the Comparative Method have been achieved in the science of Comparative Philology. By a close examination of the words of many languages, the philologer, under the guidance of those laws of phonetic change at work in speech which that examination gradually discloses to him, is enabled to establish the affinity of a large number of languages, spoken by peoples scattered over a great part of the earth's surface—the most famous branches of the human family—and to infer thence that these languages were once one language, and, as a direct consequence of this, that the peoples who speak them were once one people. By an incidental corollary, he thus makes a most important contribution to Ethnology. To another subject he also renders a signal service—that of Pre-historic Culture. If—

* Freeman, "Unity of History" (Rede Lecture, now incorporated with "Comparative Politics"), p. 302.

† Maine, "Village Communities," p. 13.

to take an example—he find the word *mill*, or some word clearly the same, used in the same sense in a number of isolated languages of the Aryan family, he is justified in concluding that the word was one of the original Aryan stock of words, and that, therefore, the original Aryan people, from which the later Aryan peoples are all descended, did not part asunder till they had found out the art of grinding. By the same process he concludes that they knew the arts of ploughing, building houses, making boats, that they could reckon up to a hundred, that they had domesticated the most important animals, that they knew and could work several important metals, that they recognized the fundamental relations of blood and marriage, &c.* He can go on further and show, by the evidence of language, how other steps in the progress of culture were taken independently by different branches of the common stock after their separation, and even in some cases assign the particular stage in the Aryan dispersion at which those steps were taken.

In Comparative Philology the Comparative Method is self-convincing. The doctrine of a common derivation is the only possible explanation here. It would be hard, for instance, to suppose that “by sheer chance, without any connection of any kind with each other, a large number of isolated nations separately made up their minds to call a mill a mill.† And when we find, not one or two, but many things called by the same name in a number of languages, we have no alternative but to infer the common descent of those languages. But the application of the method is not nearly so ready in any other branch of inquiry. Take Comparative Mythology. Besides the fact that it is much more difficult to establish a likeness between one legend and another than it is to show the identity between two cognate words, there is, in the case of legends which seem to be common to distant ages and nations, the possible alternative that they may be independent creations wrought out *after* the Aryan dispersion. It is only, indeed, when Comparative Philology comes to its help that Comparative Mythology begins to yield anything like certain results; that is, when there is shown to be a philological connection between names that appear in like legends; though even then there is the chance that the connection is nothing more than philological. In any case, the Comparative Method, as in the study of language, is the only scientific method here.

There is next the comparative study of Customs. The two

* Max Müller, “Science of Language,” p. 235; Peile, “Philology,” pp. 66, 67.

† Freeman, “Comparative Politics,” p. 6.

branches already touched on render valuable assistance to the inquirer in this department. His business is with rites and usages, which he not only traces upwards to a common source, but traces downwards till they appear as mere "survivals," a process which the inquirer in other branches of Comparative Study may likewise perform. By this process an inflection or termination, a nursery tale, a proverb, a familiar gesture, that seem quite meaningless, become instinct with meaning by being connected backwards with primitive belief. In the study of customs the Comparative Method is still less safe than in the case of Comparative Mythology. Like customs found in times and countries far apart may have had a common origin; but then they may be instances of like effects following upon like circumstances, or simply offsprings of a common idea; or again, there is the alternative of one nation having borrowed a custom from another. There is little room to doubt that many of the most essential arts of civilized life—as printing, writing, the use of the arch and the dome, the use of the mill, the use of the bow, the taming of the horse, the hollowing out of the canoe—have been found out again and again in distant times and countries. To be able to infer a common derivation from the common possession of such inventions, some other sign of historical connection, philological or otherwise, must be visible.* But in any case, the Comparative Method is the only scientific method to be followed in the study of customs.

Mr. Freeman has endeavoured to apply the method to a fourth branch, which he calls Comparative Politics, by which he means the comparative study of political institutions or forms of government. He considers that the method "in this inquiry is further off than in any of the others, from being the one universal solvent." He examines other alternative explanations, in the case of like political institutions, than that of a common origin. Firstly, the likeness between any two institutions may be due to direct transmission from one to the other. This may be either direct transplantation, as, for instance, the reproduction of English political institutions in the subjugated country of Ireland, or the establishment by the Crusaders of the most perfect system of feudal law in the Assizes of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem; or maybe simple imitation as, for instance, the deliberate imitation of the constitution of the English Parliament in most of the legislative assemblies of Europe. Secondly, there is the alternative that the likeness may be simply an instance of like causes producing like effects. A case of likeness between political institutions arising from transmission or imitation is not as a rule hard to discern, as the connection

* "Comparative Politics," pp. 31, 32.

in such cases is mostly a matter of recorded history or of immediate inference therefrom. But the second alternative presents more difficulty.

But (says Mr. Freeman) when we see nations which have been, during the historic times, more or less widely parted off from one another, but which are proved by the evidence of language to be scattered colonies of a common stock—when, among nations like these, we find in their political institutions the same kind of likenesses which we find in their languages and their mythology—the obvious inference is that the likeness in all these cases is due to the same cause. That is to say, the obvious inference is, that there was a time when these now parted nations formed one nation, and that, before they parted asunder, the common forefathers of both had made certain advances in political life, had developed certain common political institutions, traces or developments of which are still to be seen in the political institutions of the now isolated nations.*

And when there is the corroborative evidence of language, when in two nations we find a common institution called by a common name, the explanation of a common origin may be given without any hesitation; though the absence of such a common name by no means disproves a common derivation, as the details of political vocabulary would be worked out independently long after the dispersion. Many important and interesting results have been arrived at by Mr. Freeman. How interesting, for instance, to find that “the *Ekklēsia* of Athens, the *Comitia* of Rome, and the Parliament of England, are all offshoots from one common stock,” and that “*Kleisthenēs*, *Licinius*, and *Simon de Montfort* were fellow-workers in one common cause!”†

The Comparative Method has been applied by Sir Henry Maine in this country with great success to the study of Jurisprudence, more especially to the study of the institution of Property.‡ His most important conclusions are drawn from observations made in India, a country which, he says, has given to the world Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology, and may yet give us a science of Comparative Jurisprudence. We may here just notice that Sir Henry Maine is of opinion that the village community of India, which is known to be of immense antiquity, is the one which, above all other things, should be carefully examined by any one who is in search of the early condition of property. This is at once, he says, “an organized

* “Comparative Politics,” pp. 34, 35.

† Freeman, “Unity of History,” p. 338 (in “Comparative Politics”).

‡ In his “Village Communities in the East and West” and “Early History of Institutions.”

patriarchal society and an assemblage of co-proprietors," in which "the personal relations to each other of the men who compose it are indistinguishably confounded with their proprietary rights."* Comparing the Indian village community with forms of the village community yet existing in Europe, he concluded that this kind of ownership represents the ancient form of property. He has more recently extended and confirmed his conclusions on this subject by a study of the translations of the "Ancient Laws of Ireland," lately published at the expense of the Irish Government, which supply us with an immense amount of information about ancient Celtic communities.

II.

We will next very briefly take notice of some methods of historical inquiry which must be deemed erroneous. First, there is the error of attempting to deduce the psychological from the logical order. One instance of this shall suffice, and it shall be taken from the history of language. How was the grammar of language elaborated? For instance, were adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, which are logically distinct parts of speech, independently formed, or were they wrought out by derivation from some other part or parts of speech, as the noun or pronoun, with which they have no logical connection? Mr. Peile writes as follows:—

Grammarians have begun by laying down the modes in which men must think, and then proceeded to find in speech the necessary exponents of these modes. Thus, for example, it has been maintained that the instrumental case was invented to express the conception of a cause already present in the mind; the dative to denote operation; and so on. This is a great error. It may be conceded that some of the essentials of thought, subject and predicate as we have already seen, must find their exponents, whether separate or compounded together, in every sentence. But beyond this, logic should be kept out of grammar. Grammar has its 'categories,' its forms to express the 'whence' and the 'where,' &c.; but these do not coincide with the logical categories, and they must be discovered in a way independent of these, from the language itself. Every language has its guiding principles; and we can often give the reason why it has taken this or that particular form; when we cannot, we believe that there is some cause, though we in our ignorance cannot say what it is, as we saw when we were considering the origin of the cases. We could recover their earliest form and their earliest use, but the cause, why that particular form was chosen for that particular use, was beyond our grasp. But that cause is never a compulsory one; there is no *must* in the matter. We saw reason to believe that many different forms would

* "Ancient Law," p. 260.

do equally well for the same use. Then out of many possible forms of expression some one secures acceptance by its greater suitability, real or apparent. The fittest form makes its way into general use.*

He has concluded that, for the most part, adverbs and prepositions are historically cases of nouns; while of conjunctions he concludes that a mass of them are obviously cases, generally of pronouns.

A common error in the works of historical inquirers is the viewing the past in the light of the ideas and usages existing at their own time.† Thus, names which once denoted things no longer in existence, either present no meaning to them at all, or are rendered by some fancied modern equivalent. Names, again, whose connotations have really undergone much alteration with the evolution of social ideas, are thought always to have denoted the same, or much the same, things. And acts and institutions are criticised by them, not by reference to contemporary beliefs, opinions, feelings, and forms of life, but in the light of modern ideas. When *Themistes* are spoken of in Homer, it is fancied that they must mean judicial decisions made in accordance with a system of regular *law*; whereas they can be shown to represent an idea anterior to that of law, or even to that of custom, and to mean simply awards held to be delivered by the king under the direct inspiration of *Themis*.‡ On the change of meaning in terms the following may be quoted from Sir H. Maine's "Ancient Law" :—

It may here be observed that we know enough of ancient Roman

* "Philology," pp. 138, 139.

† Mr. Mill thus describes a rather extreme type of this class of historians:—"They assume that words mean the same thing to a monkish chronicler as to a modern Member of Parliament. If they find the term *rex* applied to Clovis or Clotaire, they already talk of 'the French monarchy' or 'the kingdom of France.' If among a tribe of savages, newly escaped from the woods, they find mention of a council of leading men or an assembled multitude giving its sanction to some matter of general concernment, their imagination jumps to a system of free institutions and a wise contrivance of constitutional balances and checks. If, at other times, they find a chief killing and plundering without this sanction, they just as promptly figure to themselves an acknowledged despotism." But he adds: "Humble as our estimate must be of this kind of writers, it would be unjust to forget that even *their* mode of treating history is an improvement upon the uninquiring credulity which contented itself with copying or translating the ancient authorities without ever bringing the writer's own mind in contact with the subject. It is better to conceive Demosthenes even under the image of Anacharsis Clootz, than not as a living being at all, but a figure in a puppet-show, of which Plutarch is the showman; and Mitford, so far, is a better historian than Rollin."—*Dissertations and Discussions*, vol. ii. pp. 126, 127.

‡ Maine, "Ancient Law," pp. 4, 5.

law to give some idea of the mode of transformation followed by legal conceptions and by legal phraseology in the infancy of Jurisprudence. The change which they undergo appears to be a change from general to special ; or, as we might otherwise express it, the ancient conceptions and the ancient terms are subjected to a process of gradual specialization. An ancient legal conception corresponds not to one, but to several modern conceptions. An ancient technical expression serves to indicate a variety of things which in modern law have separate names allotted to them. If, however, we take up the history of Jurisprudence at the next stage, we find that the subordinate conceptions have gradually disengaged themselves, and that the old general names are giving way to special appellations. The old general conception is not obliterated, but it has ceased to cover more than one or a few of the notions which it first included. So too the old technical name remains, but it discharges only one of the functions which it once performed.

This process is exemplified in the history of Contract and Conveyance in Roman law :—

There seems to have been one solemn ceremonial at first for all solemn transactions, and its name at Rome appears to have been *nexum*. Precisely the same forms which were in use when a conveyance of property was effected seem to have been employed in the making of a contract. But we have not very far to move onwards before we come to a period at which the notion of a contract has disengaged itself from the notion of a conveyance. A double change has thus taken place. The transaction with the copper and the balance, when intended to have for its office the transfer of property, is known by the new and special name of Mancipation. The ancient *Nexum* still designates the same ceremony, but only when it is employed for the special purpose of solemnizing a contract.*

Thus, contrary to all our modern notions, there was a time when the two ideas of Contract and Conveyance had not been differentiated. A mind unable to divest itself of modern conceptions would clearly be unfitted for tracing such a change in the history of legal ideas. Much of the "rehabilitating" tendency so much in fashion among modern historical writers comes under the present head. We will just note that certain special tendencies and mental characteristics of our own times may draw us with peculiar force to certain past characters, and lead us to "rehabilitate" them. In doing so, we may be led to unclothe them of the characteristics which connect them with the ideas and feelings of their age. A "great man" of past times may thus come to be invested by a powerful writer in an entirely false garb, which may for a very long time, perhaps always, cling to him. The forms which this second error of viewing the past in

* "Ancient Law," pp. 316-318.

the light of the present assumes are extremely various, but want of space prevents us from being able to enter further than we have done into illustration.

A third error exhibited in historical inquiry may be noted, which is that of entering on it with narrow or erroneous aims or preconceptions. This will clearly lead an inquirer to misconceive, and therefore to misrepresent, the comparative value and significance both of things which fall in with, and of things which make against, his view. Even so great an historian as Mr. Grote was led, by his Radical principles, and his consequent desire to exhibit the operation of those principles to the best advantage, unduly to extol the Athenian Constitution: witness his elaborate vindication of Cleon, the personification of Athenian Demagogy, which took his readers so much by surprise; and his palliation of the condemnation of Socrates, which he regards as almost pardonable. As a contrast to the picture of the Athenian democracy drawn by the Radical Grote, the equally prejudiced representation of it by the Tory Mitford may be referred to in illustration of the error to which we allude. We suppose that few would regard Mr. Froude's attempt to vindicate English rule in Ireland as anything but a systematic effort to shape history in accordance with a preconception. The same may be said of his apology for Henry VIII., of whom (to take one example) he does not hesitate to say that he beheaded Anne Boleyn one day and married Jane Seymour next day from the strictest sense of public duty. Mr Freeman says: "Mr. Froude's flattering picture comes hardly nearer to the real man than the vulgar Bluebeard portrait of which he very rightly complains."^{*} In the same article he says: "The very first words of Mr. Froude's 'Life and Times of Thomas Becket' are enough to show us that the seeming historical inquiry is really designed as a manifesto against a theological party which once numbered its author among its members."[†]

We will conclude this part of our subject by just mentioning two other forms of error in historical inquiry. In the study of history we may clearly err on the side of credulity or on the side of incredulity. As an extreme illustration of the latter error may be noticed the reckless way in which the so-called German Theological School, such as Strauss and Baur, have treated the Four Gospels, substituting for written tradition the most gratuitous hypotheses; the former of which they treat as

* *Contemporary Review*, "Mr. Froude's 'Life and Times of Thomas Becket.'" By Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D. I. March, 1878. P. 823.

† *Ibid.*, p. 822.

though it were hardly to be reckoned among the *momenta* of proof at all.* Lastly, it is obviously an unsound mode of procedure to introduce *à priori* methods into historical investigation.

In modern times (writes Sir H. Maine) many other considerations have had priority over truth. During the last century in France, which then had unquestionably the intellectual headship of Europe, it was a common opinion that history would be of no value unless it illustrated certain general propositions assumed or believed to be proved *à priori*. The tendency in England, the effect of that interest which is the keenest of all interests in Englishmen, their interest in politics, has been to make historians regard history as pre-eminently an instructress in the art of government, and specially as charged with illustrating the principles of that branch of the art of which Englishmen are masters, the art of constitutional government. But quite recently a manifest dissatisfaction has shown itself with all these schools of history.†

To take a very extreme illustration under this head, two celebrated *à priori* attempts have been made to discover the origin of society—those of Hobbes and Rousseau. Hobbes asserted that men were originally in a state of war, and that they at some time or other formed a compact, by which every one gave up his powers of aggression, lodging all power in the hands of a sovereign, whence resulted law, peace, and order. Rousseau also assumed an original state of Nature, but, unlike that of Hobbes, it was a perfect state, in which all were equal, inequality being, he maintained, the baneful effect of the passage from the State of Nature to the Social State. Both these accounts are of course worthless.

* Strauss banished the Four Gospels from the domain of history altogether, treating them as nothing more than collections of myths or fables. These, he affirmed, originated in two sources—the notions already existing as to the attributes of the Messias, and the peculiar mode of action adopted by Our Lord. The ideas which thus fastened on the minds of his followers developed more and more, till, in the second or third century, the prevalent beliefs were committed to writing in the shape of the present Gospels. Baur assumed an early struggle between the Jewish Christians, or followers of St. Peter, and the Gentile Christians, or followers of St. Paul. The Gospels, he said, were formed by successive developments; on the conclusion of the struggle the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, as being too Judaizing, and the Gospel of Luke, as adhering too much to Pauline doctrines, suffering correction. This is the theory of many of the Tubingen School. For further illustrations read Lamy's "Examen de la Vie de Jésus de M. Renan," 1871, and his "Les Apôtres," 1874.

† "Village Communities" (Address to the University of Calcutta), p. 265.

III.

We will next, in the briefest manner possible, take notice of some of the principal subjective sources of disturbance or perversion in historical investigation. The subjective hindrances to the normal action of the mental powers in historical inquiry are so various that it will be hardly possible, within the limits at our disposal, to do more than just refer to some of them, the reader being left to find suitable illustrations for himself.

(1) While the *imagination* is of great service to the historical inquirer in helping him to realize vividly the past, and even to restore the faded colours of history, it is also a source of much disturbance. First, there is the *too highly constructive* imagination, which easily and rapidly forms representations or pictures of past events, in which either the grouping is incorrect or the colours are too vividly restored. Then there is the *artistic* imagination, which is often unable in the study of past events to resist the impulse to form artistic pictures, by outlining, sketching in, projecting backgrounds, bringing out lights and shades, in accordance with certain artistic requirements. There is, too, the tendency experienced by many to "sublimate" (if we may use the expression) past transactions, characters, or institutions—to "poetize" the past, in accordance with the well-known lines—

Distance lends enchantment to the view,
And clothes its mountains in her azure hue.

The action of the imagination is concerned also in that longing after ideal harmony in Nature and history which makes a certain class of minds what is called *optimistic*. Sir H. Maine, in his "Village Communities," thus writes :—

If the question were put, Why should history be studied? the only answer, I suppose, which could be given is, because it is *true*: because it is a portion of the truth to which it is the object of all study to attain. It is, however, an undoubted fact that the quality of the truth expected from history has always been changing, and cannot be said to be even now settled. Beyond all question, it grew everywhere out of poetry, and long had its characteristics even in the Western World. In the East, as my native auditors know, down to comparatively modern times, the two forms of truth, the poetical and historical form, were incapable of being disentangled from one another. In the West, which alone has seen the real birth and growth of history, long after it ceased to be strictly poetical it continued to be dramatic; and many of the incomparable merits of those historians to whom I see many of the students have been introduced by their recent studies, the great historians of the ancient Western World—as, for example, their

painting and analysis of character—are quite as much due in reality to their sense of dramatic propriety as to their love of pure truth.*

(2) Next, there is the influence of *prejudice*, which may arise from some emotional state requiring for its satisfaction a corresponding set of images and beliefs, or from possession only of one-sided evidence, which has so deeply impressed the mind as very materially to interfere with the admission of other kinds of evidence, or from having constantly come across the same views expressed, the very iteration of which, even when unsupported by evidence, has disposed the mind to receive them. A prejudiced mind is like a prepared ground in which only plants of a certain kind will grow. The following passage, from the article in the *Contemporary Review* to which we have already referred, may be quoted, illustrating the combined effects of prejudice and imagination:—

How deep-set and bitter Mr. Froude's anti-ecclesiastical feelings are is shown by the fact that they are consistent with the fullest artistic perception of whatever is touching and poetic in the ecclesiastical system. Mr. Froude, as a writer, never reaches so high a point as in several passages where he describes various scenes and features of monastic life. To do justice to a bishop or a monk is what Mr. Froude can never bring himself to; but to paint this and that poetic aspect of a bishop or a monk is what few men can do better. Hatred must be fierce indeed which is noway softened by so remarkable a power of merely artistic appreciation. In a student of mediæval history, Mr. Froude's artistic appreciation is undoubtedly no contemptible help; but it will hardly stand in the place of unwavering justice. What the mediæval Church asks from the student of mediæval history is simply justice. And justice will never be done to her either by fanatical votaries or by fanatical enemies. Mr. Froude has tried both characters, and both characters are alike incompatible with justice, incompatible with truth.†

(3) The influence of special *emotional* states might next be referred to. Any very strongly developed feeling, as a keen sense of the ludicrous, a love of the marvellous, or strong attachments to class, party, or country, will, if not provided against, disturb the course of historical inquiry. As an instance of the influence of the sentiment of reverence for embodied power, contrast with the account given of King James by Bisset and other historians, that he was "in every relation of life in which he is viewed . . . equally an object of aversion or contempt," the dedication to him of the English translation of the Bible—

* P. 264 (Address to the University of Calcutta, March, 1865).

† Mr. Froude's "Life and Times of Thomas Becket." By Edward A. Freeman. I. March, 1878. P. 826.

"Great and manifold were the blessings, Most Dread Sovereign, which Almighty God, the Father of all Mercies, bestowed upon us, the people of England, when first he sent Your Majesty's Royal Person to rule and reign over us," &c. &c.*

(4) We should next allude to various kinds of *mental complexion*, which are uncongenial to historical inquiry.

(a) First, there is the *want of mental conceptivity*, the inability adequately to lay hold of, and represent to the mind, the events, so multitudinous and complex, of history. In this case the mind tends to diffuse itself vaguely over the facts, instead of grasping them both individually and as a whole. The events of history being distributed in time and space, a high sense of historical perspective becomes quite necessary. Yet perhaps no error has been so common in historical works as that of confounding together generations or successive states of humanity, or, again, of mis-estimating the varying rates at which influences have been able to travel over space at different periods. Mr. Mill, writing on M. Michelet's "History of France," says—

The great value of the book is, that it does, to some extent, make us understand what was really passing in the collective mind of each generation. For, in assuming distinctness, the life of the past assumes also variety under M. Michelet's hands. With him each period has a physiognomy and a character of its own. It is in reading him that we are made to feel distinctly how many successive conditions of humanity, and states of the human mind, are habitually confounded under the appellation of the Middle Ages. To common perception, those times are like a distant range of mountains, all melted together into one cloudlike barrier. To M. Michelet they are like the same range, on a nearer approach, resolved into its separate mountain masses, with sloping sides overlapping one another, and gorges opening between them.†

Waiving the question of the real merits or demerits of M. Michelet's work, this passage well illustrates our meaning.

(b) Secondly, there is the *want of mental plasticity* the want of power to enter into and realize situations, combinations, and types of character, different from those with which the inquirer is familiar. Most men's ideas have been framed out of observations made within more or less narrow areas; and ideas so framed are much too deeply imbedded to permit ready admittance to the combinations of facts presented by past social states,

* Spencer, "Study of Sociology," pp. 175, 176.

† Mill, "Dissertations and Discussions," vol. ii. pp. 141, 142. Mr. Spencer, in his "Study of Sociology," says that "the habits of thought generated by converse with relatively simple phenomena partially unfit for converse with the highly complex phenomena" presented by society (p. 73).

societies alien in race, or races in early stages of development. Again, in endeavouring to interpret past human conduct, it is difficult to enter into thoughts and motives different from one's own, to avoid using on all occasions, as a key to past conduct, one's own nature.* (c) *Want of the critical power.* Historical criticism is two-fold—it is the searching after historical truth, and secondly, the assigning to facts their proper degree of importance relatively to each other and to general history. As to the first, we agree with the main thesis of Cardinal Newman's "Grammar of Assent," that "formal logical sequence is not the method by which we are enabled to become certain of what is concrete," that the method is "the cumulation of probabilities, independent of each other, arising out of the nature and circumstances of the particular case which is under review; probabilities too fine to avail separately, too subtle and circuitous to be convertible into syllogisms, too numerous and various for such conversion even were they convertible,"† that "we grasp the full tale of premisses and the conclusion, *per modum unius*—by a sort of instinctive perception of the legitimate conclusion in and through the premisses, not by a formal juxtaposition of propositions."‡ Of the want of critical judgment in the use of authorities one or two instances will suffice here. Speaking of the work of Thierry, Mr. Freeman says that he uses authorities in the wildest way; he has no idea of the different value of authorities; any book published before printing was invented is to him of equal value with any other book; he puts together pieces taken from different accounts without seeing their mutual inconsistency.§ Speaking of Mr. Froude's proposition, that English history ought to be studied in the Statute-book, he writes: "Mr. Froude had clear-sightedness enough to see at a glance the importance of documentary evidence. But the conviction had to him something of the charm of a discovery; an official proclamation, judgment, assertion of any kind, became in his eyes clothed with a kind of sacred character, before which the ordinary rules of morals and the ordinary rules of historical evidence had to give way. All this could hardly have happened to one who had made history the study of his life."|| The second, besides extended knowledge, requires a philosophic habit of mind, which can perceive the bearings, the vital connections of facts. Mr. Freeman, writing

* To this error is given the name of *automorphic interpretation*.

† Newman, "Grammar of Assent," p. 281.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

§ *Contemporary Review*, "Mr. Froude's 'Life and Times of Thomas Becket,'" September, 1878. P. 239.

|| *Ibid.*, March, 1878. P. 825.

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against Mr. Froude's method of treating the life and times of St. Thomas of Canterbury, describes the stand-point from which alone a true comprehension of the subject can be acquired. He says that it is a subject which involves an examination of some of the greatest questions which ever distracted Christianity ; it necessitates a comprehension of the characters of some of the greatest men in English history as well as some notice of distinguished men in other countries ; it requires an examination of the issues, then maturing, of the Norman Conquest ; it demands that we extend our view beyond our own island, for the rule of Henry II. stretched from the Pyrenees to the Cheviots, and his policy embraced all countries from Ireland to the Holy Land ; it calls for familiarity with a whole contemporary literature ; it needs a further study of the general sources of English history, and indeed of European history ; nor will contemporary history in England and abroad suffice, for no one can understand the twelfth century who has not thoroughly made himself master of the eleventh, nor the eleventh who has not a considerable knowledge of the centuries preceding.* Under this head we might add one or two observations. The generality of men are unable to look at more than a very few aspects or sides of a question at a time. Their conclusions are based, not on all the facts or on all the evidence taken together, but on a succession of detached glimpses. They are in consequence either quite erroneous, the true relations of the facts or the cumulative force of the evidence not coming out under such a method of examination, or are else imperfect, being at best a kind of patchwork of truth. Many minds, again, in pursuing an inquiry, are unable to preserve an equable calmness of temper, to hold their judgment in suspense till all the evidence or all the facts have been brought under review. Their conclusions are really formed before the question has been thoroughly investigated. They are specially liable to be overwhelmed by momentary presentation of a mass of evidence or of facts pointing in one direction, and to be thence rendered incapable of recovering their balance. Then there is the action of mental sympathy. In the study of history, the mind, by an unconscious process of assimilation, tends to fasten on and coördinate those particular aspects of the facts which are most congenial to it. These become to it the most striking sides of human history. It may even go on to gather these aspects together, and manipulate them into a theory—its philosophy of history. (d) Where the reason is developed out of proportion to the other, as the imaginative, faculties, other forms of erroneous treatment appear. There is, for instance, *the realist mind*, with

* *Contemporary Review*, March, 1878. Pp. 829, 830.

its rage for distinctions and classification. Historical facts get ranged in classes, the *fundamenta divisionis* being readily supplied for them by the mind itself. Things indissolubly connected may then get separated, and referred to different heads; while things, on the other hand, which have little or no vital connection, may come to be classified together. And, further, the facts become starved down into mere notions; a notion has to stand as a shrunken representation of a reality; and thus the figures of history, losing their strong individuality of character, become little more than lay-figures. Secondly, there is the *theorizing propensity*, the tendency to read history by divination, to expound it in the light of views begotten of the mind itself.

Mr. Buckle, in the general introduction to his "History of Civilization," has derived all the distinctive institutions of India and the peculiarities of its people from their consumption of rice. From the fact, he tells us, that the exclusive food of the natives of India is of an oxygenous rather than a carbonaceous character, it follows by an inevitable law that caste prevails, that oppression is rife, that rents are high, and that custom and law are stereotyped.*

Here is a very extreme instance. But let us not be misunderstood. As Mr. Mill observes, it is wrong to suppose that a man of genius will oftener go wrong than "a dull unimaginative prosler," and that "there is no perversion of history by persons who think equal to those daily committed by writers who never rise to the height of an original idea."† There have been undoubtedly minds who, with no great erudition, have penetrated with wonderful clearness into the meanings of history, who have, by striking generalizations which they alone could work out, rendered the explanation of intricate or obscure historical movements. Even sometimes minds of really great reach may become so entangled in the facts whose course they are endeavouring to trace as to lose sight altogether of the real underlying current which is hurrying them on to their denouement. If Guizot be right in his explanation of the decline of society which led to the fall of the Roman Empire, that it was due to the over-taxation and thence impoverishment and eventually extinction of the class who made up the respectable inhabitants of the towns, it is quite certain that Gibbon, the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Empire, had entirely lost sight of its real cause.‡

(5) Lastly, there is the influence of man's instrument of thought, *language*. In the first place, language is only an

* Maine, "Village Communities," p. 213.

† Mill, "Dissertations and Discussions," vol. ii. p. 142.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. (Guizot's Essays and Lectures on History).

imperfect copy or representative of thought ; hence much misrepresentation or perversion. And secondly, thought in its course is so bound up with its verbal representative, that the latter exercises an active influence of its own on thought, from which it is very often unable to escape ; words, which should be the ministers of thought, thus often becoming its masters. (a) We have already spoken of realism in historical inquiry. This is much promoted by the influence of words. An idea or group of ideas, having found embodiment in a word, seems thereby to acquire a stronger reality ; and so, if a conception were at first framed out of a few only of the aspects of that which it was intended to represent, or based on an unimportant *differentia*, the error arising will have acquired a firmer hold by the conception having been enshrined in a word. (b) Again, if words have arisen in erroneous conceptions, the mere fact of their being in the field will cause hosts of facts in the prejudiced mind to congregate under the ideas conveyed by such words, and to be viewed in the light of those ideas—a result of the naturally classificatory nature of the mind. (c) Further, the sharp divisions marked off by words unconsciously lead to a too sharp division of ideas, the quality of the mind just referred to often causing ideas which are mixed in character to be brought under one or other of the simple ideas which the words denote. Thus, an artistic or literary work, which cannot really be classed as entirely "romantic" or entirely "classical," might come, and indeed often does come, to be spoken of as exclusively one or the other. (d) Another danger arising from the precise character attaching to names is that obscure subjects, when treated of in terms of a technical kind, may come thereby to appear less obscure than they really are. There is, for instance, much speculation now afloat on antiquarian subjects, in which the inquirer appears to himself or to others to be cutting into the heart of a subject, when his weapons are really little more than a set of technical terms. (e) We may perhaps add the disturbing effect on thought and inquiry arising from the mental satisfaction engendered in a writer by neat, concise, or antithetic collocations of words, an influence especially noticeable in French authors ; and, connected with this, the influence on an author exerted by the itch after what is called "fine" writing, frequently observable in the works of Macaulay.

No one can be entirely free from all these various sources of error. When all has been done by education or self-restraint to counteract them, the general subjective bent or character of each individual is sure in some way to transform the subject under study. Thus, according as the mind is constructive or sceptical, the interpretation of ancient records may vary extremely. Thus, Niebuhr, in examining the extant records for early Roman

history, considered that prescription, along with internal consistency, was sufficient evidence of fact. He took to pieces what he found in those records, and rearranged it according to certain principles of probability. "We are able," he says, "to trace the history of the Roman constitution back to the beginning of the Commonwealth, as accurately as we wish, and even more perfectly than the history of many portions of the Middle Ages." On the other-hand, listen to Sir George Lewis, with whom prescription has no force, and who will receive no evidence which has not first established its right to acceptance. "We may rejoice," he says, "that the ingenuity or learning of Niebuhr should have enabled him to advance many novel hypotheses and conjectures respecting the form and the early constitution of Rome, but unless he can support those hypotheses by sufficient evidence, they are not entitled to our belief."

A word in conclusion on the difficulties under which historians labour in endeavouring to *record* contemporary facts. Historians are peculiarly liable to miss the great movement of their time in the midst of "the full-blown events of the current day." Mr. Carlyle says—

Our clock strikes when there is a change from hour to hour; but no hammer in the horologe of time peals through the universe when there is a change from era to era. Men understand not what is among their hands: as calmness is the characteristic of strength, so the weightiest causes may be most silent. It is, in no case, the real historical transaction, but only some more or less plausible scheme and theory of the transaction, or the harmonized result of many such schemes, each varying from the other and all varying from truth, that we can ever hope to behold.*

Secondly, an historian is apt often to mistake what is really a mere "survival" in customs or institutions in his time for their real essence, or a part thereof. He takes the shadow for the substance. Thirdly, the narrator can observe and record only the *series* of his own experiences. But the events themselves occurred, not in series, but in groups. As Mr. Carlyle puts it, Action is of three dimensions, having length, breadth, and depth; while Narrative is, by its nature, of only one dimension: Narrative is *linear*, Action is *solid*. Lastly, the collector of facts, like the interpreter of records, is exposed to the disturbing influences of imagination, prejudice, feeling, peculiar mental complexion, and language. As to imagination, this has acted with varying degrees of force at different periods, the earlier

* "Miscellaneous Essays," vol. ii. p. 171.

historians being immensely under its sway. Prejudice and feeling also exercise very great influence. Beliefs about the affairs going on around us are warped by education, by patriotism, by class bias, by the bias of political party, by a love of the marvellous, and in a thousand other ways. We might remark that, in examining past historical records of contemporary events, an inquirer ought to gauge, as accurately as possible, the general mental character of the time in which the writers lived, to estimate, for instance, as nearly as possible, the exact degree in which imagination operated in their time. This, which is so often quite overlooked, would be an immense help towards the discrimination between fact and misrepresentation in records.

HENRY WORSLEY.

ART. III.—A FRENCH STUDY OF CHRISTIAN WOMANHOOD.

Les Femmes dans la Société Chrétienne. Par ALPHONSE DANTIER. Paris: Firmin Didot et C^{ie}. 1879.

WHEN an author takes a subject nineteen centuries long, and as wide as the world, it is plain at the outset that, though he may call his work by the whole name of such a subject, the work cannot hope to present any entire view of it, but only an aspect bounded by one mind's horizon, or a detailed review of the narrow track by which the student chose to traverse it in his own research. To give anything like full elaboration would be to load the public with a library instead of a treatise; to attempt a general view of the whole would be to give only a vague impression; to strive after detail and brevity at once would produce something useful and reliable, perhaps, but only as attractive as a map or a table of statistics. In the present instance, there was much tact displayed in surmounting the first difficulty, that of planning a system for treating in short space one of the widest historical subjects. There is not here the vagueness of a merely general view, nor monotonous superabundance of detail. M. Dantier has devised a happy mean for escaping both extremes; for while he gives a passing survey of the spirit and character of each period, he selects from each some individual lives most characteristic of that spirit or most prominent in the history of the time. He tells us in his preface that, while pursuing his studies at the Sorbonne, he was first struck by the impressive fact which, seen from different points, appeared with equal force in the historical teaching both of M. Guizot and

of Frederic Ozanam—namely, the dependence of the progress of the world's civilization upon the religious and the moral influence of the Christian faith. Following out this line of thought, he was led to seek and distinguish the various means by which Providence had accomplished this design ; and in the preparation of those former works which are now well known since they have been crowned by the French Academy, out of historical studies of the Ages of Faith arose the conviction that in the progress of civilization a large part had been taken silently and without ostentation by the predestined influence of Christian womanhood. His work has been to depict this influence by analysis of the various periods, and by brief memoirs of representative lives ; for he would not only retrace for us the story of the heroines of faith, but, as far as may be done by a critical pen, he would reproduce the atmosphere of their time, and strive to some extent to account for the surrounding circumstances which influenced those who in their turn were to influence the world around them. But he forewarns the reader that in his work there will be nothing didactic. He has no ambition to teach unless the past teaches of itself, nor to be the censor of his time ; lest, like so many that would cry down the evils of a present age, he might find that his voice was one crying in the desert. Far from this, he wisely points out that in this our time, even as in the times that have become historic, if there are great evils, there are also to be found great virtues and great merit.

Only (he observes), when one finds men judging and weighing the other sex according to certain dramas and modern novels, it is desirable to show by means of historical proof that if woman has often been by her weakness the source of all evil, she has far oftener been by her virtue the source of all good. And, besides, whatever may be our powerlessness to rise to the heroic heights of Christian perfection, it is always profitable to recall such great memories, if only to raise up again the dignity of human nature by opposing to its unspeakable littleness its unutterable greatness.

With such an end in view, the choice of his heroines was not made in accordance with any worldly rules of historical prominence or personal notoriety.

By preference (he says), I have chosen those whose pure and stainless glory contrasts with the unworthy fame of so many others, who, after having fascinated their time, have fallen back into that dust and oblivion in which it were better to leave them unrecalled.

His heroines are chiefly those humble agents of the Divine Will who simply hoped to pass through this world doing good ; and we can well understand the avowal of the author, that while he

studied and retraced such lives, those messengers of Providence, following each other in their humble and unconscious mission, reminded him of the bright processions of saints and martyrs, with palm, and crown, and aureole, which the artists of old have left depicted in the mosaics or the fading frescoes of the sanctuary.

Before passing in review this long procession of heroines of the centuries, and contrasting the spirit of the Church with the spirit of the world to-day, we would point out the one truth which has been impressed upon us beyond all others by M. Dantier's record of their work and their influence. In our days the world is working out its own philosophy to the bitter end, and casting aside as antiquated the grand old Christian ideal of every element of human life. When we hear the Church and the world make use of the same term, we are now accustomed to expect that the same word in the mouth of each means two very different things. For instance, progress, liberty, or liberal views, truth, or honour, or even education, are terms that have been travestied to a different significance from what they bear for the children of the Church. Therefore, when our author speaks of woman's mission, we are aware that he uses the word in the Christian sense, and that he will not frighten our ears with what has become the noisy watchword of a certain section of the world in the nineteenth century. And the great difference between the two meanings is summed up in the thought that became impressed upon us by the internal evidence of these biographies of Christian womanhood. The heroine of the Church is before all things humble, and it is without choice or ambition, as the handmaid of the Lord, that she falls into her place in the scheme of Providence, or, in other words, fulfils her mission on earth. Utterly in contrast with her, far apart as pole from pole, the woman with a mission introduces herself to the world, pushed forward by the sense of her own importance, and sustained by the very force of self-confidence. There are, indeed, some amongst these biographies which tell the tale of brilliant lives; but the grandeur that has made their record live down to our time is not the grandeur of throne or court, but that of the ordinary duty-doing spirit tried by such trial, or else the violent contrast of extraordinary humiliation and suffering. Throughout these nineteen centuries there are countless women of every class and every clime whom the universal voice of the Church honours as having fulfilled upon earth a noble mission; but there is not one of them who does not in some degree share the honours of the Magnificat with the most exalted of women, only by sharing its supreme sign of predestined exaltation. The Christian mission of womanhood is a most humble and hidden mission; the bene-

dition of generations comes not in God's choice to ambition, nor even to masculine philanthropy, but to lowliness. They who fulfil woman's mission begin in quiet humility, and travel their grand path, not looking forward, but as servants of a higher Will going on from deed to deed. They are not philosophers, nor conscious benefactors of humanity; they are willing handmaids, like her of Nazareth. We shall return again to this marked contrast, which alone reconciles us to using that much-abused word, "woman's mission." But first we shall follow M. Dantier's study with a rapid sketch.

With the history of the dawn of Christianity upon Rome, we find naturally Plautilla's legend linked with the name of the Apostle of the Gentiles; and it is easy to account for the ardour with which the women of that age, even in greater numbers than the men, accepted his message of the new faith, when we reflect that the adoration of the Virgin's Son meant the permanent exaltation of womanhood, the glory of virginity, the sanctification of maternity; and the apostolic teaching brought the sacramental character of marriage, and therein the safety of society. For the slave-woman as well as for her patrician mistress there came good tidings of great joy. M. Paul Allard, in his "Esclaves Chrétiens," has given an exact record of the first emancipation from slavery, the first granting of any rights to the living property of the Roman master. Christianity, he says, raised marriage to the dignity of a sacrament, and opened to slaves access to every sacrament; it was the assertion of the honour of womanhood in the lowest grade as in the highest, and of the equal rights of every human soul; and the reduction of this theory to practice resulted in the anxiety of the vast hordes of Roman slaves to be subject to the sweet yoke of Christ. At the other end of the scale, the conversions of patrician women were even more remarkable; and the history of the early centuries is full of the names of women of noble birth and nobler soul who enriched the Church, succoured her pastors, or began the unending apostolate among the sick and poor. It was also their emancipation from that fatal emptiness of mind and frivolity of heart, which, as classic history and the comedy of social life tell us too plainly, left but little room for good in the secluded life of Greek and Roman women. The mistress of many slaves and of wide wealth learned the new lesson addressed to her heart; and the slave and the poorest of the poor became her brethren and her heirs, exalted as representatives of Christ. She was given at the same time the right and the duty of exercising her mind; she seized the chance with a hungry yearning for food of thought, and the result was that all-absorbing faith which made so many virgins and so many martyrs. Many there were of whom it

might be said, as our author says of Plautilla, the disciple of St. Paul, that her great distinction was her full consciousness of the value of an immortal soul, her realization of the eternal happiness promised to the just. "To her those dogmas were no philosophical abstractions, but living realities." Her sense of the infinite was of such powerful attraction that she did not care for aught else when once her soul had seen down into those immeasurable depths. So she passed out of life by an early death, as one released from bondage, without a glance of regret towards patrician splendour, or towards her kinsman, Vespasian, newly raised to the Imperial throne. She and a thousand more had accomplished by faith what a great saint of a later century had realized in vision; she had "seen eternity." There is a super-human grandeur in this strong grasping of the truth by the first Christians. Life sank to one level with the gates of eternity at its end; witness the change which Christianity brought into Roman social life when, for the first time, under the influx of noble women to the new faith, the Church bound in marriage the patrician's daughter and the freed-man whom the civil law disdained to unite. Death itself became desirable, and fearless suffering seemed a natural outcome of the magnificent fulness of faith; hence the countless histories of the martyrdom of valiant women, making glorious the annals of three centuries; and hence in these pages the tenderly-drawn picture of "The Martyrs of the Faith," wherein we not only watch the crowning scene of the virgin Cecilia's triumph, but see her in the ordinary life of her day at the marriage feast, and follow her, still earlier, in the long unconscious preparation for martyrdom—the life of faith that leads us down with her to explore the half-darkness of the catacombs, or into the midst of the crowd of mendicants. We have dwelt upon this early phase of the subject, because out of the Christian exaltation of womanhood, and out of the generosity with which the newly-acknowledged soul seized and avowed its privileges of faith, are evolved all the glory of women in succeeding ages and all their service to the world. The Gospel of Christ was at once their patent of nobility and their charter to labour, and whatever influence they have possessed for the ennobling of humanity, it has been due to the honour granted them by Christian truth, and to that response of strong faith and characteristic generosity which in the beginning was fruitful of martyrdom, as in these days it is fruitful of sacrifice. We must pass over the succeeding chapters—the rise of the monasteries, the African Church and the solitaries, gathered under the beautiful title of "The Martyrs of Penance;" the finding of the Cross by a pilgrim empress, and the first centuries in the Holy Land—and we come to the large share which was taken in the con-

version of the Western nations by the influence of Christian princesses, the wives of pagan kings. "The Anglo-Saxon Race and their Apostolate" brings before us the familiar names of Bertha, Etheldreda, the Abbess Hilda; but the next chapter traverses newer ground, under the suggestive title of "Poetry and the Drama in the Cloister." As M. Dantier observes, if there is a curious fact in the history of literature in the Middle Ages, it is assuredly the reappearance of the Latin drama in a German convent of Benedictine nuns in the tenth century. In the midst of a half-barbarous people and of a century reputed as the calamitous and unlettered Iron Age, we here come across proofs of liberal culture and familiarity with the classic languages, not only in religious houses of men but of women. The Abbess Hrothwitha, aspiring to produce Christian dramas in the style of Terence, and to teach their parts to her nuns, is a wonderful revelation of the freedom of cloistral education, and no less a disclosure of the simplicity of life and thought which made a humble nun unwittingly the reviver of the Latin drama. It is characteristic of Hrothwitha, as well as of her time, that in praying for poetic inspiration in one of her preludes she reminded the Holy Virgin that even Balaam's ass was made to speak wisely; and in the whole group of studious nuns, of which the Saxon convent was the home, we may be sure there was the same desire of utility and not of learned repute. This is the reason why, after reading of Hrothwitha's dramas in the cloister, we are not startled by contrast when we come upon the record of works of a far different character written in long succession in the same tongue by other abbesses—Hildegard, Hedwige, and the great St. Gertrude; and the name of St. Hedwige leads on to the charities of her niece, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, thus closing in the thirteenth century with woman's everlasting place as an almsgiver the chapter which opened with her fitful place in the progress of literature. In subsequent pages the life of the great Countess Matilda shows a feminine influence exerted in appeasing the long struggle between the German Emperor and the Holy See; and the same mission of a peacemaker finds still grander illustration in the chapter devoted to "The Virgin of Siena, Avignon, and Rome." In the short survey of the thirteenth century there are noted indications of the increasing influence of women in the world—religious, political, and social. That century saw the revival of fervour in Italy, and St. Clare, at the word of St. Francis, founding the austere order which, spreading through France and Germany, was to be as a leaven to the age. In the political world, it was the period of the two regencies of Blanche of Castile, as yet the most formal recognition of the power of a woman to hold regal rights, even against a feudal nobility, and to

rule a great nation wisely. As to the world of social life, it was the age of chivalry, when knight and troubadour vied with each other in causing the spirit of romance to change almost into a fanciful worship the homage paid throughout Christendom to womanhood. In remarking this threefold growth of influence in the thirteenth century, M. Dantier aptly points out that it was also the century when through all Christian countries there was a fresh development of devotion to the Madonna. Invoking her name, it was then that there sprang up the cathedrals of Gothic architecture,

the magnificent churches of which the slender columns, the boldly vaulted roofs, the aërial spires, seem to proclaim, high over all, the glory of the mother of the Redeemer. To exalt her and to glorify her in their turn, painters and sculptors were soon joining with the builders, and art under all its forms was consecrating to the Blessed Virgin marvellous works radiant with that heavenly and ideal beauty which could be drawn from no other source than Christian inspiration.

It was also the time when the question of the Immaculate Conception was being constantly discussed and earnestly defended by the new Franciscan Order; and there can be no doubt that the influence of women—whether peopling the cloister, ascending the throne, or from the humblest hearth inspiring what was best in chivalry—was an influence increasing in exact correspondence with the growth of devotion to the Immaculate Virgin. While through the earlier centuries the Church was developing the doctrine concerning her, and while the world, already believing, was slowly realizing her privileges, homage to the Madonna and the respect for womanhood increased side by side. And undoubtedly each Christian instinct reflected fresh light upon the other, for we must not forget that if there would have been no age of chivalry but for the worship of the Virgin Queen and Mother, neither would there have been so rapid a development of devotion but for the preparation of the mediæval world by its spirit of chivalry.

In the chapter devoted to the *Divina Commedia*, the influence of Beatrice Portinari is described under the title of "The Inspirer of a great Poet." But when we consider the actual circumstances of the meeting with Beatrice, and perceive in the poem, written many years after, the exaltation of her character as the type of theology, it becomes evident that it was to no individual charm and no mere poetic passion that the world owes Dante's masterpiece. It was created by the cherished growth in his own mind of the ideal of Christian womanhood, an ideal which was high and etherealized in proportion to his poetic gift and his theological science. Passing on to a far different subject, *Dieu et la Patrie* is the motto of the history of Jeanne d'Arc.

The womanly nature of this warrior-maiden is admirably shown in M. Dantier's relation of the well-known story. In referring to the modern theory, that her voices and visions were hallucinations, the effect of a vivid imagination upon a weak and unhealthy mind, he declares that the facts of the case give such a theory a positive denial :

A sound mind in a vigorous frame, a soul, religious but of a practical turn, not disposed to superstition, Jeanne was neither inclined to mysticism nor hallucination. Finely constituted, "very beautiful with great strength and power," as her contemporaries say, she had nothing virile about her appearance, for hers was a modest bearing and a low voice, the voice of a woman, as those attest who heard it.

This strangest episode in all history is not without others resembling it at a distance, but it is without a parallel. It shows us a woman achieving a work utterly outside woman's sphere, and with evidences of power almost superhuman; and we admire the heroine of such exceptional work all the more in comparison as we regard her not as an Amazon, but as the simple prayerful peasant girl of Domrémy. The next advance in history leads us to the great religious renewal of fervour in the sixteenth century, when, simultaneously with the so-called Reformation, there came into the world a St. Teresa to renew the contemplative life, and a St. Ignatius to organize a new army for the active apostolate. "St. Teresa, the highest personification of Spanish mysticism," is the central figure in this study, and the author warmly advocates the reading of her autobiography and her works, as not only useful in the cloister, but most profitable to those who form a part of the intellectual world, and who profess to honour the mind rather than its material surroundings. "In those dreary hours when they are assailed by doubt and delusion, let them take up St. Teresa's 'Life,' and they will soon be strengthened and consoled when face to face with that ardent energetic faith, that supreme detachment from the things of earth." And here we would remark that since the humility of a Christian woman is the test of her mission and the proof that her labours will abide, there is no more marked example of it than we find in the spirit of the Saint of Avila. It is not only edifying in a devotional sense, but charming in a human sense, to read in the preface of one of the mystic works of her who was to be placed among the doctors of the Church, the humble avowal: "I am, indeed, like those birds which are taught to talk; knowing nothing but what is taught to them, or what they hear, they repeat it continually. If our Lord wishes me to say something new, He will deign to inspire me; if not, He will make me remember what I have written before, and to me that

will be no little favour." Or elsewhere: "I write against my will and almost in odd times, because it keeps me from my spinning, and I am in a very poor house where there is a great deal to do." The saint whose work was thus marked with the seal of future exaltation had in her time to accomplish in seclusion a great mission towards the outer world. Her position with regard to the Protestant Reformation is thus indicated, to show how even the life of a contemplative nun became an active force in the history of her time and of the Church:

In the sixteenth century, the Carmelite Order, which dated back its antique origin as far as the prophet Elias, came forward from its habitual contemplation to take part in the movements of the Catholic world, at that time profoundly agitated by the Protestant Reformation. St. Teresa—who saw with sorrow the invading march of heresy, and who, as she said, would have given her life a thousand times to save one of those erring souls—believed that the Church should combat and vanquish her opponents by the all-powerful force of love. It was under such a conviction that she exclaimed mournfully: "How much I suffer to see the unhappy loss of so many Lutherans, by baptism members of the Church! And if we cannot witness the pain of any one whom we love without being touched with the deepest compassion, what affliction ought we not to feel at the sight of a soul casting itself for ever into the most fearful of all sufferings." The heretics, then, were to be won back, saved by the might of sweetness and charity. There was the sole means by which she thought that the cause of imperilled faith could be served by Carmel, whose very character and sweetness of spirit accorded with that view. Was it not that Order which had favoured the spread of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, thereby contributing to raise still higher the moral power of woman in Christian society? Was it not Carmel which, making known the scapular, had tempered what was terrible in the doctrine of eternal punishment, and in so doing had brought down to the affrighted conscience new hope and consolation? Lastly, was it not Carmel that had pronounced over Satan that word which in itself describes the greatest torment of the fallen angel: "Unhappy being!—he does not love!"

Without at once imprinting upon her Order that spirit of orthodox mysticism which in herself was personal and spontaneous, St. Teresa at least found the Carmelite Order, by its customs and tendencies, prepared to receive and develop the germs of such a spirit. But before reforming others, is it not necessary to begin the reform at home, and with the strictness of primitive rule to establish in each community the contemplative spirit, which, by prayer and charity, ought to facilitate that work of regeneration which it is desirable to accomplish? It was this labour which the Nun of Avila pursued without ceasing for a space of twenty years, believing herself called thereto by a vocation received expressly from God.

Again, rapidly changing the scene, before the close of the

same century, the next chapter is devoted to the tragic story of Mary Stuart, related for the double purpose of vindicating her character and showing her relation with regard to the surrounding religious and political revolution. "The Captivity and Death of a Queen" furnishes the end of her history; and she is portrayed not only as the brilliant and sorely tried woman, but as in heart and will the staunch defender of her ancient faith. Similarly given in two chapters, the next biography is of a very different kind and of more directly useful teaching: "Jane de Chantal; her Youth and Widowhood;" "The Origin and Progress of the Order of the Visitation." As a picture of a life in the world as well as in the cloister, such sketches as this contain invaluable material for study in our days. But to the following chapters on Port Royal we are far from being able to give equal praise. Neither the interest attaching to a great religious house, nor the virtue of its inmates, nor the splendour of their learning, nobility of birth, or grandeur of mind, can warrant the spirit of sympathy which seems to drift through those pages, when mention is made of the enforced obedience of a sisterhood which bore the ill repute of being infected with Jansenism. We must take exception to the later nuns of Port Royal as Christian heroines. As it has been well said of them, "chaste as angels, but proud as Lucifer," they formed part of the weakness of Catholic France in an hour when she was endangered by a most insidious evil. The story of their resistance is no elevating episode of clostral life; for we cannot confound pride with grandeur of soul, nor allow obstinacy to pass muster as fortitude; nor forget, amid the enumeration of men of genius and women of great character, how the brilliancy of both genius and feminine character was being used as a strong influence against the spirit of the Church. But while we regret the indirect sympathy manifested in the latter part of this history, there is much to praise in the beginning, which relates to the earlier reform of the convent by the child-abbess who grew up within its walls.

The chapter dealing with the letters of Bossuet introduces many of the great names of the seventeenth century belonging to the Court and the cloister. Madame d'Albert de Lhuynes, of the Abbey of Jouarre, unconsciously preparing for death, and then dying before the tabernacle; the Duchesse de la Vallière, turning away disenchanted from the blaze of the Court and received as a penitent among the Carmelites; Madame de Miramion, the almoner of the king, the lady of the *salons*, the mother of the poor, mingling with the world, yet with her life in its grand entirety belonging to God: these are some of the scenes and characters which enter into the narrative as linked to the great name of Bossuet by his spiritual direction or his friendship.

In opening a fresh chapter, "Religious Liberty in the United States," the evil atmosphere of the eighteenth century in France drives the author to seek his heroine beyond the Atlantic. Before quitting France, he does not shrink from noting woman's share in the errors of the age:—

In considering history with its social evolutions (he writes), we see each century assume a character of its own, and become distinguished from the rest by its glory or its dishonour, its grandeur or its baseness. After the century of Louis XIV. here is that of Louis XV.; after Bossuet and Fénelon, Dubois and Tencin; after Corneille and Racine, Voltaire and Parny. A new spirit is breathed over France as over all the countries of Europe, threatening to overthrow society from summit to foundation. The old barriers go down; the old institutions are done away with; public morals are corrupted; and, notwithstanding useful reforms necessitated by the times, dissolution progressing more and more gives warning that the final catastrophe is inevitable. As if to make themselves deaf to the warnings of the future storm, the privileged classes pass in empty amusements the time which they feel day by day slipping away from them. They seek enjoyment, they sing and laugh among themselves at their supper parties, welcoming with great bursts of merriment Beaumarchais' sallies on the advantages of birth and the spirit of caste, or they pass round satirical couplets directed against the clergy, the nobility, the State. . . . Drawn in their turn with the current, the women forget at the same time the restraint natural to their sex and the example of those who went before them, and, burning what was once adored, they adore what was once condemned. Instead of the polished and decorous assemblies held formerly in the *salons* of Mmes. de Rambouillet, De Sevigné, and De la Fayette, there were now the literary and philosophical coteries presided over by Mmes. du Deffant and De Graffigny, Geoffrin and D'Epinay. Having a certain amount of celebrity, and choosing for the directors of their conscience a Diderot or a D'Holbach, a Helvétius or a D'Alembert, these women made their houses the convents of the sect of Encyclopædists. The *salon* was their chapel, or rather the temple of the new worship; the supper was the *agape* destined for the celebration of mysteries more or less licentious. What a change! It was by means of women becoming its apostles that the philosophy of the eighteenth century was propagated and the number of its disciples increased. Shaking off the yoke of the Gospel, to so many others a light yoke, they took instead another which seemed for a while less heavy. Without in the least giving up the taste for fashion, or the use of powder and rouge and patches, the fervent adepts of the *Encyclopédie* pushed boldly out on the bottomless ocean of philosophic problems, drank eagerly the pleasure of forbidden treatises, and, devouring secretly worthless romances and political pamphlets, finished by getting up among themselves in their intimate reunions a case against God, the sacred ministry, and the divine government of the world.

Adding that the habit of profane raillery began with women even during their early education, the author cites the example of Marie de Vichy-Chamond, a girl of noble birth, who, after disturbing a whole convent by her doubts and sarcasms, was handed over to be lectured by Massillon. After the tête-à-tête, when the abbess asked him what books would he recommend for the precocious sceptic, Massillon answered simply, with a world of wisdom, "Un catéchisme de cinq sous." Who can doubt that the ruin of many souls would have been prevented, many restless intellects steadied, many broken homes preserved, and that the evils of the eighteenth century would have been felt less in the family, if not less in the State, had those ladies of the Encyclopædic salons devoted their genius to the profundity of "the twopence-halfpenny catechism" while Voltaire was busy with his philosophers in the quicksands and shallows?

"Let us leave France (says M. Dantier), let us leave the deplorable history of that period of revolution, to seek abroad in Italy and then in the New World another subject of study, a subject full of interest and grandeur." The central character of this new history is Elizabeth Seton, an American lady of Scottish descent. Widowed in Italy, and owing her conversion to a remarkable train of circumstances, she became, on returning to the United States, the foundress of the Sisters of Charity in the New World. Her first impulse towards the Catholic Church is thus described, partly in her own words. In the first days of her widowhood, she was present, seemingly by chance, while Mass was said in the little church of Monte-Nero on the Tuscan coast, when there came the critical moment in the life of a great soul.

At the moment when the officiating priest was elevating the Host, a young Englishman, who was among the people present, approached her, and said in a low tone of mockery: "There—that's what they call their Real Presence!" By some inexplicable mystery of the human soul, the word of her own co-religionist produced upon Elizabeth an effect quite opposite to what would be anticipated. There was within her a sudden revulsion of feeling. "My soul," she tells us later on, "shuddered at that cold word spoken at the moment while they were adoring. Everywhere was silence and adoration; almost every one was bowed down. I recoiled in horror with an involuntary movement, and I went and knelt down upon the pavement before the altar, with tears, thinking within myself of the words of the Apostle upon the body and blood of the Saviour?" With that thought, and with other memories that came with it, she was suddenly struck by the doubts which had already occurred to her with regard to religious belief. A light broke in upon her mind, illuminating it like the dawn of her new faith.

Returning to America, her conversion was completed, but only
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at the cost of much poverty, abandonment, and suffering. "I do not look forward nor backward—I look upward!" were the words with which this noble woman fought her way through crushing trials, and became a faithful labourer for the Church and the benefactress of her country by spreading the institute of the Sisters of Charity upon the soil of the New World. The two illustrations—the simple farmhouse orphanage among the fields of Emmettsburgh and the subsequent erection, the magnificent ranges of building forming the Emmettsburgh Academy of St. Joseph—are in themselves a sufficient commentary upon the success of this brave woman's plan of looking upward. In the words of the author of the sketch, she was one of the patient and great-hearted of whom it can be said that she passed through life doing good. "Happy the souls who merit such praise! They have already received a recompense in the joy of their own self-devotion to all who suffer in this world. Happy those who, by having known life's woes, have been better able to console others, and who have learned from sorrow the secret of comforting the sorrowful."

"Faith and Charity in the Nineteenth Century" is the title of the closing chapter. In adopting that title for the epilogue it is explained that the special meaning has been to assert that even in this age of anti-Christian teaching and selfish systems there are still to be found in a multitude of souls "those two noble virtues which are the glory of humanity, and which seem in a special manner to belong to womanhood." In tracing the revulsion of feeling which followed the excesses of the first French Revolution, M. Dantier proves how largely the will of the women of France was consulted in these measures of peace which restored the free exercise of religion. They had, indeed, to contend in social life with opposition even from their own sex, for many had been brought up in indifference or under the influence of the Revolution, and it might almost be said that, with churches long closed, the way thither was forgotten. Many women of the *bourgeoisie* were still carried away by the persuasive influence of stronger minds preaching in the household the new gospel of unbelief from multiplied reprints of Voltaire and Rousseau. The good taste and Christian feeling of the opposite section of women did much to live down and cast into disrepute the literature that had inundated France. And while men strove to put the practice of religion out of fashion, wives and mothers heard in the churches the teaching of those great orators who came forward to reconcile the opinions and science of the age with the truths of religion, and that teaching they brought back into the bosom of the family, translating it, at least to their children, with the eloquence of the heart. One of

the most remarkable events of that time—an event of world-wide and everlasting influence—was the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. And this immense work—so glorious to the Church, and so valuable, even in the material civilization of the world—was not in its commencement due either to the learned, or the rich, or to any high influence or powerful organization. The first members of the Propagation of the Faith were some workwomen in the city of Lyons. That city, which is at this day a focus of revolution, had the honour of beginning, in the year 1822, a work which has sent the peace and light of the Cross to the ends of the earth—to the New World, to the scattered ocean islands, to the tribes of the dark African Continent, to the all but impenetrable mass of human life in Eastern Asia. All praise to the workwomen of Lyons, who, little dreaming of their magnificent mission, said their chaplets together and collected their *sous* as the first members of such an apostolate!

If we turn to the nineteenth-century labours of religious orders of women, the subject at once widens to such immensity that we can only sum up its extent by saying that there is no form of human suffering, no misery of soul or body, which has not long ago been placed by the wisdom of the Church under the care of women consecrated to God and self-devoted to a life-long sacrifice for the sake of suffering humanity. Their province embraces every age of life, every grade of society, even down to the deserted and dying child, who has but time to pass through their hands to Heaven. They prepare the working classes for the noble life of honourable labour, and teach the children of the highest classes to fill in a befitting manner their place in the world. Their mission in many divided branches ends in embracing every need of the soul; as educators, their world is especially the world of innocence; but the world of penitence, and even of sin, is their world too; they open a last sanctuary to the sinner, and in their ministration in houses of refuge, in prisons and in the crime-infested byways of great cities, those unnamed women of the Church accomplish more for human society than the philanthropists and the men of statistics have dreamt of in their philosophy. Woman's work in alleviating bodily suffering has been used in such a systematic manner under the guidance of the Church, that the outer world is yielding her system the homage of imitation. The very name of Sister, given in these times to the hired nurse in a London hospital, is an acknowledgment of what Catholic instinct knew centuries ago—that there is a suffering heart within the suffering frame, and human tenderness is the only salve that can reach it. The perfection of that tenderness is naturally—or should we say supernaturally?—to be found only in her who, as the Spouse of Christ, sees Him

by faith, receiving the succour which is given for His sake. No other spirit will accomplish the same results ; we are witnessing in these days the failure of human means and merely worldly training in the unhappy change which has taken place in French hospitals. As to the efficiency of Catholic religious orders for the care of the sick, it is too well established to be questioned. The most telling proof is the simple fact that the most famous of modern nurses of the sick, the lady who has developed hospital-nursing as a science in itself, passed years ago what one might call her apprenticeship with the Sisters of Charity in Paris, and learned from them the knowledge which the benevolent world has welcomed as a new science. The care of incurables and of the insane forms another most merciful and admirable part of the work of our religious orders ; and it is an evidence of the exquisite refinement of charity which dwells in the spirit of the Church that the helplessness and loneliness of age is provided for as well as the weakness of infancy.* But this phase of our subject would lead us far past our limits by its own fascination. It is enough to add that if the contemplative life of religious orders of women is a mystery too beautiful for the world to understand, the active life is likewise a mystery which could not have been invented and which cannot be imitated outside the Church. It is one of the grandest outgrowths of Christianity—one of the marvels of civilization.

To return to M. Dantier's final chapter, the work of women in the nineteenth century by sympathy and by intelligence is illustrated with charming sketches of two contrasting characters, Mme. Swetchine and Eugénie de Guérin. The conversion, the charities, and the intellectual life of Mme. Swetchine, form a rapid sketch, brightened by such characteristic touches as that contained in the following anecdote of her meeting with another brilliant but less attractive, because perhaps less quietly feminine, figure in the Parisian world.

Full of reserve, and accustomed to raise her voice but little—different from Mme. de Staël, who liked dissertation better than friendly talk—Mme. Swetchine remained almost silent during dinner, scarcely looking at the celebrated woman who sat facing her. Mme. de Staël, who, being accustomed to homage, was somewhat piqued at the unexpected silence, advanced towards her when dinner was over and said : "They tell me, Madame, that you wished

* In a recent visit to Nazareth House, Hammersmith—a home for the aged, for orphans, and for maimed and incurable children—we were struck by the exposition of the length and breadth of charity implied in one answer : "And these afflicted children—how long will they remain here?" "We shall take care of them always ; they will be among our old people at last."

to make my acquaintance; is it a mistake?" Madame Swetchine answered with as much readiness as *finesse*: "Assuredly not, Madame, but the king always speaks first."

The *salon* of Mme. Swetchine is described as no school of a special party, no literary coterie, no assemblage of disciples in which she wished to shine as a teacher. The crowd of the brilliant and the intellectually gifted, who made it a centre of union, found in their hostess, as M. de Falloux says, not one aspiring to shine or to teach, but a soul of invariable sweetness and kindness making the mixed assembly but one in harmony. The gift of causing pleasurable union, as here described, is no faculty reserved for the few; it is to be found wherever there is in a household a happy blending of the womanly nature with the Christian character. Every one can call to mind such centres of holy and happy influence, and woman's sphere of work in Christian society would be spanned but narrowly if we left out of account this social influence, exerted unconsciously upon every element of life and upon a constant procession of other minds. The social gifts of Mme. Swetchine only differed from those of many others by being, though of the same kind, of far greater, and, indeed, of extraordinary power. As an instance, we may cite Père Lacordaire's avowal of the benefit of her friendship:

It was after the Roman episode and the fall of the journal *l'Avenir* that the ex-disciple of Lamennais saw her for the first time. He himself has told how, after that great shipwreck from which his faith had escaped, he came to shore like a waif broken by the billows. At a distance of twenty-five years after, he loved to recall what she had done to put strength and light into his heart, when as a young man he was all but unknown to her. Her counsels, as he tells us, sustained him at the same time against doubt, weakness, and exaltation, so wonderful was her way of signifying by one simple word—"Take care"—whither he tended and where strength was necessary. "That charm given from above," adds Père Lacordaire, "was not felt by me alone. Other minds—my elders, or my comrades—felt its force, and it is impossible to say to how many souls that one soul was a guiding light."

The sketch of Eugénie de Guérin is an equally beautiful though widely different study; for the scene of that life was not the great world, it was the seclusion of a very simple life glorified by religion and sisterly affection, until a life-work with common hopes and common surroundings made, as the poet says:—

Life, death, and the great forever—
One grand sweet song.

In the final notices of Sœur Rosalie and Mme. Barat, we need only remark that, while the influence of the latter will probably be immortal among generations of women in the world,

the vast influence of Sœur Rosalie, though that of a religious also, must not be parted from the outer world. In some degree it even sprang from the world outside convent walls, for we read of the great Sister of Charity having her vocation determined by being led by her mother to visit the hospital of Gex.

Closing M. Dantier's volumes, we turn to cast a glance at woman's place and work in that uncloistered and too often unhallowed world, where, after all, the sphere of her destiny chiefly lies—that world which is full at all hours of secret womanly ministration, since it has been called "the great hospital of minds and of hearts." As we cast a backward glance over the work of women collectively and the special work of individuals in all those centuries, what we noticed at the outset is conspicuous at the close; the heroines of the Church, who have become the heroines of the ages, received their mission not as asserting a right, but as humbly following the track whither the Divine Will led them step by step. They shone even in the world's sight, or they achieved lasting labours, or they left an honoured name—not in comparison to their natural gifts or their individual exertions, for we know that millions of the brilliant and the powerful are unremembered while these names are immortal. It was a success in comparison as it was supernatural; the story of their lives, the picture of their character, impresses us in proportion as, aspiring to be "of Christ," they achieved in different degree the perfection of the feminine character—the Christian ideal of womanhood. The character developed by that ideal is the same in the crowned queen and in the poor work-woman, the same in the intellectual and in the simple, in the cultured and in the ignorant; it is the same, also, in the early centuries and in the nineteenth. It is the spirit of Christianity—identical in all classes, in all places, and in all ages—which creates this perfect harmony of the long succession of souls, this constant tendency towards the realization, more or less perfect, of one undescribed ideal. "Belle âme," exclaimed Montaigne, "riche de vertus et marquée de l'antique marque!" And we may take these words as applied to every soul, of whatever century, which has striven to reproduce in itself the type instinctively recognized as Christian and womanly—in other words, the woman of faith. There is a beautiful passage on this subject, which we cannot forbear from quoting, from one of the works of the late Kenelm Digby:

By merely beholding one woman's faith (he wrote) you might have been taught how to read the ancient Christian annals, which record the results of that of whole generations. . . . In her you behold at least a certain adumbration of the character of those holy women and generous patricians, the Marcellas, Paulas, Fabiolas,

described in the immortal pages of St. Jerome. When you had known her, you knew what was the exact character of many that you had read about in ages long ago. You knew what were their motives, their principles, their intimate thoughts, their wishes—I was going to add their very gestures and looks; for, as can be witnessed in a picture by Dominico Ghirlandaio, where he represents the death of St. Francis, each position and circumstance in life connected in any way with Catholic faith and customs, elicited in the thirteenth century, as no doubt from the beginning, the same traits and expressions of countenance that it produces at the present day.

And then in quainter style summing up even the literary interest of this character, antique yet ever new, he exclaims, regarding the type produced by a perfect faith :

But how can one describe the beautiful varied imagery, the antique, exquisite miniatures presented here? In her you found what is written by M. Monteil in his "History of Ancient Manners," all that he collected in parchment scrolls and in the dust of forty-thousand houses with towers and battlements you saw, not in separate fragments, but living and united in her. . . . It is like a saint of the Middle Ages that appears to us, a saint of the thirteenth century, or even of the primitive Church, and of the holy women that entombed Our Lord.

These ardent words suggest to us the character, moulded in faith, which is the identical character more or less attained by Christian woman in all ages. But in this age of ours, when, after the eighteenth century of impiety, luxury, revolt, we are surrounded by minds and manners becoming daily still farther removed from simple faith, it is only natural that the type should be too rare in the brilliant world and in the noisy world of clashing philosophies; and that another type, the product of this age, should be threatening us instead. We are told that the general movement of society in our days is from subordination to equality. The Church began by asserting the equality of the souls of men, the rights of the slave, and (by voluntary examples) equality through humility. The world has in time broken from under the light yoke of the Church; it asserts the equality not of humility, but of ambition, and the theory turned to practice is that democratic upheaval which, known as the Revolution, threatens to subvert the old order of the State and of society. In a similar manner the Church, in the beginning, vindicated the equality of woman's soul; raised her to the place of honour; secured her position by the apostolic teaching that marriage was not a capricious contract, but holy and indissoluble. In time, modern thought, by so-called progress, makes a return of ingratitude, threatening to overpass all the old social landmarks. There is arising an unchristian spirit of comparing the honourable

dependence natural to woman to the slavery of the first centuries and the serfdom of the Middle Ages, and demanding that as the slave and the serf have been emancipated in the course of civilization, woman also should be "emancipated"—that is, in political life, freed from enjoying the privileges which human nature at its best never fails to accord to the weakness arising, not from incapacity, but from the refinement of gentleness; freed from the mutual dependence of the sexes which belongs to Nature itself no less than to the spirit of the Church; and "emancipated" also—at least in the extreme form of modern theories—from the Christian teaching by which marriage has held human society together. There is no need to state that, as regards the repulsiveness of this last extreme view, there can be no question in a Catholic mind. The less extreme parts of the question—political rights, marriage rights with reference to the care of children or the safety of property, industrial rights, advancement of education—are open to discussion; but we have only space to touch upon them with a few words here. First, political rights: The arguments for and against this question would fill many volumes, but we are not stating arguments but noting evidences of the Catholic sentiment on these points. Two such indications occur to us on the surface of the discussion. In the first place the Catholic element is conspicuously absent in this agitation; and, as we contend that our women of every class are by no means deficient in interest in the world's affairs nor of less intelligence and perception than their Protestant (and Agnostic!) neighbours, we must take this absence as the evidence of their unspoken decision. In the second place we have endeavoured to realize one of the heroines who have passed before us in this review of the nineteen centuries adapting herself to those advanced modern ideas. However we dived for a chance among the varied names and times—Plautilla or Mme. Barat, Mme. de Miramion or Elizabeth Seton, Blanche of Castile or Mme. Swetchine—we could not get our heroine into harmony with a voting paper or a polling booth, a barrister's brief or a lecturer's platform, much less an election committee and a yearning to represent a free and independent borough. This being the case, we asked ourselves if the want of the political rights of women, at least in some forms of the modern demand, ever would have troubled the peace, or entered at all into the notions of the "belle âme marquée de l'antique marque." And we trust our answer will not tax the reader's ingenuity, but may be left to be divined by his own instinct.

The purely legal question of marriage rights regarding the guardianship of children and the holding of property is one that involves immense interests—no other than those of immortal

souls. One cannot help desiring that some means could be devised for legally giving the mother a more enduring right to the guardianship of her children; for in most mixed marriages the mother is the Catholic parent, and the pre-nuptial promise is no bond by law. But until the present law undergoes some alteration we must look to Catholic women before marriage, and not to legislators afterwards, for the righting of the wrong. Mixed marriages under the present state of the law are fraught with great peril to souls; and recent painful cases have given such ample evidence of this, that those examples alone ought to be sufficient to deter others from risking similar unhappy results. This is a question which rests largely with women. Theirs is the power to arrest by individual self-sacrifice an evil which as yet is rife under the law. Let it not be forgotten that a woman's greatest glory is the firmness of her self-sacrifice; and also that this question is one upon which it is a duty for women to be honestly outspoken as regards their view of the general principle involved. We can well understand how many true-souled women protest by a paradox that their greatest wrong is having their political rights agitated; but we cannot understand how any Catholic lady of the world can fail in sympathy for the unasserted marriage rights of the mother to her children, leaving her opinion unasserted merely through an indolent satisfaction in her own wiser choice or in her happier lot. If mixed marriages were not so common we should have less to say upon this point; but when a state of things, however evil, is in actual existence, we must take the case as it stands, and not on a supposition of how it ought to be.

The industrial rights of women are said to include admissibility to all offices, occupations, and professions, also admission to the universities; or some adequate provision for the education of women so as to fit them for high posts. We cannot go so far as this statement would imply; but regarding it as an industrial question on which may depend the self-support and honest livelihood of thousands, we should be glad to see what are called industrial rights extended so far as to prepare women by education and to admit them without hindrance to every position in the higher arts and in trade which a woman can fill without losing the refinement of the feminine character. This last word, of course, involves the hottest part of the question. We believe that, at least for Catholics, Christian instinct and good sense will be always an unerring guide. The profession of a lady-barrister is not, for instance, a lucrative post which would console the historic *belle dame* for the loss of its instinct of reserve. But the question in the lower paths of life is one of individual need rather than of general rule. The Lancashire cotton-worker, who stands beside her loom

until she wears into age in the midst of youth, is certainly driven by her need to a lot too hard for woman ; but it is not unwomanly, and therefore it is honourable. On the other hand there are many who would declare a legal or political lady had chosen an occupation more lofty and less injurious to life itself ; but, until feminine nature changes, we cannot call the higher leisure as honourable as the lower hardship ; because it obviously implies less truth to the Divine design and to the Christian ideal of the different instincts of manhood and womanhood. In a word, no womanly occupation ought to be barred from self-dependent women ; but Catholic tradition and teaching and individual experience are the only guides in distinguishing natural and just instinct from the effect of custom or of prejudice.

In many cases the fitness to take part in industry depends upon previous education ; and this opens up the last question upon which we will touch—that of education. We do not refer here to that preparation of the mind and hands for necessary work, which is a kind of education that is a great need of the industrial classes ; we refer to the culture of the intellect with no fixed object but such culture in itself. It has been well said, and by no less an authority than Mgr. Dupanloup, that the great difference between the education proper for women and for men is that a man's education has his intellectual development for its object, but in a woman such development is only an accessory of her life. It is a parallel case, then, to that of active work ; where the feminine mind assumes the *rôle* of a masculine intellect it begins to reverse the natural order ; and there can be little doubt that, except in some rare instances, the development of a woman's intelligence with no other object than intellectual development must result in the desuetude of other feminine attributes. To leave out of account altogether the question of capability, or of natural constitution and physique, we should fear for the day when the two minds, coming so differently formed and so beautiful in diversity from the hand of their Creator, were pressed into a like mould of training by the hand of man. By all means let our women learn all that can be required to fit them for honourable self-dependence at need, and to teach them to enjoy culture of mind beyond and above any immediate use : but let us keep as separate as they were kept by our Catholic forefathers the ideas of tender girlhood and of senior wranglers, of maidenhood and of fellowships.

Apart from its industrial use, there are a thousand uses for what may be called in the true sense of the word higher female education. Mgr. Dupanloup has stigmatized the prejudice against it as one of the worst products of the impious eighteenth century. He emphatically urged that the intellectual culture of

women was not only a right, but a duty. That was the reason why it was inalienable; and, as he added with one of his eloquent touches, if it was only a question of rights women could sacrifice them; but it was a duty; and sacrifice was not possible where it would lead to ruin. When he wrote his "Femmes Savantes et Femmes Studieuses" he defined his meaning, and cleared away a good deal of un-Catholic prejudice in France, by opposing to the modern evils of incapacity, frivolity, mismanagement, and *ennui*, the plan of the scope and advantages of a woman's continued self-education, the place which it might fill even in the busy life of wife and mother, and the service that would thereby be rendered to the household, to her children, to society, and to the Church. He distinguished the studious woman of sense, capable of some thought and seriousness, from the pedantic woman whom Molière satirized in his "Femmes Savantes"; and, as he indicated, Molière himself no more attacked reading and instruction in that comedy than he attacked religion itself in "Tartuffe"; his subjects of satire were pedantry in the one and hypocrisy in the other. To the bishop's mind the advantages of some intellectual culture continued in after-life were the more intelligent management of the household, the more fitting companionship of the husband, the more worthy education of the children. He added to these the increased attractions of the home as a centre of family life and recreation, the decrease of the spirit of frivolity, the good effect of the well informed mind of a Catholic hostess upon her guests and her social circle—an influence which we have seen admirably illustrated in the reference to Mme. Swetchine. Among their own families, he wrote, if women were not to be the first apostles of home no other apostle could enter there; "but it will be necessary for them to make themselves able, and truly able, for this apostolate:"—and then, quoting from M. Caro: "It is time that all minds professing the use of thought should awake to action: that every being gifted with reason should know how to protect it against the evil-doers working through literature, and how to repulse the attacks against God, the soul, virtue, purity, faith." We should accept, then, the opinion of the Bishop of Orleans on the high value of an intelligent self-culture in Catholic women; but naturally it should follow by degrees a wisely chosen plan, for a woman's education cannot aspire to follow the lines of masculine study. If it be education in the full sense of the word, and not merely the reading of books, it may be the same in degree for a well-informed woman as for a man, but in kind it must be widely different. Her education is not to be derived from books alone; it hardly seemed to be intended by Providence that her mind should be a storehouse of abstract knowledge; it has been well suggested that, to serve instead, God gave

woman's mind a greater readiness of transient assimilation, an almost intuitive perception, a tendency to the ideal and the beautiful. We doubt if the strong-minded section of our advanced thinkers can improve upon that divine fitness of harmonious design.

But woman's part in Christian society is not a mission of mind alone, it is supremely a mission of the heart; and whether her culture be little or great, or whatever her natural gifts, it is with the heart she will worship God and nobly serve his providence towards humanity. Such is preëminently the work of Christian mothers; and we can never review the service of women to the Church and to society without placing in the front ranks those innumerable heroines of faith whose influence is a power for good, through broadening generations. Mgr. Mermillod, in the address which he fearlessly called "The Mission of Women," defined it in two words—humility, sacrifice. "We must have souls of sacrifice," he exclaimed, "there is no medium between sacrifice and selfishness;" and again reiterating the word, "Remember, great things can be done by immolation and sacrifice." God makes great use of the power of woman, he declared; there is nothing lovely, nothing sublime without her, nothing bad without her. It is her destiny to pass through this world "as a sign of regeneration or of ruin; at the last day she will lead by the hand some one whom she shall have lost or saved, and with that soul she will inevitably be drawn." And when he looked round for the type of the mission of Christian womanhood, he saw no other, and no less, than that figure which was to the last, on Calvary, not prostrate, not falling, but "standing erect in the attitude of sacrifice." It is an unsurpassable type, the type predestined by the Creator, the perfect realization of the ideal which unconsciously forms in one immutable spirit the womanhood of the Christian nations of all time.

Among the art-treasures which are stored, even to superabundance, in the volumes before us, it is this same type in a Madonna of Perugino that leaves the most abiding impression upon the mind. In the masterpiece at the Louvre the central figure is seated, surrounded, as it were, by a celestial court of two angels and two virgins. These turn to the Child, so infantile yet so divine; but the Mother—all youth and gentleness as heavenly as early Italian art alone could paint her—turns not to Him upon her knee, but bends on the spectator a patient wistful gaze, as if by looks, not words, inviting all to draw near fearlessly to his winning helplessness. It is a conception more of Heaven than of earth, and it holds unbounded suggestion for meditative eyes. The mediæval dresses and ornaments, the faint far background of Italian landscape, show how accustomed to the things of

Heaven were those minds of the early painters, when they could thus naturally bring down the Madonna and the saints into the midst of their own time and their own familiar land. It reminds us of the same Christian spirit in later days, even up to our own, tracing, in the living colours of a passing life, in the midst of commonplace scenes and times and things, shadowy images of the heavenly ideal, the perfect Woman. And if, by simple winning looks, she pleads from Perugino's picture, luring the indifferent world to her heavenly court, who can doubt that many a far-off, unconscious copy of the same pure ideal, not speaking a word, perhaps not thinking a thought of such a work, is a silent living influence winning the unthinking world a little nearer and nearer yet to appreciate the beauty of holiness and to worship Christ. But it was not with the Divine Infant in her arms, not as a blissful mother, that Mary's life-work was achieved. It was in the act of sacrifice and in the hour of humiliation that she became the Mother of the Redeemed. The same design seems to mark and sanctify the earthly destiny of even her lowliest daughters. There may be beautiful lives without sorrow; but they are not the most powerful lives. It is only a new form of an old truth when we say that every Christian life becomes Christ-like, noble in itself, and powerful for others, in proportion as it becomes a life of self-sacrifice, suffering, humiliation. And what is true of individual souls is not less true of Christian womanhood as a whole. It grows grand in itself and beneficial to mankind in proportion to the degree in which it accepts the mission of its type beneath the Cross—not resting, not sinking, not failing in endurance, but passive under the Divine Will, "standing erect in the attitude of sacrifice."

ART. IV.—THE DAYS OF THE WEEK, AND THE WORKS OF CREATION.

CHRISTIAN Apologists who, during the last half-century, have devoted their labours to the task of vindicating revelation from the charge of being opposed to reason, have, when endeavouring to harmonize the first chapter of Genesis with scientific facts, placed much reliance on what is commonly known as the "Period" theory.* The general outline of this theory,

* It is not the only theory that has been advanced for the purpose. *The Month*, in an article which appears in its number of last January, entitled "What were the Days of Genesis," enumerates four, and gives a clear explanation of each—the "Allegorical," the "Literal," the "Inter-

(authors differ on matters of detail) consists in assuming that the days spoken of in Genesis are to be reckoned, not as days of twenty-four hours, but as long periods of time, during which the organization of the world was gradually carried out in accordance with the physical laws given to matter by the Creator, and the earth was prepared for the reception of plants and animals which were created by the immediate action of God. The statement of Genesis that the sun, moon, and stars were not made till the fourth day—notwithstanding that day and night, morning and evening, are spoken of as existing from the very first day, and that plants are described as growing and bringing forth seed on the third day—is a serious difficulty in this as in other theories. To meet it, it is usual to suggest that our globe, when first it assumed a consistent form, was in a state of incandescence, from which it only gradually cooled down, and that, long after its surface had been divided into land and water, and vegetation had sprung up—that is to say, up to the date represented by the fourth day or period—the temperature of the waters was such as to give rise to a mist which enveloped the whole earth and excluded the direct rays of the sun. Thus, the statement that the sun, moon, and stars were made on the fourth day or period is explained to mean that not till then did their direct rays reach the earth, though they had been in existence ever since heaven and earth were created.

The obstacles which stand in the way of adapting the words of Genesis to the various details of the "Period" theory are neither few nor easy to be disposed of, as everybody is aware who has read any of the books or papers published on this subject; but, even if it be granted that these obstacles may be satisfactorily overcome, the question still remains how far the theory itself can be said to be in harmony with the facts of modern science. A serious objection to the soundness of the theory arises from the fact that its difficulties do not diminish, but on the contrary increase, in proportion as the science of geology advances and new facts come to light. The discovery of a zoophyte, *Eoon Canadense*, in the Laurentian strata, seems fatal to the theory of a very high temperature of the ocean, so far back, at least, as the earliest formations of which geology has any knowledge; for it shows that the waters in which the Laurentian strata were deposited were of a temperature capable of supporting animal life. Geology has made great strides since the day when the "Period" theory was first

val," and the "Period" theories. These are all equally tolerated by the Church; but as the "Period" theory is the one which at present seems to be gaining ground, it is the only one to which it will be necessary to devote some remarks at the commencement of the present Paper.

propounded, some sixty years ago. The very foundation on which that theory rested has been rudely shaken. If the days of Genesis, which are described as having evening and morning, are to be reckoned, not as ordinary days but as periods, they must at least be taken to represent periods with defined limits, having a beginning and end, as days have morning and evening. In fact, this is what they were understood to be by Cuvier, Pianciani, and other exponents of the theory. In the days when these authors wrote, the opinion was still common amongst geologists of note that the crust of our planet had been subject to a series of violent convulsions. The sudden break which was noticed to exist between the flora and fauna of formations closely following each other in geological succession (as, for instance, the Chalk and the Eocene), was held to indicate that the continuous action of Nature's laws had been suddenly checked by some violent catastrophe marking the close of one order of things and the commencement of a new one. It was on this doctrine that the "Period" theory was grounded ; for it seemed not unreasonable to suppose that the days of Genesis, if understood as periods, might correspond with these geological breaks. Sir Charles Lyell became the vigorous opponent of the doctrine of violent changes, and his "Principles of Geology" are a masterly demonstration of the continuous action of physical causes. The breaks of continuity in the geological record are shown to be due partly to the limited extent of our explorations, partly to the enormous amount of denudation which has gradually taken place, and partly to the circumstance that large tracts of the earth's surface have remained dry land during the whole of the time occupied by the formation of successive geological strata ; the consequence being that when those tracts of land have again been submerged the deposits laid upon them are found to belong to an entirely different order of things, the result, not of any sudden change, but of changes which have been going on during the whole of that long period during which the tracts spoken of were dry land. It is now almost universally admitted by scientific men that throughout the period of time required for the formation of the whole series of rocks known to geologists, from the Laurentian downwards, the action of the forces of Nature has been uniform ; that there has been no sudden or violent break in the sequence of things ; and that though the actual distribution of land and water, no less than of plants and animals, over the face of our globe at the present day is altogether different from what existed in former ages, the transformation has been brought about gradually, and with as little disturbance as that caused by changes which are going on at the present day. There is no reason therefore for dividing this space of time into four, six, or any number of distinct

periods ; and thus the ground on which the "Period" theory rested ceases to exist.

This is not the occasion for entering upon a detailed inquiry as to the many points in which the "Period" theory appears to be at variance with the science of geology in its present state of development, but there is an objection to it of a different nature which must here be stated. If the agreement of the words of Genesis with the teaching of modern science is so complete as to constitute an actual statement of facts which only of late years have come to the knowledge of scientific men, the author of Genesis can only have acquired the knowledge of such facts by a revelation from Heaven. Now this supposition is entirely at variance with the whole analogy of revelation. Nowhere in Scripture do we find that Moses or any other of the sacred writers received revelations from Heaven regarding details of astronomy, geography, chemistry, or any other branch of natural science. On the contrary, whenever they touch upon similar topics we notice that these writers make use of the kind of language, and display the amount of knowledge, common amongst their contemporaries. What grounds are there for supposing an exception to have been made in the sole case of geology ? Why attempt to make a geologist of Moses ? So long as men persisted in using the words of Scripture as a groundwork on which to build up astronomical theories, war was carried on between the votaries of science and the adherents of revelation. The conflict ceased the moment it was recognized that sacred writers, when alluding to natural phenomena, spoke of them as they appear to the senses, which was the only way in which men of science were acquainted with them in the days when those writers flourished, and which is the way of speaking of them, even at the present day, on all occasions when scientific accuracy is not required. If we attempt to fasten on the words of Moses a meaning in conformity with the discoveries of modern times, the attempts to reconcile Scripture with geology are not likely to be more successful than were those former attempts to reconcile Scripture with astronomy. Will anybody venture to assert that the study of Genesis has ever led to the discovery of a single geological fact ? A revelation which reveals nothing, what useful object can it be supposed to serve ?

It is not intended by these remarks to insinuate that science and religion bear no relation to each other, or that no help can be derived from the former towards the right understanding of Holy Writ. On the contrary, the assistance which scientific researches may afford in this respect is very great. Neither is there any desire to undervalue the labours of those who have propounded theories how to reconcile the words of Scripture with

modern discoveries. There is much in the works of such authors which cannot fail to be instructive and useful to students of Holy Scripture; but it must be borne in mind that only in very recent times have men learnt to read "the language of the rocks," and science has only lately been brought to bear on the records of pre-historic times. Even at the present day these branches of science may be said to be in their infancy. New facts are constantly being brought to light which oblige scientific men to modify conclusions previously arrived at. All attempts to establish harmony between terms of which we possess only an imperfect knowledge must necessarily be, to a certain extent, tentative; nor is it to be wondered at if theories which seem to agree pretty well with facts so long as these are only imperfectly understood, have to be abandoned as untenable when the true bearing of those facts has been more fully brought to light by later discoveries. This seems to have been the fate of the "Period" theory. If that theory has failed, it cannot be esteemed rash to seek to arrive by a different route at a satisfactory solution of the problem how to reconcile the words of the first chapter of Genesis with modern science. Such is the object aimed at in the present Paper.

Geology is not the only branch of science which has made great and rapid progress in the present day. The monuments of Egypt, Palestine, Assyria, and other Eastern countries, have afforded a rich field for the discoveries of eminent archæologists and scholars, and, thanks to their labours, the present generation is in possession of a stock of information regarding the manners, the customs, and the learning of the ancient inhabitants of those countries far exceeding that which was at the disposal of students of Scripture at any former period. Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Egyptians," with the learned notes of Sir Samuel Birch; Sir A. Layard's "Nineveh;" "The Chaldean Account of Genesis," by Mr. George Smith—a new edition of which has lately been published by Professor Sayce—and other such works are of the greatest assistance towards arriving at a right understanding of the writings of Moses. Every writer is influenced by his surroundings; by the manners and customs of the people amongst whom he lives, and for whom he writes; by the work of contemporary writers, and by the state of literature and science in his day. Moses is no exception to this rule; and therefore accurate information on all these points must greatly assist us to understand the meaning and object of his writings. Not without reason has it been recorded of him that he "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts vii. 22).

Who was Moses? He was a Hebrew by nation; a descendant of Abraham and Thare, who had come "out of Ur of

the Chaldeans to go into the land of Chanaan" (Gen. xi. 31). The rank of Abraham warrants the belief that he and some of his followers were not ignorant of the learning and traditions of Chaldea, his native land. These, no doubt, were preserved amongst his posterity. By birth Moses was an Egyptian, his family having, during several generations, resided in Egypt. In his infancy he had been adopted by Pharaoh's daughter as her son, and had received an education becoming a member of the royal family. He was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians"—words which imply that he belonged to the class of the priests, who alone were initiated into the mysteries of Egyptian learning. There can be no reason to doubt that he studied at Heliopolis, the On of Scripture, a small but celebrated city of Lower Egypt.

It was at Heliopolis, or On, that Potipherah (Gen. xii. 45) was a priest whose daughter Asenath was given in marriage to Joseph. . . . The Priests of the Sun at Heliopolis, like those of Thebes and Memphis, were celebrated for their learning; and it was to this city that Plato, Herodotus, Eudoxius, and other Greek sages repaired in order to study the wisdom of the Egyptians; and Pythagoras, according to Plutarch (de Isid. s. 10), was the disciple of Oniuphis the Heliopolite. Astronomy and all branches of sciences were studied at Heliopolis; and the Priests of the Sun enjoyed the greatest reputation for learning. (Wilkinson, "Manners and Customs of the Egyptians," vol. iii. chap. xiii.)

Besides being one of the "initiated" amongst the Egyptians, Moses was a prophet and a lawgiver. As a prophet, he was entrusted by God with a special mission to reclaim the Jews from the idolatry into which many at least of them had fallen during their stay in Egypt, and to instruct them in the true religion of their forefathers. As a lawgiver, he was invested by God with authority to make laws and ordinances for the special purpose of guarding against a relapse into idolatry. The national superstition was so mixed up with the ordinary every-day actions of the Egyptians, that the mere fact of living amongst them had familiarized the Jews with idolatrous habits; and the customs of Egypt had thus become to them a special source of danger. Hence many of the ritual laws of Moses are framed with the express object of making the Jews forget the idolatrous customs of Egypt, by substituting in their place other rites and customs tending to remind the people of the one true God. Amongst other matters relating to daily life, the *Calendar* furnished the Egyptian priests with a ready means of keeping the memory of their false gods constantly before the minds of the people.

They claimed, says Herodotus (Herod. ii. 82), the merit of being the first who had consecrated each month and day to a particular

deity; a method of forming the calendar which has been imitated and preserved to the present day; the Egyptian gods having yielded their places to those of another pantheon, which have in turn been supplanted by the saints of a Christian era; and they also considered themselves the first to suggest the idea of foretelling from the natal hour* the future fortunes of each new-born infant.† (Wilkinson, vol. i. chap. xii.) Each month was under the protection of a deity.‡ (Wilkinson, *ibid.*) "Each day of the month was sacred to a deity, and had a festival by which it could be cited instead of its numerical order. Thus the first day was called the festival of the Neomenia; the 26th the festival of the manifestation of Kem or Amsi; the 30th the festival of the locust." (Brugsch, "Mat. du Cal.", pp. 53-55.)

"Dion Cassius also distinctly says that the seven days of the week were first referred to the seven planets by the Egyptians." (S. Birch, note to Wilkinson, *ibid.*)

"A week of seven days was also in use amongst the Chaldeans from the earliest ages. The days of the week were named after the sun, moon, and five planets" (Rev. A. H. Sayce, "Babylonian Literature,"

* The Papyrus Sallier IV. is a calendar or almanack of this nature. The particular gods and mythic events of each day are specified, as also the things to do and avoid, and the fate of persons born on particular days. Each day was divided into three portions, and the terms good or bad applied to it in accordance with its character. (Chabas, "Calendrier Sallier," p. 21, 8vo, Paris.) S. Birch, note to Wilkinson, vol. i. chap xii.

† In Chaldea, as in Egypt, every day of the year was under the protection of some deity or saint . . . and a long list of portents from the births of children records every accident, likely or unlikely, with the most scrupulous care. (Rev. A. H. Sayce, "Babylonian Literature," pp. 55-58.)

‡ These vary in type according to the representations of the Memnonium in the reign of Rameses II., and at Edfu, but the names are the same.

1. Toth	Goddess Texi.
2. Paophi	Ptah.
3. Athyr	Hathor.
4. Choéak.	Sexet, or Kahak.
5. Tybi	Amsi, or Kem.
6. Mecheir	Rex-ur (Anubis).
7. Phamenoth	Asxenet (Apheru).
8. Parmuthi	Rannu (Harvest).
9. Pachons	Chons.
10. Payni	Har-xont xrutf.
11. Epiphi	Apet.
12. Mesori	Harmachis.

Epagomenae, or Intercalary days.

1. Birth of Osiris.
2. Birth of Horus.
3. Birth of Set.
4. Birth of Isis.
5. Birth of Nephthys.

(Brugsch, "Mat. du Cal.", pp. 53-55.) S. Birch, note to Wilkinson, vol. ii. chap. xi.

p. 55), a mode of designation which was adopted by other nations and has continued in use to this day.

These facts plainly show what a powerful institution the Egyptian Calendar was for keeping alive idolatry amongst the people. It was a special source of danger to the Jews, and as such called for the special attention of the Jewish legislator. Accordingly Moses, though he availed himself of the astronomical wisdom of the Egyptians in regulating the Jewish year, did not adopt the Egyptian names for the months; and the days of the month were ordered to be cited by their numerical order only. Though he established some festivals to be observed in the course of the year, he did not appoint a festival for each day of the month in opposition to the festivals by which the Jews had been accustomed to hear the days of the month cited in Egypt. Nor was it necessary for him to do so. Once out of Egypt the Jews were not likely to revert to the festivals of Egyptian deities. It was otherwise as regards the days of the week. These, as already noticed, were referred by the Egyptians to the seven planets, and this custom had been imitated by other nations. In Palestine the worship of the "host of heaven" prevailed even to a greater extent than in Egypt, and the frequent allusions made by the prophets to this form of idolatry, and the warnings addressed against it to the Jews, show how easily these were led astray by it.* It was not, therefore, sufficient that Moses should order the days of the week to be cited by their numerical order, and that he should abolish the use of such names as Day of the Sun, Day of the Moon, Day of Mars, &c., because, although the Jews themselves might abstain from using them, they would constantly have occasion to hear such appellations referred to by the nations in the midst of which they dwelt. It was necessary, further, to make each day tell of one God, Creator of all things, in the same way as the heathens had made the days minister to the belief that there were many gods and many lords. It was necessary to substitute an orthodox dedication in place of the idolatrous one which had been abolished. Now God is one, and therefore a dedication of each day of the week to him would be of no avail to distinguish one day from another. But though God is one his works are manifold, and these, if classified under separate heads, may afford subjects for separate dedications. Such, accordingly, was the method which Moses adopted. Having abolished all reference to the planets, he dedicated each day of the week to the memory of some work of creation performed by the true God, just as the Egyptians had dedicated each day of the month

* "Then God turned, and gave them up to worship the host of heaven; as is written in the book of the prophets." (Acts vii. 42.)

to the memory of the supposed actions of false deities. It is this consecration of *the days of the week* to the memory of the creation, and not a history of *the days of creation*, that forms the subject of the first chapter of Genesis.

Here it is necessary at once to meet an objection. Do the words of Moses, it will be asked, really admit of such an interpretation? In Genesis we read: "God said, be light made, and light was made . . . and there was evening and morning the first day;" similar language is used regarding the other days. Of the seventh day it is said: "On the seventh day God ended his work which He had made." A parallel passage in Exodus is even more explicit: "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and the sea and all things that are in them, and rested on the seventh" (Exod. xx. ii.) Here we have distinct statements that certain works were done by God on specified days, which is something very different from saying that the days are commemorative of work done by God. If the "Period" theory is objected to (amongst other reasons) because it forces a constrained meaning on the words of Moses, is not the proposed interpretation open to a similar charge? In reply it must be acknowledged that when statements like those quoted are met with in a book of history, or are any way used in an historical connection, they must be understood to imply that, in the writer's opinion, the events actually took place at the time mentioned; but this rule does not apply to similar statements when they occur in liturgies, hymns, or other writings of a ritual nature. Great events, whether national or religious, are frequently commemorated on the anniversary of the days on which they occurred; but this is not always the case. At times it would be impossible to do so, for the simple reason that men are ignorant of the precise date at which the event took place. In such cases a day is arbitrarily fixed for the celebration. When, however, it has once been appointed, and inserted in the calendar, it is customary, in liturgical and ritual works, to refer to that day as the day on which the event took place, though in reality it is only the day on which it is commemorated. In the Catholic liturgy, for instance, on Easter day, expressions are repeatedly used such as "on this day Christ rose triumphant from the grave." These can only be regarded as true in the sense of this great event being on that day commemorated; because, owing to our method of computing Easter, and to the law that Easter must always be kept on a Sunday, it rarely happens that the festival is kept on the real anniversary day of the event. So, in the Egyptian calendar mentioned above, it will be noticed that the five intercalary days at the close of the year are described as the birthdays of the five greater divinities; yet in their mythology the

Egyptians did not teach that those personages were born on the five last days of the year. It was convenient to consecrate those days to the celebration of the births of those deities, and the days were accordingly said to be their birthdays. Numerous examples of a similar use of language might be cited from the liturgies and rituals of all religions in every age; it will be sufficient to quote one from the Roman Breviary which is clearly illustrative of the point in question.

The feast of the Epiphany is kept in honour of three manifestations of our Lord: His manifestations to the wise men of the East by means of a star; his manifestation on the day of his baptism, when a voice from Heaven proclaimed, "Thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased;" and his manifestation at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee, when he wrought his first miracle, "and he manifested his glory, and his disciples believed in him." Now it may well be doubted whether any one of these three events took place on the 6th of January, but it is absolutely certain that all three did not; for the marriage feast took place at Cana within two months of the baptism. Nevertheless one of the antiphons in the office of that day runs as follows.* "This day we keep a holiday in honour of three wonders: this day a star led the wise men to the manger; this day, at the marriage, water was made wine; this day was Christ, for our salvation, pleased to be baptized of John in Jordan. Alleluja!" ("Rom. Brev.," trans. by John, Marquess of Bute.) Here the assertion that these three events took place on the same day is every bit as positive as the statement in Exodus: "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them, and rested on the seventh," or as the similar statements in Genesis. Taken historically, the assertion of the "Breviary" is untrue, but it is not supposed to be taken historically, nor has anybody a right so to take it. It occurs not in a book of history, but in a ritual book, and accordingly it is understood to mean no more than this, that the three events are commemorated on that day, and that that is the day set apart for their anniversary celebration. Unless therefore it can be shown that such expressions as "God made light on the first day," &c., form part of a book of history, or are somehow used in an historical connection, we have no right to attach to them an historical meaning. If they occur in a ritual work or in a ritual connection, they must, like the words in the Breviary, be understood to mean that the events are commemorated on the

* "Tribus miraculis ornatum diem sanctum colimus: hodie stella Magos duxit ad præsepium: hodie vinum ex aqua factum est ad nuptias: hodie in Jordane a Joanne Christus baptizari voluit, ut salvaret nos, alleluja. (In fest. Epiph., Ant. ad Magnificat.)

days mentioned ; and, so far from doing violence to the words of Moses by so interpreting them, we are simply applying to them a rule of interpretation applicable to all ritual works. It follows from this that the answer to the question, What is the real meaning of the words used by Moses ? is dependent on the solution of a previous question—viz., whether they occur in a book of history or in a ritual composition.

The ritual character of the passage in Exodus (xx.11), is evidenced by the fact of its forming part of a ritual ordinance concerning the due observance of the Jewish sabbath. Moreover, it so clearly has reference to the first chapter of Genesis that its meaning must be dependent on the meaning of the said chapter. It is therefore with the character of the first chapter of Genesis that we are mainly concerned. This is commonly assumed to be historical because it forms part of the Book of Genesis, which is history. Commentators first assume that Moses is writing a history of the creation, and then endeavour to reconcile this supposed history with scientific facts. But what ground is there for such an assumption ? That which we call the first chapter of the Book of Genesis (to which must be added the three first verses of the second), forms in reality no portion of that book. It is a composition complete in itself, and as totally distinct from all that follows as the Epistle to the Romans is distinct from the Epistle to the Corinthians, which is the next in order. It is not a history, but a *Sacred Hymn* recording the consecration of each day of the week to the memory of the work done by the Creator of heaven and earth. The seven days spoken of are not the first seven days counting from the commencement of time, but the seven days of the week—Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, &c. ; for the Jews, not being allowed to call them after the names of the planets, had no other way of referring to them than by calling them First Day, Second Day, and so forth. The term “Seventh Day” in Scripture invariably means “Saturday.” It matters not, so far as the present inquiry is concerned, whether the various writings of Moses were gathered into one codex or papyrus during the author’s lifetime, or whether, as seems more probable, the collection in the form in which it has reached us is the work of a later age. The last chapter of Deuteronomy, which records the death of Moses, was certainly added by another hand at a later date. There is nothing, however, to prevent our supposing that Moses not only wrote this hymn, but that he himself assigned to it the position which it occupies at the head of his works. All that it is intended here to assert is, that the fact of this hymn appearing first in a collection of his writings is no evidence of its forming a portion of the historical work which follows it. The Book of Genesis really commences with the

words (chap. ii. 4): "These are the generations of the heaven and of the earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth;" words which as clearly indicate the opening of a new work, as the words: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham," mark the commencement of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

The poetic character of this first portion of the Bible has been recognized by many. The learned Fr. Pianciani writes as follows:—

Others have remarked that the language of the first chapter of Genesis is figurative, and to a certain extent poetical. We do not assert that it is rhythmical; some people have said so. Be this as it may, the colouring and imagery savour of poetry. God speaks and makes his voice heard by inanimate beings, and these understand and obey it: God sees the light and his other works, and, like a craftsman pleased with what he has done, he approves of it. It would almost seem as if this were a canticle or traditional hymn inscribed by Moses at the head of his books. Poetry in its origin was eminently religious; and the hymn, the traditional song, proceeding by metaphor, is, according to Fred. Schlegel, the most ancient form of poetry. (Pianciani, "Cosmogonia nat. comparata col Genesi," Introd. p. 41).

Speaking of verse 27 of this same chapter, Keil says:—

In the account of the accomplishment of the divine purpose the words swell into a jubilant song, so that we meet here for the first time with a *parallelismus verborum*, the creation of man being celebrated in three parallel clauses.

God created man in his own image,
In the image of God created he him,
Male and female created he them.

("Biblical Comment. on Old Test."—Keil and Delitzsch, trans. by Rev. J. Martin. Vol. i. chap. i.)

Nor is there anything singular in the fact of Moses having written a hymn on the creation. One of the fragments discovered by Mr. Smith at Nineveh, and which he had supposed to contain an account of the Fall, has been shown by Dr. Oppert to be in reality a hymn to the creator Hea.

Not only the poetical character of this chapter, but several other circumstances, serve to mark the distinction between this hymn and the history which follows. Thus the "hymn" is "Elohistic"—i.e., the Supreme Being is uniformly designated by the word *Elohim*, which the "Vulgate" translates *Deus*, God: whereas the portion of Genesis which follows is "Jehovistic"—i.e., the word *Jehovah*, or *Jehovah-Elohim*, is always used; in the Vulgate, *Dominus*, or *Dominus Deus*, the Lord or the Lord God: a distinction which, though it need not be held to imply diversity of authorship, seems certainly to indicate that the break between the two portions of Scripture in which these distinct appellations occur

is greater than what might be expected in two chapters immediately following each other in the same book. Then there are some facts recorded, both in the "hymn" and in the subsequent chapter of Genesis (such as the creation of man, of plants, and of animals), and though there is nothing contradictory in the two statements, the two accounts are quite independent of each other. Take, for instance, the account given of the formation of Eve, in verses 21, 22 of chap. ii., and compare it with verse 27, chap. i. The statements are quite compatible, but the difference in the manner of describing the event (even apart from the poetic structure of verse 27) is such as we might expect to find, supposing the descriptions to form part of two different works written each with a different object. These observations show that the two portions of Scripture commonly known as the first and second chapters of Genesis are not in reality two chapters of one book, but are two distinct works, and that therefore the circumstance of the second being historical affords no proof that the first is also historical. Yet the assertions made in chap. i., viewed as history, are of so startling a nature as to exclude the supposition that the author intended them to be so understood unless clear proof be given that such was his intention. It is not only that these assertions appear to be at variance with the discoveries of *modern* science (St. Augustine speaks of the difficulty of meeting the objections raised against them by men of science in his day). But, what is of still greater importance to our argument, they conflict with that "wisdom of Egypt" in which Moses himself was learned. The Egyptians were well acquainted with the fact that vegetation is dependent for its development on the action of the sun. They were great astronomers, and regulated day and night, years and months, by the apparent motion of the sun, moon, and stars. Moses knew all this, yet if his statements about the creation of these objects are to be taken as history they are in open contradiction to the science of his day. This contradiction lasts so long as we persist in assuming that the first chapter of Genesis contains an historical narrative; it ceases the moment this assumption is dropped.

The views so far stated receive further confirmation from a comparison between this hymn of Moses and the various accounts of the creation* preserved in ancient records, and more especially the Chaldean account discovered by Mr. George Smith on the clay tablets and cylinders of Assyria and Babylonia.† Most of

* A collection of fragments of many of these ancient cosmogonies appears in the appendices to "Les Origines de l'Histoire," par François Lenormant. Paris. 1880.

† See "The Chaldean Account of Genesis," by George Smith. New edition by A. H. Sayce, Dep. Prof. of Compar. Philol. in the Univ. of Oxford. 1881.

the tablets discovered by Mr. Smith come from Nineveh and belong to the age of Asur-bani-pali, who was grandson of Sennacherib, mentioned in the Book of Kings, and who began to reign over Assyria in B.C. 670. The tablets are not originals, but copies from earlier texts, and those earlier texts were for the most part translations. Professor Sayce is of opinion that the texts we possess may be dated in their present form at about the year B.C. 2000. As regards the various versions of Genesis, he holds that they far exceed in antiquity the venerable histories of the Bible. There is nothing theologically unsound in this view, and as for its scientific value Professor Sayce is one of the chief masters of Assyrian studies. Moses may well have been acquainted with these texts, both as a descendant of Abraham who came out of Chaldea and as one instructed in the wisdom of the Egyptians. For the Egyptian priests, though boastful of their own superiority, were not unacquainted with the learning of other nations. This view, if correct, adds force to the remarks which follow. Much stress is often laid on the points of *similarity* which exist between the various ancient accounts of Genesis and the account given by Moses. The points in which they *differ* from each other are not less worthy of notice, and I shall call attention to three which are of great importance.

First: how comes it that, of all ancient writers, Moses is the only one who, speaking of the creation, introduces the mention of *days*? He mentions them not incidentally or casually: they form the characteristic feature of his discourse. Take away the mention of days from the first chapter of Genesis and its whole meaning vanishes. Now, if a tradition had been handed down from the earliest ages that the work of creation had extended over a definite number of days, how are we to account for the fact that not a trace of this tradition is to be found in any other of the various accounts of Genesis, but only in that of Moses, and that there it is given with such minuteness of detail? If it be suggested that Moses may have received on this point a special revelation from God, it is obvious to inquire why a revelation should have been given to man on a subject of this nature? more especially as up to the present day the meaning of the supposed revelation remains an open question, so that it is difficult to see what advantage man was to derive from it. The only satisfactory answer to this question seems to be that there never existed any ancient tradition concerning the number of days in which the world was created, and therefore no allusion to anything of the kind is to be found in any of the ancient cosmogonies. Moses, on the other hand, mentions seven days in connection with creation, not because he had learnt either from tradition or by direct revelation the number of days employed in the creation

o the universe, but because, having found the seven days of the week dedicated to false gods, he proposed to dedicate them instead to the memory of the works of God the Creator. He is regulating *the days of the week*, not writing an account of *the days of creation*.

The second remarkable difference to be noticed between the hymn of Moses and the various ancient accounts of Genesis is to be found in the position assigned by Moses to the sun. Not much is said concerning this luminary in the ancient cosmogonies. Moses, on the other hand, makes very express mention of the creation of the sun, but in a manner which, as we have seen, seems to be utterly at variance with the teaching of all modern and ancient science. In fact, if the statement of Moses regarding the date at which the sun was created is to be accepted as historical, and as implying that the earth existed and revolved on its axis and was clothed with vegetation before the sun, which is the centre of the system of which the earth forms part, had come into existence, it is vain to try to reconcile such a statement with undoubted facts of science. Here again the question forces itself upon us, How comes this most extraordinary statement to be made by Moses alone, while it is never once alluded to by any other writer? The answer is that Moses makes no historical statement as to the date of the creation of the sun. This was a matter which in no way concerned him. What really did concern him in a high degree, occupied as he was in substituting an orthodox dedication of the days of the week in place of the previously existing idolatrous one, was to avoid making any arrangement which might seem to favour in any way the idolatrous notions which the Egyptians and others entertained regarding the sun; notions which the Jews were only too prone to adopt.

The worship of Ra, the physical sun, appears to have been universal throughout Egypt. (Wilkinson, "Manners and Customs of the Egyptians," vol. iii. chap. xiii.) The importance attached to this deity may be readily inferred from the fact of every Pharaoh having the title "Son of the Sun" preceding his phonetic name, and the first name of which their prenomens were composed was that of the sun. In many, too, the phonetic nomen commenced with the name of Ra, as the Ramesses and others; and the expressions "living for ever like the sun," "the splendid Phré," are common on all obelisks and dedicatory inscriptions. The frequent occurrence of the name Ra, and the great respect paid to the sun, even in towns where other deities presided, tend to show the estimation in which this god was held throughout Egypt. (Wilkinson, *ibid.*)

Nobody knew better than Moses the extent of this worship, and the influence it had upon the people, for it has already been

noticed that he was educated amongst the Priests of the Sun at Heliopolis or On, which was the place where the worship of the sun was peculiarly adopted. Moreover, he was aware that the danger to the Jews of this form of idolatry would not be removed by their departure out of Egypt. The worship of the sun was as prevalent in Palestine as in Egypt.

There is reason to believe that the god Ra corresponded to the Syrian Baal, a name implying "Lord,"* which was given *par excellence* to the sun ; and the same idea of peculiar sovereignty was vested in that deity. Heliopolis, in Syria, still retains the name of Baalbeck, "the city of the Lord (or sun)," and the same word occurs in the names of distinguished individuals amongst the Phœnicians and their descendants of Carthage, as Hannibal, Asdrubal, and others. (Wilkinson, *ibid.*)

The worship of the sun being so deeply rooted, both in Egypt and in Palestine, Moses, when suppressing the dedication of the days of the week to the sun, moon, and planets, and substituting in place thereof other dedications to the memory of work done by God the Creator, could not fail to take into account the danger which any prominent mention of the sun might cause to the people. He could not avoid all allusion to this luminary when enumerating the chief works of creation, but he was careful to assign to it such rank in the catalogue as would indicate that it had no claim to any other title but that of a creature of the true God. The first day of the week was dedicated by the heathens to the sun—it was Sunday ; *dies solis*. This alone was sufficient to induce Moses not to consecrate that day to the memory of the creation of the sun. Accordingly he chose for that purpose the middle or fourth day of the week ; and even then he avoided assigning a special day to the sun, and classified sun, moon, and stars under one head. Ra was worshipped as the fountain of light, "the splendid Phrē." Moses separates light from the sun, and assigns different days to commemorate the creation of the two. Ra was for the Egyptians the source of life ; the warmth of his rays brought forth corn and fruit and green herbs, the food of man and every living thing. The heat of the sun is not even alluded to by Moses. An earlier day is dedicated to the memory of the creation of plants than to that of the sun, and special notice is taken of the fact that God (and not Ra) "gave man every herb bearing seed to be meat to him and to all beasts, and every fowl, and to all that move upon the earth and wherein there is life." Thus the language of Moses regarding the sun, which, viewed as an historical statement, appeared to

* As *Beelzebub* or *Baalzebub*, "The Lord of Flies :" *Baalim*, "lords" or "idols."

stand in open contradiction to science both ancient and modern, when viewed as part of a ritual hymn, and interpreted after the manner in which all ritual compositions claim to be interpreted, not only presents no opposition to science, but appears most reasonable, and well adapted for the purpose held in view by the writer. It receives, moreover, a flood of light from the discoveries made of contemporary or quasi-contemporary monuments.

There remains to be noticed a third striking difference between this hymn of Moses and all other accounts of Genesis. "On the seventh day," writes Moses, "God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all the work which he had done. And he blessed the seventh day, because in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made" (Genesis ii. 2, 3). These words appear conclusively to establish the ritual character of the composition in which they occur. Nothing in any way resembling them is to be found in any of the ancient cosmogonies or myths; nor do we meet with any trace of the seventh day of the week being kept holy by any other race of men except the Jews; nor even amongst them does any example of the practice occur prior to their delivery out of Egypt. The examples which are sometimes adduced to prove the contrary are not to the point. Some of them serve to show the antiquity of "the week" as a division of time; others show that there existed from very early times a practice of keeping certain days holy, but there is nothing to connect these days with the seventh day of the week.* The week of seven days was not an invention of Moses; it was known to the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and others long before his time; allusion is made to it in the account of the Deluge in Genesis (Genesis viii. 10, 20). But neither was it communicated to man by a revelation from Heaven. On the contrary, it bears on the face of it evidence of forming part of that early and imperfect system of calculating time by the moon which was first in use amongst men, before the solar year, with its more accurate divisions, had been invented.

* The sacrifice of Job (Job. i. v.) was offered not on the *seventh* but on the *eighth* day; for his seven sons "feasted in their houses, every one his day," and it was only "when the days of their feasting were gone about, that Job sent and sanctified them." The Babylonians had several days of rest in each month, but they were arranged without regard to the days of the week. The 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of the month were termed "sabbaths," or, "days of rest," when the king was forbidden to eat "cooked fruit" or "meat," or change his clothes, or wear white robes, to drive his chariot, to sit in judgment, to review his army, or even to take medicine should he feel unwell. (Sayce, "Babylonian Literature," p. 55.)

As the moon is the origin of the month, so the week originated with the lunar phases; seven days being the nearest approach that can be made to describe one quarter of the moon, taking a day for the unit.* If the blessing given to the seventh day of the week dates as far back as the creation of man, this complete omission of all allusions to it down to the days of Moses is inexplicable. The Book of Deuteronomy seems plainly to say that the institution dates from the time of the delivery out of Egypt.

The seventh is the day of the Sabbath—that is, the rest of the Lord thy God. *Thou shalt not do any work therein, thou nor thy son, nor thy daughter that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest even as thyself.* Remember that thou also didst serve in Egypt, and the Lord thy God brought thee out from thence with a strong hand and stretched-out arm. *Therefore hath he commanded thee that thou shouldst observe the Sabbath day.* (Deut. v. 15.)

As circumcision, so the observance of the weekly Sabbath was a distinguishing sign of God's own people. "Speak to the children of Israel and thou shalt say to them, See that thou keep my Sabbath, because it is a sign between me and you in your generations; that you may know that I am the Lord who sanctify you." "It is an everlasting covenant" (Exodus xxxi. 13, 16). It was a particular sign of the Jewish people, even more so than circumcision itself: for the latter was practised by other nations, whereas we are not acquainted with any people except the Jews among whom this particular observance prevailed. And as the observance of the seventh day as a day of rest originated with the Mosaic law, and was confined to places where that law prevailed, so it ceased to be in force as soon as the law of Moses was abrogated. The Lord's Day of the Christian Church is in no sense a continuation of the Jewish

* An express allusion to this origin of the week occurs in one of the "Nineveh tablets." "He caused Nannar (the moon) to shine, and attached it to the night, and he fixed the periods of its nocturnal phases which determine the days. For the entire month without interruption, he established what should be the shape of its disk. At the commencement of the month, when the evening begins, thy horns shall serve thee as a notice to enable thee to determine the time of the heavens. *The seventh day thou shalt be on thy way to complete thy disk.*" (See Lenormant, "Les Orig. de l'Hist.", Append. I, No. iv., Frag. de la 5^{me} tab.). A different translation of this tablet is given by Mr. H. Fox Talbot (R. P. ix. 117), who gives the last line thus: "On the seventh day he appointed a holy day." I am not in a position to judge between Mons. Lenormant and Mr. Talbot; but, if the translation of the latter is correct, it is difficult to see how it came to pass that the Chaldeans did not keep the 7th day holy, but kept instead the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of the month. See Assyrian Calendar in "Records of the Past," vol. i.; and "Babylonian Literature," by Professor Sayce, p. 55.

Sabbath ; it was instituted to commemorate an entirely different event ; it occurs on the first day of the week, not on the seventh ; and Jews and Christians alike regard the first day of the week not as commemorative of the rest of God, but of the commencement of his work. When the Gentiles embraced Christianity they retained the heathen designation of all the days of the week except the first and the last. The first they called the Lord's day—*dies Dominica*—in honour of the resurrection of our Lord ; for the last, they retained the appellation of Sabbath day—*dies Sabbati*—which they had learnt from the Jews. But though they called it the day of rest, and though that name still adheres to it in languages derived from the Latin, it ceased to be observed as such ; a clear proof that the blessing and sanctification of the seventh day was a ritual ordinance of the law of Moses, and not a primeval revelation made by God to all mankind which no lapse of time could render void.

Attention has already been called to the fact that Moses is the only writer who makes mention of *days* in connection with the works of creation. It must be further observed that although in Scripture there are many allusions to creation, and more than one description of the works of creation, yet never in a single instance is any mention made of *days*, except (as is the case in this hymn of Moses) in connection with this ritual law ordering the seventh day of the week to be kept holy. This clearly shows—first, that the days spoken of are *the days of the week*, not the first seven days at the commencement of time ; and secondly, that the writings in which days are spoken of in connection with the works of creation are ritual works, and must therefore be interpreted after the manner in which such works are usually interpreted. When Moses says : “God made light, and it was evening and morning the first day,” he means *the first day of the week* ; and to say that the making of light was the first day of the week, means that Sunday is consecrated to the memory of the creation of light ; precisely in the same manner as when it is said (in an example recorded above) that the sixth of January is the day on which the Wise Men came from the East to adore the new-born Saviour, the day on which Christ was baptized, and the day on which he changed water into wine ; all that it is meant to imply is that the festival is kept in honour of those three events, not that they actually occurred on that day, it being undoubted that one at least did not.

Before leaving this subject something must be said about the expression “God rested on the seventh day.” What is meant by the rest of God, and why does Moses here introduce the mention of it ? The alternation of periods of activity and repose observable in Nature, has attracted the attention of man from the

earliest ages.* Traces of former disturbances are everywhere to be seen in localities which have since become peaceful scenes of tranquillity and rest. Such facts had not escaped the notice of the Egyptians. Plato in his "Timeus" expressly states that the Egyptians believed the world to be subject from time to time to deluges and conflagrations, after which tranquillity and order were again restored. These violent changes and the subsequent rest were alike ascribed to the interference of the gods. Plutarch tells us that the doctrine of successive creations was imported into Greece from Egypt. The Egyptians, moreover, were in the presence of a constant exemplification of alternate action and rest in the annual inundation of the Nile. This was symbolized in the myth of Osiris and Isis, the worship of which deities was universal throughout Egypt; and the ceremonies commemorative of the finding of the body of Osiris were amongst the most popular in the land.† Moses therefore, both as one learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians and as the legislator of God's people, would not, when referring to the works of creation, omit to notice a fact which had impressed itself alike on the mind of the philosopher and on the superstition of the people. The forces of Nature act in virtue of laws of which God is the author, and inasmuch as the action of secondary causes is rightly referred to a first cause, so the action of Nature's laws is rightly spoken of as the action of God. When the forces of Nature exhibit signs of activity we say that God works; when they lie dormant we say that God rests. The Egyptians referred action and rest alike to false gods; Moses refers both to the Creator of all things. And therefore, as, by reason of the covenant made between God and his people, the seventh day of each week was to be kept holy by abstaining from all servile work, Moses, in dedicating each of the days of the week to the memory of the Creator, most appropriately dedicates the six days on which the Jews were allowed to work to the memory of God working, and the seventh day, on which they were ordered to rest, to the memory of God resting.

Briefly to sum up the argument pursued in the foregoing pages: the first thirty-four verses of the Bible, although they stand foremost in the collection of the writings of Moses, form no portion of the book of Genesis which immediately follows them. They constitute a composition complete in itself. They are a *Sacred Hymn* recording the consecration of each day of the week to the memory of one or other of the works done by the true God, Creator of Heaven and earth, in opposition to a

* See Sir C. Lyell's "Principles of Geology," vol. i. chap. ii.

† See Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of Egypt," vol. iii. chap. xiii.

custom, established by the Egyptian priests, of referring the days of the week to the sun, moon, and planets, and of consecrating each day of the month to the memory of the actions of false deities. The hymn, when examined by the light which a knowledge of the customs of Egypt, such as may at the present day be derived from the monuments and records of that country, throws upon it, shows how carefully its details have been arranged for the purpose of guarding against those special dangers of idolatry to which the Israelites were exposed at the time of their delivery from Egyptian bondage; thus affording an indirect but valuable confirmation of the fact that Moses was its author. This hymn not being a history of creation, but a ritual, work, the statements contained in it must be interpreted in the sense in which similar statements are understood when they occur in writings of a ritual character. When it is said that certain works were performed on certain days of the week, nothing more is implied than that those days are consecrated to the memory of the works referred to. Subject to this proviso, the words of Moses are to be understood in their usual sense, and present no special difficulty. *A day* means the space of twenty-four hours in this as in other portions of the writings of the same author. By the seven days are meant the days of the week, which are simply referred to as the first, second, instead of Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and so on, because, all reference to the names derived from the planets being forbidden, there remained but the numerical order by which to cite them. Words descriptive of natural objects and phenomena, such as the firmament, the deep, the waters above the firmament, and such like, mean nothing more nor less than what was implied by the same words when used by the Wise Men of Egypt in the days of Moses. The notions of these men were wrong on many points of natural philosophy, but their error lay in the interpretation they gave to the phenomena; the phenomena themselves had a real existence. The language of Moses refers to the phenomena independently of any interpretation which may be given of the same. At the present day we speak of the stars shining in the sky, the rain pouring down from the sky, the rainbow appearing in the sky, though we are well aware that the stars are removed far above the atmosphere in which the rain gathers which reflects the rainbow. Thus understood, the words of Moses present no manner of opposition to scientific facts. In his hymn he records two things—first, that God alone created all things. This is a truth which no scientific fact can invalidate. Secondly, that each of the first six days of the week is consecrated to the memory of some special work performed by God, and that the seventh is consecrated to the memory of the rest of

God, and must be kept holy. This ritual ordinance has almost entirely ceased. We have resumed the heathen custom of calling the days of the week after the names of the planets, the observance of the seventh day as a day of rest has been abolished, and a different festival, not connected with the rest of God, has been established in its place.* As to the order in which the various parts of creation came into existence, and whether a longer or shorter period of time elapsed before our earth and its furniture assumed the appearance they now present, these are matters which form no part of Moses' task to explain. They enter not into his subject, and he does not allude to them, and, therefore, whatever be the conclusions which scientific men may come to on these points, they meet neither with approval nor with opposition from the words of Moses. The records of the early stages of the existence of our globe form, no doubt, a subject of great interest to inquirers, but, beyond the fact that in the beginning God created Heaven and earth, no revelation has been given to man concerning them. They belong exclusively to the province of science. They are part of that *travail which God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised in it. He hath made all things good in their time, and hath delivered the world to their consideration* (Eccles. iii. 10, 11).

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* A trace of the Jewish method of counting the days of the week by their numbers, as also of counting festivals from evening to evening, is still observable in the ecclesiastical calendar. The dedication of the days of the week to the works of creation is also referred to in the hymns of the ferial office. A decree of St. Silvester, Pope (A.D. 314), is quoted as confirming this mode of numeration. "He (St. Silvester) decreed that the first and seventh days of the week should be called respectively the Lord's day and the Sabbath, and the others second day, third day, and so on. In this he confirmed the use of the word *feria* for the week days, the which use had already begun in the Church. This word signifieth an "holiday," and pointeth to the duty of the clergy ever to lay aside all worldly labour and leave themselves free to do continually the work of the Lord.—*The Roman Breviary*, translated by the Marquess of Bute. Vol. i. p. 250.



ART. V.—THE “CORPUS MISSAL” AND ITS
PROBABLE DATE.

The Manuscript Irish Missal belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by F. E. WARREN, B.D. London: Pickering & Co. 1879.

THE ‘Corpus’ Irish Missal, which has lain for centuries unnoticed in the library of Oxford University, is the property of its Fellows, and has been lately edited by one of them, Rev. Mr. Warren, Professor of Celtic. The Missal contains not only a considerable number of Masses, common and proper, and a still greater number of Commemorations, but even a Ritual for the Administration of the Sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony. All is written in the Irish character.

1. The editor has not treated us to a lithographed or photozincographed reproduction of the Corpus Missal; but there is every reason for believing that he has given us a very faithful copy of it. Every page gives indication of care and skill on the part of the editor; and though the contents of the dateless book do not offer such striking contrasts to the comparatively modern form of the liturgy as those edited by Le Brun, Martene, and Mabillon, yet they are not without interest and utility for purposes of comparison. The Missal should be in the hands of every antiquarian and ecclesiastic.

2. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the manner in which the editor has given almost every part of the Missal. I say *almost* every part, for I except the litanies. They are so given that not one person in a thousand could repeat them properly or in the manner intended by their writer.

In old manuscripts, for the purpose of economizing space, as well as in some printed books, the litanies were given in double columns. But the natural order requires that we finish the left column before we turn to the right, or that at least there should be a marked break in the first column to warn us off to the other column. Nothing of this sort occurs in many passages of the Corpus Missal. Hence, in a column of twenty-three petitions, after the fifth petition we are driven to the top of the next column in order to repeat *Sancta Virgo Virginum* immediately after *Sancta Dei genetrix, ora pro nobis.* And then, after the fifth petition in the second column, we are thrown back to the first column.*

* “Missale Vetus,” p. 133.

3. The same fault is repeated in the litany used in blessing the baptismal water as well as in the litany on Holy Saturday ; because after St. Gabriel comes as close as possible St. Philip, without a shadow of a break, which is wrong, and we are driven to look out for St. Raphael in the next column ; and then, after invoking St. James, without the smallest break or warning we come on St. Cyprian, who should not be invoked till after the saints of the first column.

4. Then in a third litany—that for the dying—confusion is still more confounded. For in order to observe proper continuity in the invocation of saints we must turn over a leaf, and turn back again for the second column.*

5. It may be observed that the saints invoked in Irish litanies were in the following order—the Virgin Mary, St. Michael, St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul. St. Michael represented the angelic host, St. John the saints of the Old Law, and SS. Peter and Paul those of the New Law ; but beyond and above all was invoked the intercession of the Mother of God. This arrangement was borrowed, no doubt, from old Roman rituals. Certain it is that the Church by-and-by incorporated, even in its liturgy, the same order in the invocation of saints as represented in the *Confiteor*.

6. While on the whole the editing of the *Corpus Missal* may be said to be a very creditable performance, the same praise cannot be extended to its fifty-one pages of introductory matter. The editor, in an unconnected paragraph, gratuitously implies or asserts the Protestant character of the Irish Church in the twelfth century. Thus, in p. 45, he says : "In the year 1152, at a National Synod held at Kells, the supremacy of Rome was acknowledged by many of the clergy." Here it is implied that some or many denied the supremacy. This is a statement for which he brings forward no proof, for the very good reason that no proof is producible. The contrary is established by an irresistible mass of evidence, by tradition, by the practices and documents of the Irish Church.†

A denial of the supremacy should not be hazarded on slight grounds, if there were no other reason in proof of it than the Roman mission of St. Patrick. Not to mention individual Irish writers who testify to the supremacy of Rome, the "Book of Armagh," representing the traditions and practices of the Church, declares that in all more than ordinary difficulties recourse should be had for guidance to the See of Rome.‡

So, too, when there had been question of changing the disci-

* " *Missale Vetus*," 211.

† *Vid. Malone's "Church History,"* vol. i. p. 108.

‡ Fol. 21.

pline in regard to the time for the celebration of Easter, the Irish bishops and doctors of the Church met; and in their doubts the teaching of the Irish Church in regard to the supremacy is brought out by the decision arrived at—that they should have recourse to Rome, the founder and mistress of religion.*

It were an endless task to cite the opinions of individual theologians from age to age in support of Roman supremacy in Ireland; but we may rest assured that the writer in the venerable "Leabhar Breac" only echoed the teaching of Irish doctors on the matter. It states that "Christ loved John more than any other of the human race, and that Peter more than John loved Christ, and therefore He gave the headship of his Church not to John, but to Peter."† Nothing could be more clear or decisive than this statement.

7. In the absence of profound liturgical knowledge, the editor might have been spared several minor mistakes by correct notions on the Papal supremacy. His "bonâ fide differences" of texts found in the ancient Celtic church from the Vulgate would easily be accounted for by remembering that the old Vulgate or *Itala* was brought by St. Patrick into Ireland. Thus, to his preconceived notions on Roman supremacy is traceable the statement (p. 22) that "for the Roman word *introitus* the word *antiphon* was used in the Corpus Missal, an Irish peculiarity," because in the eighth and ninth centuries the word *antiphon* was usually employed in Roman Missals. It was called the *ingressa* in Mozarabic Missals, and the *office* in Carthusian Missals.‡

8. It is from wrong notions on the supremacy the editor of the Corpus Missal fixes its ancient *habitat* in Clones: he says (in p. 51) in it "there is a votive 'Mass de Petro et Paulo,' &c., and to them the Abbey of Clones was dedicated."

Let me observe that, in the place referred to, there is no votive Mass given, but a mere commemoration of SS. Peter and Paul, preceded by some commemorations, and followed by sixteen others on various feasts, as found at present toward the end of the Roman Missal.

Special devotion to SS. Peter and Paul, as heads of the saints of the New Law, was not confined to Ireland, much less to any convent in Ireland; and, therefore, cannot afford a clue to the *habitat* of the Missal. In good truth, all Irish litanies and the six Irish masses extant,§ no matter in what convent written,

* A.A. SS. Hib. "Vita S. Finiani," et p. 474.

† Agus araisin tra is do Petur tuc Criost cendacht na hecclaisi. "Leabhar Breac," p. 148, col. 1.

‡ Bened. xiv., "Sacrif. Missæ," lib. ii. chap. iv.

§ Malone's "Church History," vol. ii., Appendices.

exhibit a marked devotion to SS. Peter and Paul, especially to the former.

Thus the first prayer for mass in the Irish Stowe Missal is *Oratio prima Petri*.

Again, in the still older mass in the Bobio Missal the first prayer is "Deus qui beato Petro Apostolo tuo conlatis clavibus," &c.

9. It is to peculiar notions on the Supremacy we are probably indebted for a statement in p. 40 of the Introduction: "There were the offices which the itinerant monkish priest would from time to time be called to perform . . . and by performing which he encroached, sometimes uninvited, on the province of the secular clergy."

There is a great deal of inaccuracy in this statement. Whether used in a derivative or conventional sense, the word "monk" is improperly applied to a regular priest. A fundamental rule in the legislation of the Church was directed against an itinerant monk—*monachus vagus*; and if one of the community had been raised to the priesthood, his ministrations were confined to the precincts of the monastery. So marked is the difference between a monk and a regular priest, that in processions the former, though unordained, takes precedence of the latter.*

But mainly objectionable is the statement that the conventional priest, by using the Corpus Missal, encroached on the secular clergy. Some Religious had districts assigned to them with the care of souls, and such were those for whom the Corpus Missal was written. These sometimes discharged the duties even of secular canons, and were called Culdees. Their jurisdiction was often and immemorially independent of the secular clergy. Such had been the Culdees of Iniscathys. Such independent jurisdiction, too, was enjoyed by the Culdees of Armagh† and Devenish. And, by the way, there is some reason for thinking that it was in either of these latter convents that the Corpus Missal was written.

The very rubrics directed that the *people* were to approach the Church as a matter of course rather than that the priest should stealthily or encroachingly assist them. Thus, in the reception of the Sacrament of Matrimony the contracting parties and their friends were to have been in the church. Thus, too, at the ceremony of Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, after the priests and deacons and other ecclesiastical ministers came the people. So, too, was a discourse on the occasion to be addressed to the people.‡

* *Vid.* "Acta ex iis decerpta, quæ apud sanctam Sedem," &c.

† *Vid.* "Mey's Registry." ‡ "Missale Vetus," p. 125.

Once again, the presence of the people from the surrounding district of the convent is supposed by the presentation of candles on the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin.* So far were these ceremonies from being "offices which the itinerant monkish priest was to perform," that the very rubrics suppose a pomp and ceremony befitting a cathedral church, and assert the presence of deacon, sub-deacon, dean, chantor, *hebdomadarius*, and even bishop, as certainly as the Antiphonary of Armagh.†

10. As regards the age of the Missal, the learned editor reminds us that it must be determined on (1) palæographic grounds, (2) on liturgical evidence, and (3) on internal historical allusions, and concludes that there can be little doubt that "the Missal was written between the years 1152 and 1157."

11. Touching the palæographic grounds, we are helplessly in the hands of the editor, as we have not had a glimpse of the Missal. To console us, however, we are assured that palæography can afford no clue for determining the age of the Missal, owing "to the habit of Irish scribes to perpetuate by exact imitation of every detail the smallest peculiarities." This view of Irish palæographical evidence is very questionable. There may have been a very faithful copying of the original, even in its inaccuracies, from time to time, but it is not unlikely that the style of writing and ornamentation varied in different ages. Why, in point of ornamentation and finish there is as much difference between several Irish manuscripts as between a cartoon and a painting by one of the masters! Who for a moment, setting aside the character of the writing, could think of even comparing the "Book of Durrow" with the "Leabhar Breac?" In looking into Irish manuscripts, from the "Book of Dimma" at the end of the sixth century to those in the fifteenth century, can one fail being struck by the marked difference in the series? This difference was so marked as to have made O'Donovan give us specimens of various forms of Irish writing characteristic of different ages.‡ Hence it was that O'Curry undertook to exhibit styles of writing in the Irish language as characteristic of each century from the sixth down to his own time.§

Not to speak at all of the style of ornamentation, we are led to observe the several varieties in the formation of letters, and thus determine the age of the writing. By looking narrowly into manuscripts we can trace 15 varieties in the letter *a*, 6 in *b*, 5 in *c*, 7 in *d*, 9 in *e*, 3 in *f*, 5 in *g*, 9 in *h*, 2 in *i*, 8 in *l*, 2 in *m*, 5 in *n*, 5 in *o*, 1 in *p*, 1 in *q*, 16 in *r*, 2 in *s*, and 6 in *t*. The

* "Missale Vetus," p. 147.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 147, 203.

‡ Ir. Gr. *Plates*.

§ "MSS. Materials," Appendices.

utilizing this source alone of evidence would lead to an approximate conjecture as to the date of writing.

12. As regards the second ground for determining the age of the *Corpus Missal*—liturgical evidence—it is as barren of results as the first in the hands of Mr. Warren. “More significant” than anything he had previously stated “is the absence from the Canon of the words *pro quibus tibi offerimus vel*, generally inserted in the Canon in the eleventh century.” These words were generally in the Canon in the twelfth century, and have been commented on by Pope Innocent III. in the thirteenth century.* But these words, while they have been found in the oldest manuscript Missals, as Mabillon acknowledged, have been omitted in others;† and thus, so far as these words are concerned, we are left to assign the *Corpus Missal* to any century from the fifth to the twelfth.

This would not be of much use in determining the age of the Missal, but I venture to say, however, that a more potent spirit is latent in the liturgical field, which I hope by-and-by to evoke.

13. The third ground—historical allusions—is that on which the editor mainly, if not altogether, relies for ascertaining the age of the Missal; and his conclusion is that it was written in the twelfth century, “soon after the last vestiges of the old national rite and of liturgical and ritual independence were swept away under St. Malachi” (p. 44, *Introduction*).

Now I beg to assure him that vestiges of the old Irish liturgies continued for centuries after the age of St. Malachi. One of the reasons assigned for applying for the erection of the Wardenship of Galway in the fifteenth century was that the tribes wished to have their religious rites carried out according to the Salisbury use, and that they should not be interrupted in them by the Celts or their practices.‡ So, too, Robert, who was promoted from Canterbury to the diocese of Clonfert in the year 1303, obtained as a privilege that he might be allowed the use of the offices of the Church of Clonfert rather than the English offices.§

14. The editor of the Missal, in introducing us to the real age of the Missal, reminds us that its date limits the lateness but not the earliness at which it may have been written. In proof of the great antiquity of some of it he refers to a prayer in a Mass or rather a Commemoration of St. Patrick. In this prayer allusion

* “*De mysterio Missæ*,” lib. iii. cap. 6.

† Pouget, “*Instit. Catholicar.*” tom. ii. p. 853.

‡ Theiner, “*Vetera Monumenta*,” an. 1484. § *Ibid.*, sub. an. 1307.

is made to the errors of *gentilism* or idolatry in which the Irish or *Scots* were plunged.*

Now with regard to the term *Scoti* being used for *Hibernenses*, or Irish, in the prayer, very little is established by it. It is of little use to show that a term or phrase was in use in remote antiquity unless its use be shown to have ceased within a later period. Otherwise the most gained is that a form of language or a phrase may be said, but cannot be proved, to be archaic. Of this character is the word *Scoti*; for it was very common down to the eleventh century.† Even in the fourteenth century its use is inferrable. In the famous remonstrance addressed by the Irish chieftains in 1316 to Pope John XXII., previous to the invasion by the Bruces, it is stated that Scotland was *Scotia Minor* and that Ireland is *Scotia Major*.‡

Nor does the allusion to the original *gentilism* or paganism of the Irish establish in any way the antiquity of the prayer. The terms *gentes* and *gentilitas* (pagans and paganism) became loan-words in the Irish language and were in common use in the fourteenth century.§ So far from establishing the antiquity claimed for the prayer of St. Patrick is the allusion to pagans that the same allusion is made in the prayer found in the present Roman Breviary.|| The *gentes* in the present Roman Breviary in reference to St. Patrick is the same as the *gentilitas* of the Corpus Missal.

15. Nor does the allusion to the *spirituale sacrificium* in the commemorative post-communion in honour of St. Patrick necessarily prove the antiquity of the prayer. The phrase is pointed to as occurring in the Stowe Missal, written in the seventh century. It is very curious that it is one of the only three phrases selected out of the entire Corpus Missal by the editor for comment, and still more curious that Dr. Todd, in a notice of an "ancient Irish Missal," should have dwelt with emphasis on the same phrase.¶ He went so far as to charge Dr. O'Connor, librarian to the Duke of Buckingham, with omitting to give it, whereas he did not undertake to give more than extracts from and specimens of the contents of the Stowe Missal; and, more

* *Oratio.* "Deus qui sanctum Patritium apostolum tua providentia elegisti, ut hibernenses gentes in tenebris et in errore gentilitatis errantes," &c.

† "Sroll—id est solssi unde apud *Scoticos* : dia sroll—i.e., dies solis."—Cormac's "Glossary."

‡ Fordun, "Scoto-chronicon," vol. iii. sub. an. 1316.

§ Thus in the "Leabhar Breac," p. 258, col. 2, *genti, gentiu, gentlidecht*.|| *Oratio.* "Deus qui ad *predicandas gentes* beatum Patritium &c. mittere dignatus es." Rom. Breviar. 17th March.

¶ "Tr. R. I. A." vol. xxiii.

curious still, Dr. O'Connor, in point of fact, does give the passage in which the phrase is, with the very phrase *spirituale sacrificium*. Dr. Todd in addressing a non-polemical body could not say: "Remark the Protestant language, or the language to which we attach Protestant ideas," but it is easy to read between the lines; and that which the Academy did allow him to say, but what truth could not warrant him to do, he did say—that *spirituale sacrificium* had been omitted by the Catholic librarian.

Now if *spirituale sacrificium* means, as I contend, *mystical oblation*, it expresses Catholic doctrine in language used in the nineteenth as well as in the seventh century. *Spiritual* was understood by Irish writers to mean not what was unreal but mystical, as opposed to what was sensible. In this sense the accurate writer in the famous "Leabhar Breac" understood the word. *Spirituale* is given in a number of places as synonymous with *runda*—that is, "mystic."^{*} *Spirituale* was used in opposition to "carnal," and it is in this sense St. Augustine sometimes understood the word.[†] *Spirituale* was not opposed to substance; on the contrary, it expressed reality, though mystical.[‡] Then, as to the word *sacrificium* it will be understood as a convertible term for *oblation*. Hence in the Stowe Missal, from which the objection has been drawn, we read, in the prayer by St. Ambrose: "Forgive the unworthy priest through whose hands this *oblation* appears to be offered."[§] As a matter of course, *oblation* being convertible for *sacrificium*, and *spirituale* for *mystic*, *spirituale sacrificium* means, and is convertible into, "mystic oblation," and this is the very phrase used by the Church to-day in reference to the Mass.^{||} If, then, the same language is found in the nineteenth century as in the seventh, all that follows is that it could have been used, not that

* "Leabhar Breac," p. 196, cols. 1, 2; and p. 168, col. 2.

† "Panem cœlestem spiritaliter manducate." "Hom." *Trac.* 26 in *Johannem*.

‡ "Non solum in *mystica* nunc et *vera* Dei adoratione, sed nec in illa in qua *sacrificium* secundum legem in *figura* offerebatur."—St. Basil, "Hom." 1, *de jejunio ante-medium*.

§ This idea is more fully explained in the "Vision of Adamnan :" "Ar ni he insacart do gni inedpartsin iter, cid he accithaid iointimtirecht, acht isu cr. fen do gni comfhod agus ben da chaid inabairgine agus infina aforaicnid achuirp agus a fola fen intan chanus insacart na briara chan chriost." "Leabhar Breac," p. 237, col. 1, 9th line from bottom: "Since it is not the priest at all who performs the sacrifice, though his ministration is visible, but Jesus Christ Himself, Who blesses and changes the bread and wine into the real nature of his own very body and blood at the time the priest utters the words once pronounced by Christ Himself."

|| "Secreta: *mystica* nobis, Domine, prosit *oblatio*." "Mass for St. Calixtus," 14th October.

it had been actually used, in a certain book at a very early period.

16. Without dwelling further on incidental issues I come, to the consideration of the date of the Corpus Missal as a whole; and in doing so I find that the historical allusions in it are, in the hands of the editor, as barren of results as the palæographical or liturgical grounds. In a litany usual on Easter Eve there are found in the Missal the petitions "that thou wouldest deign to preserve the King of the Irish and his army; that thou wouldest grant them life, health, and victory, we beseech thee;"* in a litany for the baptismal service is found the petition "deign to preserve that Lord the King and the Christian army in perpetual peace and prosperity;"† and on Holy Saturday there is a prayer "for our most glorious King N. and his most noble offspring."‡

Now these three different entries are the only historical grounds on which the editor of the Corpus Missal finds an argument for determining its age. They are far less calculated to fix the age of the Missal than the three phrases in the prayers to St. Patrick were calculated to claim for it a very high antiquity.

From the introduction of Christianity into Ireland till the Anglo-Norman invasion, we had Irish kings, and their armies, and their children; and therefore the mention of any of these in a prayer proves nothing at all to the case in point. The mention of the King and his illustrious offspring in the prayer on Holy Saturday would render the editor's conjecture probable enough if he had proved that the Missal had been written in the twelfth century. But he has not proved, and I believe could not prove, its date to be assigned to that century, and therefore entirely groundless is his conjecture that the glorious father and most noble son mean Torloch O'Connor, and his son Roderick, the last King of Ireland.

17. A writer in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of last September, in an interesting analysis of the contents of the Corpus Missal—while maintaining that the eleventh century, not the twelfth, is the age of the Missal, charges the editor with both ignoring some of the historical facts supplied in it, and not rightly interpreting those actually quoted. The writer would put into evidence the following prayers. One is a commemoration for the King: "Receive, O Lord, the prayers and victims of thy Church praying to Thee for the salvation of thy servant, our King,

* "Ut Regem Hibernensium et exercitum ejus conservare digneris; ut eis vitam, sanitatem, et victoriam dones, te rogamus."

† "Ut dominum illum regem, et exercitum Christianorum in perpetua pace et prosperitate digneris."

‡ "Pro gloriosissimo rege nostro N, ejusque nobilissima prole."

and in protection of thy faithful people display the wonders of thy power as of old ; so that, the enemies of peace being overcome, Christian liberty may be at thy service." The other prayer is one for the emperor on Holy Saturday : " Let us pray for our most Christian emperor." The writer in the *Record* infers from these two prayers, coupled with the fact that in one instance Brian Boru was called Emperor of the Scots, " that there can be little difficulty in verifying these allusions from our native annals." Now I venture to assert that these do not prove any thing more than the prayers given by the editor of the Missal. The historical allusions referred to by the latter prove nothing ; the two prayers relied on by the writer in the *Record* do not, to my mind, apply to Ireland. It may not be denied that Brian Boru on an occasion was referred to in an entry as emperor ; but the word *was* used in its etymological and original meaning, owing to the stand which he made in the field against the Danish enemy. But it is quite a different thing to have one styled emperor in the liturgy of the Church and prayed for. There was one emperor, and only one, for whom prayers were said in the public liturgy by the Western Church. This prayer has been very properly omitted by the editor of the Missal, as not at all applicable to Ireland. The prayers for king and emperor relied on by the writer in the *Record* are only imitations of the prayers in the Roman Missal of the day.*

By looking at the prayers given at present at the end of the Roman Missal, we find commemorations of the pope, emperor, kings, bishops, and the several grades in Church and State, suitable to the wants and devotion of each branch of the Church ; but as a vestige of ancient discipline, we find it to some extent in the office of Holy Saturday binding on the universal Church. Thus we find that the prayer for the king in Corpus Missal is only a modified form of that found even in the present Roman Missal.

By the way, I have to observe, in reference to this matter, that the editor of the Missal has not been as faultless as I represented him ; for the prayer for the king, which he says is not found in the Roman Missal, may be seen in that for an emperor.†

Prayers, in the primitive ages of the Church, were ordinarily

* Post Communion in Corpus Missal : " Hæc, Domine, communio salutaris famulum tuum regem nostrum ab omnibus tueatur adversis, quatemis ecclesiastice pacis obtineat tranquillitatem et post istius (Hujus, Roman Missal) temporis decursum ad æternam perveniat hæreditatem."

† *Oratio* (from Corpus Missal,) *pro rege* : " Quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus rex noster qui tuo nutu (miseratione, " Roman Missal") suscepit regni gubernacula virtutum etiam percipiat incrementa

said for the Pope, the Ordinary of the particular diocese, for the Emperor, for the King, and for all orders in Church and State.

The prayer for the emperor in the Corpus Missal, running thus, will easily be seen to be a transcript of the Roman Missal. "Let us pray for our most Christian emperor, N., that God may subject all barbarous nations to him, and make him understand what is right, and bear away victory and triumph over the enemies of the Catholice and Apostolice Church to our perpetual peace."* That in the Roman, even at present, runs thus: "Let us pray for our most Christian emperor, that God and our Lord may make all barbarous nations subject to him for our perpetual peace." Who does not see that both prayers refer to the same object and that one was copied from the other?

After the *levate*, sung by the deacon, we have the prayer in the Corpus Missal almost identical with that in the present Roman Missal. "O almighty, everlasting God, in whose hands are the rights of all and the jurisdiction of all kingdoms, regard the Christian (Roman) empire, so that the nations relying on their fierceness may be crushed by the power of thy right hand."† Now how could this be applied to an Irish sovereign? Is it not evidently copied from the Roman Missal, and to be understood in the like sense? Who could think that such a prayer could refer to the Danes and Brian Boru, as the writer in the *Record* would have us believe?

It is not merely that some territory, no matter how considerable, should be subjected to the Irish kingdom and people, but that nations should be subject to them—ay, that *all barbarous nations* should be subject to a potentate in an insignificant remote island.

Then, again, the idea of a prayer for the Emperor upsets the idea

quibus decenter ornatus et vitiorum voraginem (monstra, "Roman Missal") devitare et a te qui via, veritas, et vita es gratiosus valeat pervenire."

The secret prayer for king in Corpus Missal is found in the prayer for an emperor: "Suscipte, Domine, preces et hostias Ecclesiae tuæ pro salute famuli tui supplicantis, et in protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachii tui operare miracula ut superatis pacis inimicis secura tibi serviat Christiana libertas."

* From Corpus Missal: "Oremus et pro Christianissimo imperatore nostro N. ut Deus et dominus noster subditas illi faciat omnes barbaras nationes, et faciat sapere ea quæ recta sunt, atque contra inimicos Catholicae et apostolicae ecclesiae triumphum largiatur victoriae ad nostram perpetuam pacem." From the Roman Missal: "Oremus et pro Christianissimo Imperatore nostro N. ut Deus et Dominus noster subditas illi faciat omnes barbaras nationes ad nostram perpetuam pacem."— "Prayer on Good Friday."

† "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia jura regnum respice ad Christianorum ("Romanum", R. Missal) benignus imperium ut gentes qui in sua feritate confidunt potentiae tue dextra comprimantur."—Corpus Missal.

that there was a king in the same country. We have prayers for both in the *Corpus Missal* as in the *Roman Missal*. This is quite natural and compatible only with the supposition that each country was supposed to have its own king, but that there was only one emperor for the Latin Church. Hence, in countries where the ruler was both king and emperor, commemoration was made for him daily; it was only on certain occasions, as on Good Friday, special commemoration was made for him through the universal Latin Church.

18. Owing to the Saracens in the South of Europe, and the pagan infidels in the North, the Western Empire, especially during the ninth and tenth centuries, was called the Christian Empire. By-and-by, and especially when the Moors had been driven out of Spain, when the North was brought within the Christian fold it was called the Roman empire, in contradistinction to the Greek empire. Whether Carlovingian or German, whether sprung from the House of Hapsburg or Bavaria, no matter in what part of Western Christendom residing, there was only one Emperor for whom prayers were offered in the liturgy on Holy Saturday.

19. It cannot then be shown from the prayers said for King or Emperor that the *Missal* was written in the twelfth or eleventh century.

The argument of those who endeavour to prove this fails doubly. It fails both in the major and minor premises. The writer in the *Ecclesiastical Record*, adopting the language of the editor of the *Corpus Missal*, says: "These clauses yield a clue to the date, unless we are to believe without any show of reason that a later scribe slavishly copied words which, under altered circumstances, could have no meaning at all."* The argument, put more in form, states that the prayers for king and emperor give a clue to the date of the *Missal*, unless we suppose, what is absurd, that a scribe slavishly copied what did not apply to existing circumstances. The position depends on a conditional proposition, and the conditions are not verified. Whether there was a servile copying or not, no clue is afforded by the entries given. Besides, it may be maintained that there had been servile copying on the part of the Irish scribe. In fact, as stated before, the editor of the *Missal* admits the difficulty of determining any thing from the writing, so slavishly did the Irish scribes give every peculiarity of the original. In p. 33 of the Introduction he instances, "as cases of carelessness, eight principal vices alluded to, though immediately afterwards only seven are specified." Now I have reason to think that there was neither carelessness nor

* "I. E. R.," p. 512: *Corpus Missal*, p. 47, Introduction.

inaccuracy on the part of the Irish scribe. He only copied faithfully what was written by others. For I have seen the same confusion repeated in Irish manuscripts, and in more places than one. In one of the places alluded to, the case was reversed; seven capital sins only were alluded to, while eight were actually given.* I repeat, then, that we *can* suppose an Irish scribe slavishly coping, without exercising any critical judgment.

20. We know that in ancient times the Paschal feast began at dusk on Easter Eve, so that the Mass would be gone through at midnight. Circumstances have altered the discipline of the Church, which at present anticipates the offices on Saturday morning, and yet the same form of words is *slavishly copied* and used as before.†

And to bring the matter more home, we have an illustration and strongest proof in the matter under consideration—prayer for the Emperor.

We know that, from the days of Charlemagne till the Western Emperor and Empire disappeared before the legions of Napoleon, mention of the Roman empire and prayers for it were found in the liturgy.

But as Frederick Joseph resigned the title and dignity, it became a question whether the prayers for an emperor of the Western Empire should continue. The case was submitted to the Holy See. The decision was that, *though circumstances altered*, in each edition of the Roman Missal the prayer should be *slavishly copied* or printed, though no longer verified by actual circumstances.‡ I therefore repeat that Irish scribes and English printers *can* be supposed reproducing what was applicable only to altered circumstances, and meaningless as interpreted by existing circumstances; and, what is the main point, I reassert that, whether unmeaningly copied or not, the prayers give no warrant to date the Missal for the eleventh or twelfth century.

Having now shown, as I consider, that no evidence has been

* "Leabhar Breac," p. 58, p. 250, col. 1 and 2.

† On this subject there is a decision of the S. Cong, 12th March, 1861: "In conclusione orationis, Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem, &c., verbum ejusdem delendum est."—*Obeata nox*, &c.

‡ "Gardellini, sub voce *Oratio imperata*, n. 4985 ad vi. die 7 Dec. 1844; n. 5012 ad 3 die 15 Junii 1845."

"Quæritur ergo 1. : An prædictæ orationes expungendæ sint in novis Missalis Romani editionibus?—S. R. C. resp. Negative. Et quatenus negative: an ad utramque Orationem brevis apponi debeat rubrica, qua declaratur eas (in Paræsce ac Sabbato S.) hodie esse omittendas?—S. R. C. resp. Negative."

"Et quatenus negative: An saltem istius modi adnotatio apponi debeat initio Missalis post rubricas generales inter decreta sacrorum Rituum Congregationis?—S. R. C. resp. Affirmative, die 25, Sept., 1860."

adduced for determining the date of the Corpus Missal, it only remains for me to express my conviction that it belongs to a period earlier by 300 years than the date assigned to it by its editor. There is only one thing that raises any hesitation, and it is this; the mention of carpets in connection with the blessing of candles on the Feast of the Purification.* Very respectable authorities maintain that carpets were not in general use before the thirteenth century.† It is stated that, in the year 1160, St. Thomas à Becket's apartments were strewed with clean straw and hay daily; that it was only in the reign of Henry IV. of France the custom of weaving woollen carpets was introduced into France from Persia; and that the use of carpets even in the fourteenth century was a luxury. On the other hand, it may be said that the portion of the manuscript referring to the carpets is not as old as the other portion, or that it is not certain that carpets had not been in general use before the twelfth century. And even though their general use was not so early as the twelfth century, yet there may have been legislation in regard to them as to the use of wearables, "that it is not lawful for any one to use satin in a garment unless in the chasuble for sacrifice."‡

On the whole, then, I entertain a well-grounded opinion that the Missal was written before the twelfth century, and I proceed to give some reasons for that opinion.

21. In the Corpus Missal there is mention (in p. 103) of Quinquagesima Sunday in connection with the beginning of Lent, which proves the Missal to have been written before even the tenth century. It may be observed that in the early ages of the Church there existed great diversity as to the time of beginning Lent. The sixth Sunday before Easter is now called "Quadragesima" Sunday, and the time intervening between it and Easter Sunday is called "Quadragesima" time. But as six Sundays should be deducted from the forty-two days in six weeks for purposes of fasting, the Lent commenced on the previous Sunday,§ Quinquagesima Sunday, in order to

* "Ibique prosternantur tapetæ."—*Missale Vetus*, 147.

† Hadyn's "Dictionary of Dates," under word *tapestry*.

‡ "Leabhar Breac," p. 108, col. 2.

§ Irish writers state that *some* were satisfied with beginning Lent on Quadragesima Sunday, as even thus they were enabled to give a *tithe* of the year to God. "Et quibusdam sex dies dominici abstinentiae substrahuntur." The six Sundays were exempted not from a spirit of mortification, but to honour the Lord's day: "Uair ni cubaid aine vel abstanait vel troscud do denum in domnach."—"Leabhar Breac," p. 47, col. 1. But though it was more congruous to relax the fast on Sunday, yet there was no obligation to do so, if one wished to imitate the austerity of the hermits of the desert. On that account the writer stated that *some* did not fast on Sundays. *Vid.* "Leabhar Breac," p. 54-55.

supply the four additional days required to make up the forty days that could not possibly be reckoned within the Quadragesima time. Those who did not wish to observe the four days' fast in one week, then began the Lent on the next previous Sunday, Sexagesima; and for a like reason some began it even earlier, on Septuagesima Sunday; and thus spread the four days' fast over the three weeks between Septuagesima and Quadragesima Sundays.

By-and-by, however, in the first part of the ninth century, for the sake of uniformity of discipline, the Church decreed that the fast of Lent should begin on the Wednesday previous to Quadragesima Sunday, in order to secure forty days of continuous fast, in imitation of our Redeemer.

There is a clue to this earlier discipline clearly afforded by the Rubric at the beginning of Lent. It is marked "Dominica in L;" showing that the Lent began, not as in other Churches, on Septuagesima or Sexagesima Sunday, but on Quinquagesima.

But the Editor of the *Corpus*, viewing the past through the medium of the present discipline, judged L to be a mistake; prefixed X to it, in order that the time for beginning Lent should harmonize with his present views, and thus put out, rather than followed, the light afforded by the Rubric for determining the age of the Missal.

The Rubric, then, in reference to the older discipline, changed about 850,* proves the Missal to have been written before the tenth century.

22. (1) There is no *Prose* in the *Corpus Missal*. Now we might expect the prose *Victimæ Paschali* in the Easter Mass, and the *Veni Sancte* in the Mass of Pentecost, if they had been in existence; and, as they were composed in the eleventh century,† we must infer that the *Corpus Missal* was before the eleventh century.

Besides, Notker Balbulus, supposed to be Irish, and famously connected with the Irish Convent of St. Gall in Switzerland, was the author of proses in Mass.‡ Now considering the active communication kept up between St. Gall and Ireland we should be prepared to see the proses appear first in the Irish missals; but there is none in the *Corpus*, therefore we are to infer that the *Corpus* preceded in point of time Notker, who died in the year

* *Vid.* Thomassinus, "Traité des Fêtes," lib. ii. ch. xiii. "Traité des Jeunes," 2^{de} partie, ch. i.

† Durandus, *Rationale*, &c., lib. iv. chap. 22.

‡ Eckhard, *de cas. monast. S. Galli*, and Durandus: "Book of Lismore," fol. 117, R. I. A. *Ab C. S. Gal do rigned na seceis.*

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912. Hence we are to infer that the Corpus Missal preceded the tenth century. Again, we find that the word "Dominus" is used for Dominus, in the Missal. Now, Mabillon* assures us that the use of Dominus was reintroduced in the eleventh century; and as it was not introduced in the tenth century, the Missal's date is not assignable to that century.

(2) The *Gloria in Excelsis* is omitted in the Missal, but the *Gloria*, &c., became general after the tenth century; therefore the Corpus Missal was not written after the tenth century.

(3) The prayer *Suscipe Sancte Trinitas* is not found in the Missal, but that prayer was known in the eleventh century, therefore the Missal was not written in the eleventh century. The same may be said of the prayer at the *Agnus Dei*. This prayer—"Hæc commixtio et consecratio"—is not found in the Carthusian Missals, therefore it and the Corpus Missal were not known in the eleventh century.

(4) In the Missal there is no notice of the *Creed*, which became general in the tenth century, therefore the Missal was written before the tenth century.

22. But if the Corpus Missal was not written so early as the tenth century, it must have been written after the eighth, and therefore in the ninth century. For the prayer at the end of Mass, "Placeat," was not generally used till the ninth century.†

So, too, the semicolon and comma did not come into common use till the ninth century; and they are commonly used in the Missal; therefore it was written after the eighth century.

Again, the psalm *Judica me* at beginning of Mass did not become general till after the eighth century; therefore, not being found in the Missal, we are to infer it was written in the ninth century.

23. But what puts beyond doubt the writing of the Corpus to have taken place after the eighth century is the Feast of All Saints. That festival was instituted by Gregory IV., whose pontificate lasted from the year 827 to 844.

In conclusion, I would say that while the historical notices in the Corpus Missal on which the editor has mainly relied are useless in determining its age, the liturgical evidence in it, on which he places so little stress, is abundantly sufficient to determine it. The historical notices, while insufficient to determine the true date, are very useful in disproving a false date of the Missal. Take, for instance, a petition in one of the Litanies: "Deign to preserve that Lord, the King, and the army of Christians," &c. This evidently supposes the presence of, and

* "Museum Italic.," vol. i. p. cxxiv.

† Menard, "Sacrament. S. Greg."

danger from, an infidel army. Such a petition, while out of character in the twelfth century, was very natural and usual in the ninth century and beginning of the tenth century. Hence we meet in Missals of that date with such petitions as this: "Preserve, O Lord, the Emperor Otho and the army of Christians."*

In the ninth century, when Christendom was unformed, when the infidel was pressing in on the north and south, nothing was more natural than allusion to the *Army of Christians*. And though some parts of the Roman Empire were not brought into so direct contact with the infidel as other parts, yet it was the duty of the Mother of Churches, as the mouthpiece of all their necessities, to keep an eye on the infidel and express a special concern for the Christian army. This was the more natural and certain as Rome itself had had to entertain as Christian a fear of the infidel as had any king or Kesar.

This view of the matter is strikingly exemplified in the pontificate of Leo IV. Rome was threatened by the Saracens, and the Pope employed the riches of the Church in repairing the city walls, building towers, and throwing chains across the Tiber. He armed the militia, and engaged the inhabitants of Gaeta and Naples to defend the port of Ostia. The Pope himself was present, not as a warrior, but as a second Moses, encouraging and blessing the Christian army.† The result was a splendid victory for the Christians, and a signal defeat to the Saracens. The fortifications thrown up by the Pope are called to this day the "Leonine City," and the victory achieved has been immortalized by the painting of Raphael in the halls of the Vatican. This happened in the year 849. However, the Saracens renewed their encroachments by-and-by, and gave such trouble as to make it necessary for Pope John VIII. in a few years subsequently to purchase peace from them by a promise of an annual tribute.‡ A litany containing a prayer for the Christian army would not be out of place during any of the ninth century; but if I were to assign to one year rather than another in the first half of the ninth century the date of the *Corpus Missal*, that year would be 849. In hazarding a conjecture as to the precise time in which the *Corpus Missal* was written, I must be understood as speaking of the original. Considering the distance of Ireland from Rome in those days, some time may naturally be supposed to have elapsed between the writing of the original "Corpus Missal" and its Irish transcript.

* Missale in *Biblioth. di Fier. Naz.* xxxvi. 18.

† Volt. *Essai sur mœurs.*

‡ Fleury, "Hist. Ecclesiast." (new edition), iii. p. 501. Artaud's "Vie des Pont."

Some have traced a similarity between it and the characters of the "Book of Irish Hymns," written about the year 900. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that a copy of the Missal was made as late as this date. But considering the uninterrupted and active communication kept up between Ireland and Rome, and the practical use to which the Missal was turned, it is highly unlikely that the Irish Copy was executed after the year 900. On that account, as well as for reasons already assigned, there are solid grounds for assigning the date of the Irish "Corpus Missal" to between the middle and the end of the ninth century.

SYLVESTER MALONE, M.R.I.A. & F.R.H.A.A.I.

ART. VI.—RITUALISM ESTIMATED FROM WITHIN
AND WITHOUT.

1. *Anglican-Ritualism as seen by a Catholic and Foreigner.*
A Series of Essays, with an Appendix on the Present State of the Church in France. By Abbé P. MARTIN, D.D., Licentiate of Canon Law, Professor of Holy Scripture in the Catholic Institute of Paris, and Honorary Canon of Cahors. London : Burns & Oates, 1881.
2. *The Church under Queen Elizabeth.* An Historical Sketch. With an Introduction on the Present Position of the Established Church. By Rev. F. G. LEE, D.D., Vicar of All Saints', Lambeth. London : Allen & Co. Two vols. 1880.

BOTH these books treat more or less fully of that well-worn and all but exhausted subject, Ritualism ; and we feel that an apology is due to our readers for once more returning to an exploded phase of religion in England. It is true that we believe we can once more expose its hollowness as a system of thought ; the lack of any philosophical basis for its creed, or of any authority for its action ; and the sheer eclecticism of much that is most noteworthy in the conduct of its disciples. But then, again, we feel that this has all been proved by others so often, and so much better than we can hope to prove it, that if they made no impression on the victims of the delusion, why may we hope to make any ? You cannot force the truth on men's minds, if the men themselves are unwilling to receive it ; and we see reason to fear that both prejudice and party spirit now unite to prevent Ritualists from wishing calmly to estimate the probable truth or falsehood of their position.

Outsiders, again, can take but little interest in our present effort. Indeed, they may be tempted to compare it with that of a man who should at this date produce an elaborate scheme for showing the folly of the South Sea Bubble. However cleverly the problem might be worked out, few would be interested in its ingenuity. The folly of the speculation has been demonstrated so often that the only wonder now is, that any should once have been rash enough to put faith in it. We cannot help seeing a certain analogy between the financial and the religious bubble; both so promising at their outset, and both so disappointing in their result. But the process of collapse is slower in the case of the religious Will-o'-the-wisp than in that of the financial; for Ritualism, although it has ceased to interest the thinking and philosophical part of the nation, still attracts the foolish and exasperates the bigoted. Ritualism, therefore, is kept before us as a fact where it has vanished as a religious system, upon which it was possible to argue effectively and which serious-minded men were prepared to defend. Moreover, although slaying the dead may be an unwelcome task, still, if there be but a single soul who believes the dead to be alive, and clings to a corrupt body with the despairing hope that it may yet prove itself a living soul, and if there be any chance that a stray word may dispel the illusion, it is well that such a word should be spoken.

That the publication of Abbé Martin's "Anglican-Ritualism" should so shortly have followed that of Dr. Lee's "History of the Church under Queen Elizabeth" was fortunate; for the mental process of comparing one book with the other cannot fail to give occasion to much useful thought to members of the Establishment. In Dr. Lee's work we see a graphic picture of the triumphant seizure of all ecclesiastical and spiritual power by the Crown and State of England; and the uprooting of the Catholic Church from our country, with its doctrines, its orders, and its sacraments. In Abbé Martin's book we read an account, as it impresses a sympathetic and critical foreigner, of the uprising against State tyranny of a small fraction of the communion founded by Queen Elizabeth, a communion which for the last three centuries has lain, silent and quiescent, in the chains of her forging.

On turning from one book to the other we are tempted to rub our eyes, and ask if we are really awake. We feel, at any rate, that we understand all that Dr. Lee tells us. His history is no unique case. A proud and tyrannical sovereign rose in rebellion against God's Church, its head, its doctrines, and its discipline; and, by a persecution as cruel and relentless as that of any Roman emperor, succeeded in driving Catholics from their homes, severing priests from their flocks, and exiling bishops from their sees. For centuries Catholics lay hidden in holes and corners of the

land, not daring to own their creed, and practising their religion only at the peril of their lives ; whilst whose who had usurped their possessions and replaced their clergy as the religious teachers of England zealously fought against Catholic truth. All this is an old story ; but when viewed anew, and in the light of what Abbé Martin tells us to-day, it is certainly a curious one, or rather the position of the men of whom he writes is a curious one.

He describes and criticizes a small and energetic body of Anglicans, who, either by study, by foreign travel, or by natural prepossession, suddenly find themselves disgusted with the Protestant present, and on the strength of their own authority determine to organize a Catholic future. We seem to hear them exclaim: "Now let's all be Catholics ;" and, as they believe that to will and to be are the same thing, they proceed vehemently to denounce what exists, to extol what has vanished, and to labour heart and soul to restore what was lost.

This, of course, would be legitimate and praiseworthy work were it done on a legitimate and praiseworthy basis. Hundreds of Protestant ministers and thousands of Protestant laymen, in our day, have owned that the Reformation was the triumph of evil, have retraced the steps trodden for them by their ancestors, and have humbly returned to the fold from which, through no fault of their own, they found themselves outcasts. But so commonplace a way of "being Catholics" is far from the thoughts of those of whom Abbé Martin writes. This method, however effective, they denounce as treachery to their spiritual mother ; and they loudly condemn, as apostates and traitors, all who become Catholics after the simple old-fashioned manner. Their aim is more ambitious ; and individual conversion to the truth they object to, as interfering with this aim. A small body of Anglican clergy have decided what amount of Catholic teaching it is necessary to hold, in order to be raised to the brevet rank of "Catholic ;" and as those whom they influence grasp one truth after another, so they rise in the Catholic scale till, from being "rather," they become "very," and at length "quite Catholic." Should the whole nation eventually embrace their teaching—a result more desired than expected, even by the sanguine—their object will have been accomplished ; and although the English Church will still as a fact be a small and isolated body, energized by no divine and living spirit, she will yet in their eyes be "Catholic." Ritualists will be content with their work when England shall have embraced the whole sacramental system which is taught by the Church, and which their spiritual ancestors discarded at the Reformation. But, they seem unconscious of the fact that, were England as unanimous in accepting the true teaching touching the Seven Sacraments as she to-day is at one in rejecting it, she

would even then be no more Catholic than she is now. She would still be severed from the body of Christ; she would still be out of communion with its head; she would still have no part in the communion of saints; her orders would still be invalid; her jurisdiction would still be null and void.

Anglicans seem unconscious of the truth, that the Catholic Church is a reality as well as an idea; is a fact, and not alone a creed; and that it is by participating in and forming a portion of this entirety that we can alone become Catholic. Though, of course, revealed doctrine forms an important aspect of the Church, we must remember that she also embraces in her divine system Christian ethics, a form of government, the worship of God, orders and jurisdiction, discipline, &c., each in its turn of paramount importance to the whole; and that it is useless arbitrarily to select one aspect, and to imagine that, by submitting to this one point, we have accepted the whole system. Of this truth Dr. Lee, differing herein from the majority of Ritualists, seems to have some indistinct and faint idea. He makes an important concession when he admits that, until England is once more in union with and submissive to the Holy See, his work and that of his friends is incomplete; and we may readily grant that, were unity again restored (knowing well all that that word involves), England would once more assuredly be truly Catholic.

Dr. Lee, however, seems to have mastered this idea but partially, for he is able to look on what is, as a fact, the foundation of all truth and steadfastness in doctrine and morals as a kind of ornamental adjunct to the Anglican system, giving, indeed, a finish and completeness to the whole, but one which is not at all essential, and for which he can afford, and is even content, to wait patiently. Meanwhile, he will toil for the restoration of each isolated doctrine in detail; and when all are accepted by the Anglican body, he then hopes to crown his work by a corporate act of submission from the Established Church to our Lord's Vicar. But this, surely, is to reverse the natural order of things. Dr. Lee owns that the breach with Rome was the first act of the Reformation; and that the subsequent enormities, which he deplores apparently as much as we ourselves do, only followed as the inevitable result of this breach. But he curiously proceeds to argue, that as then it was the *first* act in the work of destruction of the sixteenth century, so now it must be the *last* act in the work of reconstruction of to-day. And he argues thus, whilst admitting the absolute necessity of this "crowning act of the Tractarian movement." The Pope's authority once discarded by England, he owns that all went wrong; but he ventures to expect a corporate revival of the true faith as a preliminary step towards, and not as a subsequent result of, the same authority being restored. This

argument we cannot but think is what is popularly known as “putting the cart before the horse.” The power of the Holy See once defied—slowly or speedily as the case may be, but without doubt surely—all the ills of which Dr. Lee complains must inevitably follow. Equally certain is it, that all Catholic truth would be instantly restored, were England once more to make its submission to the Pope. This last assertion no one can dispute. Why, then, does Dr. Lee place the necessary act of submission last in the order of time? His own form of reasoning ought to show him, that the wearisome labour of building up one isolated truth after another upon an uncertain basis would be avoided, and the much longed-for result would at once be obtained, by placing the Anglican Church in communion with the Pope as a first instead of a concluding act in the Tractarian drama.

We argue with Dr. Lee, as if he intended us to take seriously all that he writes in the Introduction to his “History of the Church under Queen Elizabeth.” But we own that we have sometimes had our doubts. We have seldom read anything more remarkable than this volume, when we consider that its author is a beneficed clergyman of the Establishment. Till now, we have felt that in argument with members of the Church of England we knew pretty well where we stood. No doubt the Ritualist party often shift their ground, and we are not always sure where we shall next find them; but with Dr. Lee we feel almost as if the tables were turned upon us. We would fain ask, in what character does he expose the Erastianism of the Establishment, and ridicule its articles, and pour scorn on its authorities? If as a Catholic, or, to be plainer still to Anglican ears, we will say a Roman Catholic, we can only agree with him. But then, what are we to say to the Vicar of All Saints', Lambeth? Is the oft-repeated calumny true after all? and to-day, all disguise being thrown off, may Anglican parsons boldly avow themselves in league with the Pope? Will Dr. Lee tell us frankly, if he believes any true difference to exist between a Roman Catholic and an Anglican? His Introduction, taken as a whole, might have been written by a Catholic, and yet its author is an Anglican clergyman. If we can agree with Dr. Lee's estimate, not only of the Reformation, but of the present position and status of the communion of which he is a member, can such an estimate be really that of one who is loyal and true to his Church, its orders and its sacraments?

We have no wish to insinuate a charge of dishonesty against Dr. Lee. The accusation, indeed, would be meaningless from our lips, for we do not pretend to understand the point where legitimate differences between members of the Establishment end, and where disloyalty begins. The boasted comprehensive-

ness of the Anglican Church appears to us to be nothing more than a criminal laxity, which allows those who affirm and those who deny the same doctrine an equal share in the good things which she has to bestow upon them all. But even to this laxity we believe there is a limit, beyond which many persons may think that Dr. Lee steps, when he pleads for the restoration of the Papal supremacy in England.

The above remarks apply mainly to the Introduction to Dr. Lee's work, and it is there that his own views are mainly set forth. In the body of the book, although his own mental bias is evident, still he deals with historical facts, which he uses chiefly to show the secular and Erastian origin of the Church of England, and the cruel and drastic persecutions by which it was forced on an unwilling people. Here again, we fail to comprehend Dr. Lee's position. Were a Broad Churchman to prove, as he does, that the origin of the Establishment was secular, to demonstrate as unfailingly the way in which the Church accepted the subordinate position assigned her and how willingly she now hugs her chains—we need feel no wonder. The Broad Church party is believed to aspire to nothing higher than to be one aspect of the State. It believes that position to be the one most in accordance with the Christian ideal of a Church; and we have no intention here of combatting that view. However curious we may think it that Christians should thus believe, a Broad Churchman would be in no way inconsistent in writing such a book as the one before us. But with Dr. Lee it is different. He knows and asserts, that if a certain set of facts be true, the Church of which he is a member and teacher is no Church at all. He knows that if she has no valid orders, she has no valid sacraments; and that where there are no valid sacraments, there can be no certainty of salvation. He knows that being in communion with the See of Peter is essential, and that without true jurisdiction the administration of some sacraments is impossible. All this he knows, and he loudly proclaims his knowledge. He then deliberately proceeds to show that the facts are true, that the orders are doubtful, and that there is no jurisdiction; but yet he leads us to infer that for some inscrutable reason it is still the duty of English men and women to risk their souls for that which is a mere creation of a dissolute and unscrupulous sovereign. Moreover, he holds that they may still receive some sacraments, not knowing whether they are a reality or a sham, and that they must dispense with others, as without jurisdiction they cannot be had. This we assert to be Dr. Lee's teaching, for he proves over and over again the secular origin of the Establishment, quotes without disapproval authorities who disallow her orders, maintains the necessity of union with the Holy See—and yet,

never advises its members to leave an heretical and Erastian body, which, considered as a Church, he must affirm to be a colossal and unmitigated imposture.

To Catholics, the history of the Elizabethan persecutions and the true nature of the Church of England are well known. Yet, Dr. Lee's book gives us much matter for thought, as it ought assuredly to give some grounds for action to all his co-religionists, who believe that a Church is something more than a mere civil department of the State. We will extract, almost at random, a few criticisms quoted by Dr. Lee which ought certainly to have a disquieting effect on logical Anglicans. The assertions can hardly be gainsaid, and the inferences which follow naturally from the facts are important. Speaking of the Anglican Church law courts, Archdeacon Palmer (in his Charge, A.D. 1879) writes:—

The cardinal fact is that the final determination of all ecclesiastical causes is vested in the Crown, and is confided to a court which the Crown has established with the consent of Parliament, and of Parliament alone, and that all other courts ecclesiastical are bound to echo its decisions. This, as I have reminded you (the Archdeacon is speaking to his clergy), has been the law and use of England for nearly three centuries and a half, if we neglect the short reign of Philip and Mary. It has been, in principle, more than once formally recognized, never formally repudiated, by the synods of the Church of England. . . . Our Church, as I have said already, has more than once synodically affirmed the supreme jurisdiction of the Crown in causes ecclesiastical; she has never synodically rejected it.

If this be so, it is surely now somewhat out of date to protest against the latest development of a principle which for 350 years has been accepted; and the following words from Mr. Wagner, of St. Paul's, Brighton (in his "Christ or Cæsar," part ii. p. 40, 1877), are meaningless from one who, so far as he is an English Churchman, is bound to, and compromised by, the Tudor settlement:—

Not one single bishop of the Province of Canterbury has, as yet, publicly protested against a claim which, if granted, would wholly efface the spiritual authority of a "bishop in the Church of God."

According to Archdeacon Palmer, the claim was advanced; and therefore the "spiritual authority" was effaced a very long time ago, which is the very point Catholics have always maintained, but which at this date seems a new idea to the Ritualists. Turning to an honoured correspondent of the High Church organ, the *Guardian* (in the number for Sept. 10th, 1879), Mr. F. H. Dickenson, we read that:—

Any one who has watched the Church of England during the past

forty years must see that our faith and doctrine have largely altered ; and there is no reason to think that alteration has ceased.

And again, Dr. Lee himself says :—

The one Church of God is alone divine, all local and national churches being essentially human.

Ought Ritualists to remain quietly and patiently in a communion of which such statements can truly be made ?

We can anticipate their answer. They will tell us that they have no intention of remaining either quiet or patient ; but that they intend to work and agitate until the facts of the Establishment correspond better with their ideal of a Church ; until they have reformed and transformed a Protestant and local **sect** into a Catholic Church. Here, however, we may retort, that **merely to entertain** such a hope is fresh evidence, where none was needed, that the Ritualistic party have not yet grasped even the elementary idea of a Church, in the Catholic meaning of the word. They use it in a **different sense** to that which it bears to Catholic ears ; and this difference is **sufficiently important** to merit a few remarks.

We fear that even a High Churchman is powerless to master the truth contained in the article of the Creed, “ I believe in the Catholic Church.” He will tell us, that he believes in the Catholic Church ; but we have only to test his belief by a question, and we soon discover that his meaning is, “ I believe in the *doctrines* of the Catholic Church,” which is a very different thing. He reads the teaching of antiquity and the Holy Scriptures by the light of his own private judgment ; and, agreeing with all that he reads, he considers himself a Catholic. He is conscious that the communion to which he belongs has strayed far from this teaching ; so he sets to work (sadly hampered, indeed, by the *formularies* to which he has bound himself) to bring back a selected portion of Catholic doctrine into his own teaching. His selection is somewhat arbitrary ; and his position of instructor to his own Church is entirely anomalous. But, he aspires to no more than to bring all whom he can influence into agreement with himself. He has no idea that, to Catholics, a scheme for reforming the Church would be as meaningless as one for reforming the Bible ; and that a plan for restoring “ Church teaching ” would be a simple absurdity. Of the true belief in the Church as a living and a teaching body, energized by God the Holy Ghost, the High Churchman is not only himself devoid, but he seems incapable of understanding us Catholics, when we tell him of our faith in the Church. The remarks which were made on the unanimous submission of the small minority of Bishops at the Vatican Council to its ultimate definitions, were evidence of the inability

of the average Anglican to realize the force of a true spiritual power—a power which forces us willingly to bow our judgment to that of the Church when she distinctly defines a matter of faith or morals. It is difficult, no doubt, for an Anglican to think of a Church; otherwise than as an organized society which teaches the truth; and the more truth this organization teaches, the nearer to his ideal of a Church does it approach. As to what is the truth, in the case of many individual doctrines, a High Churchman agrees with the Church, and not with the Reformers who are responsible for the present doctrinal basis of the Establishment. But granted he was one with the Church in every Catholic doctrine, there would yet remain the all-important fact, that he did not believe in the Church as a Church; but that he believed in the doctrines not simply and solely because the Church taught them, but because from other sources he had reason to think that they were true. Indeed, we have cause to suspect that some Anglicans go further. We suspect that some are even received into the Church because they find her teaching identical with that which they believe to be true; instead of reversing the order of the argument, and believing in the Church first, and then accepting the truth because she teaches it. Although, once safely within the fold and enjoying the means of grace there alone to be found, a true faith may succeed a true opinion, yet we believe that the few cases of melancholy relapse into heresy and schism which we occasionally witness may often be due to the fact, that the apostate had thus reversed the manner of receiving the truth. These unsatisfactory converts are not so much renegades, as men who have never been Catholics. They called themselves Catholics, it is true; and others believed them to be Catholics; and they may not necessarily have been in bad faith. They were merely ignorant of the essential meaning of the word. They might even argue (so difficult is it to eradicate the peculiarly English idea of believing in doctrines, rather than in the authority which imposes them) that when they were received into the Church—say in 1850—they were Catholics; but that they never meant to believe in the Immaculate Conception nor in Papal Infallibility, and that it was the Church that had changed and not they. But such a line of argument only proves that such persons had never believed in the teaching power of the Church, and were simply unfit subjects for reception into the fold. No one can be a Catholic but he who believes in the ever-living power of God's Church to teach and to define. He must believe not alone in what she taught yesterday, but also in what she teaches to-day, and in what she will teach to-morrow. This is the meaning of being a Catholic; and it is a mere contradiction of terms to call a man a Catholic, and then allow him to

doubt, even on one point, the Church's teaching. If the Church's voice be God's voice, every word that she utters is equally true with every other word ; and if you cannot believe that her voice is God's voice, then you simply are not a Catholic.

That Anglicans never believe in the teaching power of the Established Church is evident ; and the peculiar history of their formularies makes it impossible for them to place any confidence in this aspect of the ecclesiastical body to which they belong. The changes alone which have avowedly taken place from truth to heresy, and back again (as they believe) to truth, are the cause of the impossibility. We have ourselves been told by a very advanced High Churchman that, at one period of its history, what is known to Anglicans as the "black rubric" in their Communion Office was distinctly heretical ; but that now, thank God, although its still halting and hesitating language was liable to be misunderstood, he could accept it as orthodox. The clergyman in question evidently did not realize that, by such a frank admission, he upset his hearer's, if not his own, confidence in the teaching power of the Church of England. Never rising to a belief in the Church because she was the Church, he thought that all was well if at present the Anglican Church were orthodox. He did not realize that if once, no matter for how short a time, her formularies were teaching a lie, she could never again be confided in as God's Church. Can the Holy Ghost speak with faltering lips ? Can He utter falsehood to-day, and to-morrow correct Himself?

Dr. Lee tells us that the Establishment is a "community founded on the principle of reform (and) is of course ever liable to reform." The Church of God, on the contrary, was founded by our Divine Lord, and lives by the breath of His Holy Spirit ; and he must be a bold man who dares mention the word "reform" in connection with His revealed scheme for the guidance of the world. A bitter Ritualistic opponent of the Church has given as one reason for his remaining in the Anglican communion, that were he a Catholic he would not be allowed to attempt the "reform" of the Church ; whilst he hopes by remaining where he is to "reform" the Establishment from heresy into orthodoxy. If such are to be his hopes in joining the Church he is wise to refrain. Indeed, let him wish it as sincerely as he may, with such views it would be impossible for him to be a Catholic. Until he realizes that he must *submit* to the Catholic Church ; and that God's work requires no "reforming," nor indeed is capable of being "reformed" by man, he had far better remain in the "community founded on the principle of reform."

Dr. Lee's history is deeply interesting, and may be found useful

by Catholics in controversy with ordinary Protestants as affording evidence from the hostile camp, and from an office-bearer in that camp, of the truth of much that we have always maintained. Yet, we turn with relief from the uncertain ground of Catholic and historical truth taught by a Protestant, and therefore an inconsistent person, to Abbé Martin's straightforward account of a foreigner's impression of the Ritualistic movement. Here at least we know where we are ; and, after wandering in the fog in which Dr. Lee leaves us, we feel as if we once more stood in open daylight, and need fear no ambush, nor distrust the plain evidence of our senses.

Although in the main agreeing with Abbé Martin's estimate of Ritualism, we believe that he attaches more importance to the movement than it deserves. He seems somewhat to exaggerate its extent and influence, and to be unaware of the considerable effect which the Public Worship Regulation Act has had in a three-fold direction. It has lessened the number of churches in which (to use the somewhat ill-natured but expressive words of a prominent statesman) "Mass in masquerade" is performed. It has diminished the details of such masquerading in churches where the imitation of Catholic worship has been maintained. And it has localized the imitation and prevented it from spreading. Such exaggeration, however, is easily explained : in the first place by the fact that Ritualism is much more quietly snuffed out in the majority of cases than it is introduced ; and secondly, from the authorities which Abbé Martin quotes, we believe that he must carefully study a portion of the lower and least reputable class of the English Church press, than which it would be difficult to find a more untrustworthy guide to truth. Ambiguous, if not false statements in the case of crushing defeats from the field of battle are common ; but many of the despatches in these journals, where a specially severe legal catastrophe is usually described as a "complete success all along the line," are even less to be relied on. The tone of "never say die" with which disasters are met may, indeed, denote a high spirit ; but it is hardly a practical one when applied to a body already dead ; utterly dead as to principle ; and fast dying as a consistent fact.

The Abbé Martin's mistake, therefore, touching the extent of Ritualism, is easily understood. It is difficult, even for an Englishman, whilst living in the midst of the din and strife of parties to realize the extent and power of the different religious schools. But for a foreigner, who cannot easily understand what it is that most deeply arouses popular fury, and makes the object of it suddenly notorious, it is only not impossible to estimate their respective numbers, influence, and strength. If but one church, with a thousand sympathizers, had done as much as

St. Albans' Church, Holborn, did some fifteen years ago—namely, suddenly metamorphose the quiet Anglican communion office into a grand ceremonial service, with nearly every accessory of High Mass, candles, vestments, and incense, in external ritual, and with *Confiteor*, *Agnus Dei*, and Last Gospel from the Missal added liturgically—would not the spectacle naturally cause observation and alarm, quite out of proportion to its intrinsic importance? The ninety-nine righteous clergymen naturally escape notice, whilst public attention is exclusively centred on the hundredth who is the exception. Supposing even a single company of one regiment of our army were to change its uniform, drill, and regulations, and, although all the superior authorities should declare such conduct mutinous, were still to maintain that they alone understood military law and Horse Guard regulations, and to hold on to their position in the army in spite of courts martial and universal condemnation—would not such a spectacle be more noteworthy and cause more sensation than the regular and obedient behaviour of the rest of our forces? The two cases are somewhat analogous. The fact of a beneficed clergyman defying his bishop, ignoring every legal decision, and finally spending some weeks in prison, is luckily so rare as to be what we may call a noisy fact, making more stir than in itself it is worth. When, too, we consider that the novelties introduced into the English services are close imitations of the one religion the mere existence of which John Bull resents, we need not wonder that the opposition which Ritualism has aroused is out of all proportion to its importance. The average Briton, who is no close reasoner, sees a function which he can hardly distinguish from a Catholic Mass; perhaps he studies the books which are used by Ritualists,* where he discovers much or nearly all in the Missal that was rejected by the Reformers carefully dovetailed back into the Book of Common Prayer; and he certainly knows that many thousands who once used these or similar books, and who either performed or assisted at these services, now swell the ranks of the detested faith. In the face of these facts, is it surprising, we ask, that he vehemently and loudly denounces the foe he has discovered in his own household?

We believe that Ritualism is more important when viewed in relation to the opposition it has aroused, and in the effects of this opposition, than in any other aspect. What Ritualists assert to be, though they are not, radical changes in the constitution of the English Church, have been made in order to ease the work of its suppression. Anglican bishops have sacrificed whatever jurisdiction remained to them; and have handed over to

* "The Priest to the Altar," and "The Ritual of the Altar."

a layman what they originally received from the Crown. Any shadow of spiritual power, therefore, which may have been left to the Establishment has now vanished, equally with the substance which Dr. Lee proves to have been already destroyed by Queen Elizabeth. It is in vain that, now the work is done, Ritualists expostulate, protest, and are imprisoned. They do all they can to affirm that they are in no way concerned, or compromised, by the results of the Public Worship Regulation Act; but the fact remains, that it was they and they alone who provoked it; that their bishops proposed it; and that the immense majority of their co-religionists acquiesce in it. It is but one more example of the danger of setting a ball rolling when we are powerless to direct its course. Had High Churchmen, or rather, we ought to say, had extreme Ritualists, for we are conscious of the difference between the two, been well advised they would have refrained from daring the English nation with the startling innovations which were introduced some years ago. For a small and unpopular minority to exasperate the majority, is as foolish as the conduct of a man would be, who, shut up alone with an angry bull, should further enrage him by waving a red flag in his face. His one object ought to be, to escape the animal's notice. If the Ritualists realized the temper of Protestant England, they ought to have avoided arousing it into activity. Whilst you hold your opinions quietly, none are concerned to deny them; but once flaunt them in the face of the public, and they are either accepted or means are taken to prevent you from spreading them. We are not, be it understood, defending those who are silent, because if they spoke, an authority which they ought to respect would suppress them. The whole position of Ritualists, granting that they are honest men, is one which it is impossible for an outsider to comprehend. But, arguing as best we can from their position, we think it was either ignorance or folly which could have induced them to cast the die, "to win or lose it all." They ought to have known that, in the then temper of the people, they could not win. They might have anticipated defeat, though its crushing nature may legitimately have surprised them; for that Anglican bishops should themselves help still further to secularize their Church was a remarkable and unexpected phenomenon.

The scandal of the complete secularizing of the Anglican Ecclesiastical law courts has had, in the eyes of Ritualists, one counterbalancing advantage: they consider that it has absolved them from the duty of obeying any authority whatsoever. Bishop's requests and Crown mandates, judgments in the Court of Arches, or orders from the Privy Council, they only now discover, come to them tainted by the secular touch of Parliament, and are therefore to be treated as so much waste paper. To men

in their present temper, the delights of conscientious disobedience are considerable ; and that no spiritual authority worthy of their respect should exist is a matter of congratulation. This does not, of course, apply to high-minded men like Dr. Liddon. He has frankly told us what authority would bind his conscience ; and that were such an authority to be created and to decide after a manner which he could not accept, he should know where he was, and that the Establishment was no place for him. But from Ritualists his proposal has met with nothing but contempt. He is ridiculed as childishly unsuspicious and absurdly innocent, in avowing a willingness to forge powers which will only be wielded against himself. The real temper of the party is, we fear, more truly depicted in a letter in the acknowledged organ of the Ritualists, where we read :

I trust we shall in no way attempt to help the authors of the Public Worship Regulation Act out of their scrape ; and especially that we shall abstain from pledging ourselves to accept the decisions on questions of doctrine or ceremonial of bishops, convocations, or courts spiritual. . . . Till disruption shall separate the Church Catholic from the Establishment, we are best with courts *which we can conscientiously disobey.* (*Church Times* of January 29th. The italics are our own).

The intense dislike which Ritualists feel for the virtue of obedience extends even beyond themselves. They object that others (with whom they assuredly have no need to concern themselves) should loyally and cheerfully obey their bishops. Cardinal Bonnechose's simple, though, to Catholic ears, satisfactory, words : " My clergy is a regiment ; when I say ' March,' it marches," were met by an outcry ; and even at this date are repeated with scorn and derision by Ritualists. Would the truth as spoken by an Anglican bishop be more consistent with the primitive teaching to which they are fond of appealing ? " My clergy is a very ill-disciplined regiment ; indeed, I would not insult the army by comparing it with one. When I say ' March,' a few advance, some go back, many halt, most argue, and all abuse me." If ready obedience gives so much offence, can the system of each of the clergy taking his own line be considered more satisfactory ?

Considering the harm arising from the constant conflict of parties in the Establishment, and the absolute waste of time, temper, and money which they cause, we should sincerely welcome the advent of a modern Elijah, who, were he to thunder forth the much-needed question : " Why halt ye between two opinions," might hope to bring the disputants to abide by some definite issue. Some years ago, we hoped much from the law courts, for the English Church Union definitely stated that their decisions would be final to those whom it represented. But,

from subsequent events, we fear these promising words only meant that should the law be found favourable to their views and practices, it would meet with all respect from Ritualists ; for each fresh legal decision has only been a fresh departure into disorder and chaos. It is well for a Broad Churchman that Anglican principles should be vague and undetermined ; uncertainty being the atmosphere in which he breathes most freely. But for the party of dogma, it is surely essential that the body to which they belong should speak with unfaltering lips.

We believe, however, that the High Church disputants would never venture to ascend Mount Carmel with those from whom they differ. Elijah would entreat in vain ; for they have no strong faith that it would be their sacrifice, and not that of their hated rival, which would be consumed by fire from Heaven. They are secretly afraid to face facts, to go to the root of the matter, and let the body to which they belong settle, once for all, what is right and who is wrong. Indeed, on no side can they turn with trusting assurance. A High Churchman is afraid frankly to ask his Church clearly to define her teaching ; for he has no confidence but that she may define heresy. He is afraid to face history ; for it tells him that his Church is the creation of a secular sovereign. He is afraid to face his Prayer-Book ; for it is silent on much that he cherishes as important. He is afraid to face Convocation ; for it would condemn him : or his bishop ; for he must either disobey him, or cease to be what he is. And lastly, he is afraid to face antiquity ; for there the man whom he once was proud to follow and still reveres found that which he little went to seek, perhaps little hoped to find ; found one grand solid fact—one fact which, let him turn to the right or let him turn to the left, still met him ; one fact which the more persistently he tried to ignore it the more certainly was it ever present—the Rock of Peter founded by our Lord.

The dread of some day having to face this fact can never be wholly absent from a Ritualist's mind. The great man who originated the party has led the way to a very certain goal ; and many Anglicans, we are convinced, are afraid fairly to face their position, lest they should be compelled to follow him. They dare not pause to *think* ; but turn, as a relief, to active work in degraded towns, or even to trumpery suits in law courts which divert the mind from the main question.

We, who can afford to accept the simple straightforward teaching of our religion, who fear to investigate nothing, for the fuller our knowledge the more consistently, with Divine consistency, does the Church's teaching shine above the wrangling of sects and the divisions of parties—we must curb any

impatience we may be tempted to feel at the spectacle of these men, who seem ever approaching the truth, yet never embrace it. We must endeavour to realize the force of early prepossessions, and the difficulty of disregarding the prejudices of childhood ; for these prevent many Englishmen from carrying the reasoning and logic which have led them to accept a portion of the teaching of the Church, to the natural conclusion of accepting the whole. The corruption of the Catholic Church and the purity of the Anglican Church were, fifty years ago, evident to the most ignorant of Englishmen ; so evident, as to put the question outside practical argument. Life is not long enough to prove the falsity of every possible system. In discussion, it is necessary that the disputants should start from some common ground ; and this ground the various parties in the Establishment found in the belief that, whatever else might be true, the Catholic Church was false. We are, therefore, now dealing with men whose education has given a twist to their intelligence, and has moulded their mind into a form in which a change alone could be effected by a more disinterested love of truth and a greater energy in embracing it than all men possess. If they see that a line of argument would lead to the Church, even though they can detect no fault in it, they suspect that somewhere it must be defective. The one fact of which their education has assured them, the one falsehood which they imbibed with their mother's milk, is that the Church of Rome is untrustworthy. If, therefore, in disputes with their co-religionists a theory can be shown to point to Rome, it must either be abandoned, or, what more usually happens, its logical conclusions must be defied. This may be one explanation of the many inconsistencies and the shiftings of their position to which we see Ritualists continually reduced. Logic *may* be faulty, but Rome *must* be wrong. Therefore, when it leads to Rome logic is sacrificed.

A small obstacle, if placed sufficiently near the eye, will obscure the full splendour of the mid-day sun ; and an early prejudice, false in its teaching and contemptible in its origin, may prevent the truth from being allowed fair play. It is true that Abbé Martin recognizes the power of the "great Protestant tradition," and admits that it keeps many Anglicans in their untenable position, but we believe this influence to be even greater than any foreigner can realize. The want of logic in their teaching and the absence of consistency in their actions are mainly responsible for the irritation which all outside the party feel with the Ritualists. If, however, they mean to remain in the Establishment, it is as much their misfortune as their fault that they cannot face the logic of facts.

This would simply destroy the party, which would then be driven either to "return into its house," its state seven times worse than when it went forth; or it must be reconciled, in the one true fold, to our Lord's representative. In either case, this offshoot of the High Church school would cease to exist, as the nobler and more intelligent Tractarian party itself practically ceased to exist thirty years ago. If logical, the action of the Ritualists must be suicidal.

Abbé Martin seems to think that the Ritualistic party may eventually be strong enough to destroy the Establishment: that, Samson-like, it will bring the whole fabric of the Anglican body about its ears. He distinguishes between the Church and the Establishment in a manner which we believe Cardinal Newman has already shown to be impossible; and he thinks that, even yet, the *Church* may be strong enough to bring the *Establishment* to "Canossa." We fail to see this possibility, because we fail to see any "Canossa" in the most distant future. We fail to see it in the past (since England cut herself adrift from Rome), and we fail to-day to see the embryo of any power which might in the future be developed into a spiritual fortress. To create a *quasi-Canossa* is, we suppose, possible for a sect, but hardly on a Catholic basis. For here our Lord has been beforehand with His children, and eighteen hundred years ago founded and energized with His eternal spiritual power the Rock which hurled itself so effectively against the greatest temporal power of its day, the proud German Empire of the Middle Ages. But where in England do we see the germ of any power which could be used, and win the day against the State? A flock must be led by a shepherd; and it is the cry of all Anglicans that it is by their shepherds that they are most deeply betrayed. No: we have but to turn from Abbé Martin to Dr. Lee to see that a victory after the type of Canossa is impossible. Water cannot rise above its source; nor can a religion born in and nurtured by Erastianism be subsequently developed, merely by the zeal and good faith of its members, into a spiritual body. As we sow, so must we reap. The Church of England accepted the subordinate position assigned her three hundred years ago by Queen Elizabeth. Nor has she ever raised a protest against it. Convocation has of late years met freely; and Anglican synods can make their voice heard on matters touching which they feel teaching or reproof to be needed. But when the cardinal fact of all—the royal supremacy—is broached, we listen in vain for protest or remonstrance. In supposing, then, that Ritualism will ever be strong enough to destroy the Establishment, we see a further instance of the amiable manner in which Abbé Martin exaggerates the importance of the sect of which he writes. All must own that never was religious controversy more courteously conducted

than in this volume ; and the Abbé refrains even from hinting at the fact, which though painful to those concerned, is nevertheless true, that, except as a disturbing influence, Ritualism is not less nationally than ecclesiastically insignificant.

Beside the changes in the legal aspect of the Establishment which it has brought about, we see another indirect influence of Ritualism in the perhaps unintentional impetus which it has given to Rationalism. We now find one stronghold of the Latitudinarian principle—namely, that dogma is unimportant—in the midst of the party of authority, of that High Church party which sprung into fresh life fifty years ago, for the express purpose of fighting Liberalism. We do not here allude to the melancholy fact which Cardinal Newman tells us distressed him so much. We are not now thinking of those who had followed him through his early reasoning and were Anglicans, but who, when their leader discovered that he had but been building on the sand, drew back, and, refusing to follow him to the house founded on a rock, joined the Liberal camp. Nor again, do we wish here to draw attention to those of whom Mr. Froude has lately written : the men who were set *thinking* by the Tractarian movement. Amongst these were many in whom all traditional belief was uprooted as a result of such thought ; and, paradoxical as it may sound, Cardinal Newman's influence affected as powerfully those who in the event became sceptics as those who became Catholics. He showed that there were two, and only two, logical lines of thought, the reasoning which led to Rome, and the reasoning which led to the denial of all revelation ; and those who refused to accept the first were, if consistent men, of necessity driven to accept the second alternative.

It is not, however, in deep thinkers who may deny all religion, or in philosophers who question all faith, that we to-day see the most noteworthy, if the less respectable, advocates of differences in belief, and of the unimportance of unity in doctrine. You can now rarely take up a Ritualistic organ without being struck by—to use an expressive idiom—the “give and take” tone of its arguments. The party that once fought for the true doctrine of Baptism and for the inspiration of Holy Scripture, are now content to remain in union with those who deny both. Indeed, they absolutely boast of the diversity of opinion allowable in their communion, and endeavour to prove that there are great advantages in belonging to a body which can find room within its fold for High, Low, and Broad Churchmen. High Churchmen, in virtue of their newly-developed Liberalism, will even admit that from both the other Anglican schools of thought they may learn much ; in other words, that from those who end by disbelieving in all sacramental grace and from those who end by

denying the Incarnation, the men who confess both truths may profitably be instructed. It will not avail to argue that these differences are merely various views of the same doctrine, the two sides of one shield ; for they are too great. The assertion and the denial of the same fact can hardly be looked on as a trifling divergence of opinion. If a High Churchman's teaching is right, then that of a Low Churchman must be wrong ; and we fail to see that truth can profitably learn from falsehood. The plea for mutual toleration now advanced by High Churchmen would, if freely granted, merely assist the third party in the Establishment —the party which holds that dogma is unimportant and that absolute truth has not been revealed to us ; the party which is ready to defend every form of belief or of unbelief so long as the Establishment is maintained. Indeed, the way in which Anglicans have lately played into the hands of Broad Churchmen has already met with a measure of reward in the sympathy bestowed on the former by a portion of the Liberal press. Whether such sympathy from the organ which advocated the opinions of Colenso and of "Essays and Reviews," and which frankly tells us that were either Low or Broad Church parties ever reduced to the straits in which the High Church party now finds itself placed it would warmly advocate their cause ; whether sympathy on such terms ought to be entirely satisfactory to staunch advocates of dogma and authority, we leave others to determine.

We fear there is some truth in the assertion, that a small but determined body of men care more for their own individual crotchetts, than they care for the truth. They care more for the liberty to do as they like, than they care that heresy should be curbed ; and their only chance of obtaining this liberty is in a law of toleration applied all round. If they are allowed to wear a vestment, they must condone in others the denial of miracles or the evasion of the Athanasian Creed. If they are allowed to "celebrate High Mass," they must abide contentedly in communion with the clergyman who thinks and preaches that it is an "anachronism" to attach vital importance to the doctrine of the Incarnation. Instead of advanced High Churchmen being ready to fight to the death for the small remnant of faith which is left them, they will barter it away for that miserable mess of pottage, the liberty to have an effective and ornate ceremonial. In return for external beauty in their Communion Service, they make it their boast that they have no wish to interfere with those who deny the elementary and cardinal doctrines of Christianity. Can any conduct be more truly Latitudinarian, however indignantly those concerned may reject the word ? They are no longer anxious to fight error ; all they ask is, that they may be let alone. For this gain they will now agree to leave others unmoved.

lested. Liberalism could hardly have won a more significant victory than thus to see its chief enemy in the Establishment change his front. Is it too much to assert that in principle the difference between Rationalism and Ritualism has now vanished? Although as to degree the difference may still be great, it is now a mere question of degree and no longer one of kind.

Besides the Ritualistic opponents whom Abbé Martin successfully discomfits, he is attacked by another Protestant controversialist; by a man of an altogether different calibre to those who are convulsing the Establishment for the externals of worship. Mr. Gladstone, unfortunately, seems to have thought that the additional time, which some years ago he told us he was about to devote to religion, would be well spent in attacking God's Church. And he took occasion to continue his adverse criticism of the truth in connection with some of Abbé Martin's writings.

It is only the old cry that Mr. Gladstone raises against the Church, and which Abbé Martin once more proves to be a condition of all revealed religion whatsoever; the true but hackneyed assertion that Catholicism, being a religion of authority, is incompatible with liberty of thought. Although we admit that in the Church alone is authority exercised after a logical and consistent fashion, we may confidently ask Mr. Gladstone to point to any phase of the Christian religion which is founded on free thought. He tells us: "The spirit of the Christian religion such as he (Mr. Gladstone) professes it, is undoubtedly a spirit of examination." If Mr. Gladstone really means what he says, we can only answer that, in that case, his religion has little in common with the faith as revealed by our Lord and preached by his Apostles. Does Mr. Gladstone really wish us to think that he *examined* the different articles of the Creed before he believed them? that he *examined* the mysteries of the Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation before he accepted them? or even, that he thinks these dogmas fit topics for "examination?" Although all Catholics must differ radically from Mr. Gladstone, and must deeply resent his passionate and unjust attack on the Church; yet we do not think so ill of him as to believe that he intends us so to understand him. We believe that he, like all sincere Anglicans, has a real faith in the cardinal mysteries of Christianity; for, as we have said, many an Anglican can rise to the level of the true faith in individual doctrines, though he accepts them on a false principle, and fails to have a true faith in the Church that imposes them. In point of fact, however, we cannot, at the same time, both believe and examine. By a law of human nature, the state of mind which the

two words denote, cannot co-exist and be exercised by us touching the same subject and at the same time. They are self-contradictory. Does Mr. Gladstone mean, that whilst devotionally he is adoring the Holy Trinity he is intellectually examining the truth as to the existence of God? We feel confident that he would start from so blasphemous a suggestion with horror equal to our own. Yet, he finds fault with Catholics for not venturing to examine doctrines which to them are of equal importance. We will take one example—and it shall be the doctrine touching which the Catholic Church differs most deeply from Anglicanism, yet one which enters more closely into our daily devotional life than any other point of difference—namely, our Eucharistic doctrine. We suppose the “spirit of examination” would lead us to argue somewhat as follows: “I must examine this doctrine of the Mass before I can believe it; yet, I cannot sacrifice all my religion for this end. In the morning, therefore, I will adore my God present on the altar; and during the day it shall be my study to examine if He really were present. I will receive Him with devotion in communion at Church; and then, in my study, I will settle whether or not I believe that He truly gave Himself to me. When I have carefully compared St. Thomas with the Fathers, and seen the Mass of to-day side by side with the primitive Liturgies, I shall decide what is to be the permanent temper of my mind, whether I have been misled by a ‘blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit,’ or whether I may allow my devotion to flow on in the current in which it has ever flowed.” Stated thus, does not Mr. Gladstone’s principle of “examination” reduce both the spirit of religion and the spirit of inquiry to an absurdity?

Let Mr. Gladstone grant us but one doctrine which we must reverence, and he at once destroys his own case. The question between us then, as Abbé Martin says, becomes only one of degree. If he allows us to have faith in any revelation at all, then we, with every human being, whether Catholic or Protestant, must answer, that where we believe we cannot examine. Examination presupposes doubt; and faith and doubt cannot co-exist together, they are mutually destructive in intelligences constituted as ours are constituted. When, then, he complains that we Catholics do not examine, he really complains of Almighty God, who has so created us that we cannot believe in Him as He would have us believe; and yet, examine our religion critically as Mr. Gladstone would have us examine. His objection, though consistent with Rationalism, is meaningless from one who is prepared to take any revealed doctrine at all on faith.

We willingly admit that a great number of doctrines which Protestants consider fit subjects for examination, are in the Church

matters of faith ; but such narrowing of the subjects, concerning which doubt is admissible, is a mere matter of detail. The Church's principle is distinct and definite. She draws out her complete scheme for the true faith and salvation of her children, and slowly, yet surely, decides the truth concerning all the fresh difficulties and questions which, in the ever active working of the human mind, are sure in the course of ages to arise. Of her teaching, Anglicans, after a somewhat arbitrary manner, select a portion, and the rest they either denounce, or consider as a fit subject for differences amongst themselves. The results of this manner of manufacturing theology are sometimes remarkable ; to take but one example, in the English Church we see the belief in the tremendous mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation forced on her members on pain of "perishing everlasting," only to discover on further investigation, that the very existence of the everlasting punishment with which they are threatened is a matter touching which doubt is admissible. Were the matter less serious, we should be tempted to call a system in which such contradictions can occur a simple absurdity.

The truth is, that a church which encourages its children to examine and prove doctrines for themselves, abdicates one of its chief functions in favour of the private judgment of its members. If it bids you examine and judge what it teaches, it cannot justly complain should you disbelieve and cease to reverence its teaching. The fact of making dogma a subject of examination makes it a subject of doubt, and removes it from the region of faith and devotion to that of reason. That Mr. Gladstone's objection should be made by a religious Anglican, and by a man of his intellectual power, is a striking instance of the inconsistency and the want of grasp of first principles which are inevitable in those who set themselves to defend a position which is logically untenable.

ART. VII.—THE GENIUS OF GEORGE ELIOT.

The Works of George Eliot. In Twenty Volumes. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1880.

GEORGE ELIOT is dead. She rests where the memory of mystic, contemplative Coleridge lingers still, in Highgate Cemetery. But the earth that lies upon her is counted profane, and she was buried without Christian burial. Some day, perhaps, when the new religion of despair has made her grave a place of pilgrimage, a line from Petrarcha will serve to mark it

out, and to perpetuate her creed touching the soul ;—such a sad line as this :

Quel foco è morto, e'l copre un picciol marmo.

For however the spirit be quenched, this rare woman will not rest in a tomb unvisited, like the tomb of that Dorothea, writing whose story George Eliot so mournfully wept over her own. Her forward-looking glance must have beheld in prospect, if nothing more divine, yet still the meed of immortal renown wherewith Epicurean Horace might comfort his vanity. And, before her time, she has gone through the strait and dreadful gate of death to join the choir invisible that peopled her heaven ; though not their brightest invention can make the gladness of an unbelieving world. Not a glorious exchange for her long-lost faith in Christ ; but it is all she desired to win, so far as we have been told. She would seem to have lived without God in the world, “a vacuum at the centre of her faith :” did she die as one that has no hope ? But she has become a great English classic, and ages hence her genius will be admired. She may even be set in the calendar on her birthday, and canonized as Shakspeare is now : she may elicit from many reverence almost equal to his. And all the while she will be lying in the unconsecrated ground at Highgate Cemetery—a pitiable thought !

What she has written of her great hero Savonarola, whom she was held to resemble in cast of features as in texture of mind, is true enough concerning George Eliot herself.* “Seldom,” indeed, “have the mysteries of human character been presented in a way so likely to confound our facile knowingness.” But all the regard she may claim, and justly, must not turn away our eyes from simple fact. During the twenty years of her celebrity she was pitied no less than she was wondered at. And the manner of her leaving life can but deepen our regret that malign in-

* Grace Greenwood says : “ She impressed me at first as exceedingly plain, with the massive character of her features, her aggressive jaw, and evasive blue eyes. But as she grew interested and earnest in conversation, a great light flashed over or out of her face, till it seemed transfigured, while the sweetness of her rare smile was something quite indescribable. But Miss Evans seemed to me to the last lofty and cold. I felt that her head was among the stars—the stars of a winter night.” Compare George Eliot’s description of Savonarola—a reflected but conscious rendering of her own appearance : “ In the act of bending, the cowl was pushed back, and the features of the monk had the full light of the tapers on them. They were very marked features, such as lend themselves to popular description. There was the high-arched nose, the prominent under lip, the coronet of thick dark hair above the brow, all seeming to tell of energy and passion ; there were the blue-grey eyes, shining mildly under auburn eyelashes, seeming, like the hands, to tell of acute sensitiveness.”—*Romola*, chap. xv.

fluences should have so wrought upon a noble woman, who was likewise, in her own sphere, a supreme writer.

For, we suppose, there is now no critic, not even Mr. Swinburne, who would refuse to allow her fine qualities. The world at large has recognized in the author of "Adam Bede" and "The Mill on the Floss" an artist who may rank with immortals, a genius creative of single characters filled with breathing energy and of living groups as real as they are original. But not an artist only. Her mind was wide enough to contain philosophies; and if calm deliberate thought somewhat tempers her creating flame, it gives distinction too. It arouses a complex interest in the reader, it stirs a deeper chord than the mere story-teller could hope to reach. And it reveals a soul very strangely and subtilely mixed, "struggling amidst the conditions of an imperfect social state, in which great feelings will often take the aspect of error, and great faith the aspect of delusion."

To feel strongly, with a certain quick and as it were passionate response to outward solicitations, is the material essence, not of all high genius, but of an artist's. And to express feeling in such beautiful or sublime or humorous forms as may strike the sense with admiration, overwhelm it with awe and astonishment, move it to uncontrollable pity or scorn or laughter, is the aim of an artist's working, whether in colour, or in light and shade, or in marble, or in speech, or in song. George Eliot's depth of feeling was so great that it sometimes marred the proportion and beauty of her stories by giving them an excessive painfulness. "The Spanish Gipsy," for example, is a book where suffering is overcharged until it becomes almost intolerable, and affects not so much the heart as the nerves. Whenever she chooses to call up her knowledge of life, George Eliot can depict the passions like one who has endured them in every pulse and vein. She has a clear memory, not of the sharp strokes alone that love and envy, ambition, sadness, or disappointment strike upon the soul, but of the light uncertain touches whereby most men are coaxed into a shape they would not choose. Her insight, that seems to leave no chamber of the heart unexplored, springs from her own susceptibility, and is sympathy before it is intuition. Hence the living strength of her characters amid the multitude of wire-hung puppets that romance-writers are perpetually dancing up and down before us. It is true she has, once and again, mistaken an artificial creature for a creation of art: Daniel Deronda is perhaps a thing all leather and prunella, "a wax-doll" in the disparaging critic's dialect. But the test of life in a world evoked by the imagination, is that its personages shall move us to feel as if they were flesh and spirit, worthy to be loved or wept over, and akin, as we are ourselves, to the soul of

things good and evil. Surely this is what we feel when Dinah Morris, the pale Methodist saint, is standing under leafy boughs that screen her from the descending sun, her hands lightly crossed before her, the grey, simple, loving eyes turned on the people whom she is telling of the Divine love and their need of it, her mellow voice the while rising and falling with the varying emotions that make her village sermon a drama. Or, when we are taken into the dairy at Hall Farm, to admire its coolness and purity, its fresh fragrance of new-pressed cheese, of firm butter, of wooden vessels perpetually bathed in pure water; its soft colouring of red earthenware and creamy surfaces, brown wood and polished tin, grey limestone and rich orange-red rust on the iron weights, and hooks, and hinges—and, beautiful enough to make us forget all these charms of a Loamshire idyll, the distracting, kitten-like maiden, Hetty Sorrel, with her spring-tide loveliness and her false air of star-browed innocence. Or, as we watch her tripping along the avenue of limes and beeches, where the golden light is lingering among the upper boughs, only glancing down here and there on the purple pathway and its edge of faintly-sprinkled moss—watch her moving joyously to meet an awful doom disguised in the form of young love and Arthur Donnithorne. Or, as the fern-tufted, sunlit Chase changes to darkling fields, and Hetty wanders over them in search of a pool whose wintry depths may hide her, yet loiters, when she has found it between the bending trees, and does not hurry, because there is all the night to drown herself in. Or, shifting the scene to Florence, when Piero di Cosimo shows us in the sketch Tito Melema, with his right hand uplifted, holding a wine-cup in the attitude of triumphant joy, but his face turned away from the cup, and intense fear in the dilated eyes and pallid lips, as though a cold stream were running in his veins, whilst fierce old Baldassarre is clutching the velvet-clad arm of the fair young traitor that has forsaken him. Or, yet again, when Fedalma, bearing with her, as in a funeral-urn, the ashes of her tribe, looks her last with noble speechless sadness on her Spanish lover, and the great waters swell round the boat and break upon it restlessly; and away, but not far, in the distance are gleaming the solitary shores that must bury her dead hopes and despairing faithfulness. Or, in that book of pitiful lapses from a foreseen and purposed heroism, when Dorothea and Rosamond clasp one another like two women in a shipwreck—the fit symbol of both their lives that destiny had interwoven in a common ruin. What vivid soul-painting is here! For, as we walk through the portrait-gallery of noble women where George Eliot is our guide, and survey the features of Romola and Janet, Gwendolen and Dorothea and Maggie Tulliver, we are conscious that it is not so

much their beauty, though majestic or proud, that makes them gazed upon, but a certain radiance streaming out from the purity in heart, the strong yearning towards good, that the weakest among them cannot altogether lose. A theatrical scenic innocence or repentance they have not always : they might fail on the stage, but it would be for lack of the dramatic situation that shows, even to idle spectators, a soul embodied and recognizable in deeds commensurate with its greatness. In the story the pure soul is ever felt, and at last breaks through the clouds. We may study, to the same intent, the never worn-out sagacity that tracks along its creeping ways of thought Mr. Casaubon's dim life and uninspired self-love, even though he wanders in a wilderness of bypaths, and knows not how to strike upon "the vividness of an idea, the ardour of a passion, the energy of an action," but, present at the great banquet of the world's life, remains himself hungry and shivering. Or the chronicle of Mr. Bulstrode's pale-eyed fears, his daily strivings against conscience (now become his dearest foe), though he does but aim at promoting the glory of God by such a tightened grasp upon the riches from which his soul indeed sits loose, and in the acquisition whereof he has committed only hypothetical sin, deserving contingent pardon. Or that contrast, so little to be expected in the writings of George Eliot, to her own ideal of woman—we mean Rosamond Vincy. In this consummate sketch, beauty as radiant as garden flowers under the evening light, fineness of tone and finished accomplishments, instead of wearing their native grace, are made as repulsive as the livid tints of the grave, as wicked as vice, and more exasperating. It is genius like Nature, and not a mechanic's cunning, that has robbed the starry vision of its halo, demonstrating that human feeling alone can subdue human affection to itself when our season of first delight in beauty is vexed by the world's cares. Rosamond Vincy can move us to pity her still in an hour of trouble ; and this is a sign that George Eliot, though making her marvellously inhuman, has not crossed the boundary drawn by right instinct, to search out some monstrous thing in the gloom where the grotesque and the ghastly of late romance have their fit abode. With furies dripping blood from their snaky tresses or scattering flame out of waving torches, she has no acquaintance except in *Æschylus* the thunderous and Eleusinian, or by the hearsay of those that saw Paris aflame with petroleum. She has not painted a Medusa, nor even a modern Mary Stuart.* Amongst her creations we

* Read—or rather, do not read—"Chastelard" and "Bothwell," by Mr. A. C. Swinburne, as final proof that the age of chivalry is gone, and the long-worshipped Queen of Scots brought low indeed,—to the level of Voltaire's bewitched Circean "Pucelle." The triumph of Tragedy !

look in vain for a miraculous perfect villain—a Count Francesco Cenci, or Count Guido Franceschini. With the latter Tito Melema is not properly comparable. (It is curious, by the way, that we Northerns have a superstition about villains when at the noontide of their badness; we look for them in the South, amongst Greeks or Italians.) But Guido is marked by a super-subtle disbelief in goodness of any kind, and rages unrelentingly against the deceit of innocence. Tito is, at most, a Guido Franceschini in the bud. He dies too early, and has not failed often enough, nor felt wretchedness and penury enough in his young days, to harden into that kneaded fire as of hellish adamant. And Grandcourt, though of a like paste with these, is too slight and negative: only misery can blow up the roaring flame that will melt his pride and indolence to scorching enamel. George Eliot prefers to tell us of inexperienced weak Adam, who hardly thinks of virtue or vice at all, but is overcome by the scent of fruits in autumn, and pleads that had the temptation not been so surprisingly pleasant, he would never have dreamt of touching them. And, perhaps, she has chosen wisely. For really the supply of villains does not seem likely to fail—at any rate in literature. It is more to her honour that she creates by combining and refashioning what she has seen in the mind of man or in Nature, thereby securing a beautiful and intelligible analogy with those true sources of emotion, than that she should excite unqualified repulsion and incredulity by inflicting on us something strained and impossible, and, for that cause, ineffectual. Apparently she never knew an Iago off the stage, and has not been solicitous about the creation of a second—perhaps, amongst other reasons, because she had ceased to believe in a place where he might meet with his deserts. Her subtlety and depth of conception, the compressed energy, sword-like edge, grave decisiveness of her words might have warranted her in emulating the style of Shakspeare and moulding Iago to the modern. But she would not copy a book, though the greatest: and her art, if always reminiscence, is never an author's plagiarism. Iago, whose existence some of the older critics, though versed in possibilities, have stickled at, lay out of her horizon. But his make and bearing are Nature itself, and would win our love to him when set by the side of many a “lovely monster” now walking the world. That George Eliot shrank from adding to their multitude proves that her genius was bounded. Yes, by limits of Art.

Or, finally, we may turn towards the wide, clear illumination that has wondrously recovered and lit up for us Medicean Florence, its colours fresh and glowing, as if it were another

Pompeii preserved under the piled-up ashes of history and historians. In its light at last stands bathed the shadowy Rembrandt-like greatness of Savonarola, a name that has never died off men's lips, yet has held in it such uncertain significance, as though troubling the conscience of every one that spoke it, and filling them with scruples that confused the lines not only of parties but of religious convictions. Now we may see him, not as the painters have seen him always, with their childish unquestioning eyes, in the white Dominican habit as he lived, or stripped of it and moving blindly towards the towering gibbet which reminded the Florentines uneasily of an earlier form of torturing guilt or innocence long laid aside. But we may see the inmost man, and the soul, like flawed crystal that, even where it has suffered violence, holds the sunlight, though refracted and discoloured. And if the one unrivalled subject of poetry be human character in powerful conflict and interaction, then may we more than match the tragedy of Prometheus the Fire-bringer with this of Fra Girolamo, even related in prose. For the historic Florentine and the mythical Titan were of one temper; they must be memorable to all time, each for renouncing his own joy, that he might raise men to the highest deeds of which they were capable. And in the history, not in the legend, is there, besides "the reviling, and the torture, and the death-throe," an agony of sinking from the vision of glorious achievement into that deep shadow where the fallen Teacher can only say, "I count as nothing; darkness encompasses me, but the light that I saw was the true light." George Eliot might have insisted upon this consideration herself, for she has the thought, though not touching her hero. As she says in one of her quaint mottoes, "There be who hold that the deeper tragedy were a Prometheus bound, not after but before he had well got the celestial fire into the *narthex* whereby it might be conveyed to mortals." That deeper tragedy, she has, though in her own way, written. Moreover, Prometheus was not man—he was only man-loving; and he was at length to pull down evil from its sovereign seat. We cannot pity him with the tender fellow-feeling that Savonarola's faults do but increase. This man shakes us with changing tones and great human words, as in the sermon of the Duomo: "Behold, I am willing—lay me on the altar; let my blood flow, and the fire consume me; but let my witness be remembered among men that iniquity shall not prosper for ever." By a gesture of the delicate hands, that seem to have in them an appeal against all hardness, he bows us to our knees. Like a sceptred deity, he points the way back for us to the destiny we would fain escape; but the power lies all in a mild glance expressing that simple human fellowship which is the bond between

us. Therefore we do but feel our admiring loyalty suffused with tenderness when we come to know him well—when his character appears to hold some base alloy in conjunction with its finer elements. We are sure that “his imperious need of ascendancy, his enigmatic visions, his false certitude about the Divine intentions, never ceased, in his own large soul, to be ennobled by that fervid piety, that passionate sense of the Infinite, that active sympathy, that clear-sighted demand for the subordination of selfish interests to the general good, which he had in common with the greatest of mankind.” And we cannot but hope that George Eliot is delivering the verdict of the ages as she grandly concludes: “It was the fashion of old, when an ox was led out for sacrifice to Jupiter, to chalk the dark spots, and give the offering a false show of unblemished whiteness. Let us fling away the chalk, and boldly say—The victim is spotted, but it is not therefore in vain that his mighty heart is laid on the altar of men’s highest hopes.” Might such words be true of her who wrote them, too!

If, then, Dorothea be the noblest character George Eliot has drawn, and Dinah Morris the purest, and Maggie Tulliver the most affecting, and Adam Bede the most manly, and Tito Melema and Rosamond Viney the most marvellously clever, yet, as drawn from history and not a free representation, Savonarola is the greatest. Here is none of the cheap invention where ignorance finds itself able and at ease, but an invention that is the very eye of research, and holds the clue to those invisible thoroughfares which are the lurking-places of anguish and delight, inspiration or mania, crime or benevolence, and are thus the real, though little suspected, channels of success or disaster. The story called “Romola” is history made present and romance become an epic. What praise can be higher than this?

Creative faculty, then, upon a scale large enough to be discernible by the multitude, and to draw forth their instinctive plaudits, George Eliot certainly has. Whilst her types are all as distinctly marked as they are the genuine yield of experience, some of them may claim to be species never before described. And these, being original as well as lifelike, must win for her a portion of that glory the world has bestowed on Goethe as the maker of Mephistopheles, and on the sublime lunatic that invented “Quasimodo” and “L’Homme qui Rit.” But genius strikes a deep root in the living earth that brings it to the sun; it has its peculiar complexion, resulting more closely than we can ever tell from the frame it dwells in. A woman cannot change from being Sappho, though her song may be as fine or as sweet as any of Homer’s. And it is now imagined that the passion-wrought antique Lesbian has survived, or transmigrated rather,

into our present age, and is making her dreams pass again, if not through the cold mass of marble or colour, yet into the drama and romance. For the first time since authorship began, it is now possible to form a group of imperishable writers out of women alone. Every country in Europe may boast of a great name; and France has inherited the glory and the shame that cling to the greatest of them—George Sand. But is there in England a woman worthy to share the throne with Shakespeare as his equal or his consort? The fame of Elizabeth Barrett Browning cannot be divided—any more than the tender beauty of those “*Sonnets from the Portuguese*,” which even she could not surpass,—from that of a grandly tragic poet. And Shakespeare’s choice—if he is minded to exchange Anne Hathaway for a genius that will appreciate *his* sonnets—must lie between George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë. But perhaps he has a taking already for one of his own delightful creations, though we cannot remember a “great soul” amongst them. In any case, we need hardly choose for him. Charlotte Brontë, out of her intense and eager life, has created those strange true beings that have no parallel, except in lives that shrink from the pain of recording their own anguish—*Jane Eyre*, *Lucy Snowe*, *M. Paul Emanuel*. They deserve to be thought miracles of unconscious art, for in them the most opposing qualities are fused, by some inexplicable passionate feeling, into mere and absolute reality. There is no need to prove they are alive—we see them live; perhaps for a chapter or two they represent the reader’s own past to him. Not of outward accidents, but of the inward spirit is deep tragedy an issue, and Charlotte Brontë has proved to the world’s astonishment that “we may be strangely moved by what is not unusual.” Ordinary human life has within it the sublime elements of pity and terror—the pathos of loving or not being loved, the dreadfulness of parting and death; but how seldom do the commonality upon any level, high or low, perceive it! George Eliot comforts our dulness with a word, saying that if we had such a keen sense of every day, it would be like hearing the grass grow and the squirrel’s heart beat, and we should die of that roar which lies on the other side of silence. But herein, as the critic has well insisted, Charlotte Brontë finds the empire of her genius and her supremacy. With such common materials as the sombre moods of a governess earning her bread in a country-house, or in a *pension* at Brussels, the slight occurrences of a fête-day among schoolgirls, the monotony of a summer vacation passed alone, the beginnings and growth of attachment between a teacher of French literature and an English *Mademoiselle*, in neither of whose lives did there appear to be crime or mystery or grandeur of suffering—with these broken bits of faintly-tinted glass

Charlotte Brontë has kindled for us a kaleidoscope of burning gem-like colours, and has wrought, not a fantastic but a true and serious pitifulness in the story of unnoticed men and women, to the very quick of experience and with overpowering vastness. Think of Lucy Snowe, meant to be as unromantic as Monday morning and as cold as her name; kept by social condition and the events that fill her days (or leave them almost empty) as far from romance as any Sarah Smith in a factory, and how marvellous a thing it is that she takes the heart and the fancy like Ophelia or Juliet! What directness and simplicity of action! What an easy, robust, picturesque speech! And how few strokes of the sure pencil ere the scene stands out, finished and clear! In no other Englishwoman has the "fine frenzy," the passionate inspiration, as we now term it, of the poet's gaze, created visions at once so like Nature and so weird.

Not in George Eliot, we think, even when she is telling over again Maggie Tulliver's fall and ruin. Whilst with Charlotte Brontë we seem to be absorbed in the life that is acting itself out, with George Eliot we stand always, though it be only a little, on one side, and resemble the chorus and not the players. It has been urged that self-possession like this is too intellectual, too reflexive, and argues a dull overfed temperament, incapable of the divine exhilaration that genius—and opium—brings on. Is it the chorus which makes the drama, or is it the players? True: but George Eliot's admirers will rejoин that chorus and actors may be resolved into a more primitive, yet not less poetical form—the epic representation, namely, of the living world, which is at once a panorama and a creed. For the solitary figure we may take the people of a city, the dwellers on a country-side; for the destiny of an individual we may sing of the love that mankind feel for earth whence they spring, the thoughts they cherish concerning Heaven to which they look up. As the chorus gave expression to human feeling on the tragic stage, so, when it is no longer a separate theme, when it runs indistinguishably through all the music of the rhapsodist, it may shadow forth the eternal laws by which all things move and are. George Eliot has this greatness to herself, amongst Englishwomen, and Charlotte Brontë can no more take it from her than Jane Austen can. Doubtless it implies a certain affinity of her mind with the masculine, which is considered to dwell chiefly upon laws and abstractions. Goethe has often been called the Poet of Science. George Eliot perhaps deserves the name of the Epic Pythoness of Science. But she was not exalted to the tripod of this new Delphi and poetic oracle of the nineteenth century without a severe probation. She has painful memories of the time when, as Maggie Tulliver, she hoped that to master "Latin, Euclid, and Logic would be a

considerable step in masculine wisdom." And it was then she would take Aldrich out into the fields, and look off her book towards the sky, where the lark was twinkling, or to the reeds and bushes by the river, from which the waterfowl rustled forth on its anxious, awkward flight—and would feel with a startled sense that the relation between Aldrich and this living world was extremely remote to her. "The eager heart," she says touchingly, "gained faster and faster on the patient mind." Pity that as the days went by she unhappily came to imagine Kant and Spinoza and Mr. Herbert Spencer were fountains of wisdom. But at last she felt herself converted to the new formula, which seems to run in this wise, briefly: "There is no God, and Science is His oracle." Now the Pythoness, as we know, wrote indifferent hexameters, not nearly so musical as the lines of the "Iliad." But in them she made clear to Greeks the will of Zeus and Apollo. She kept the public conscience and was the echo of a divine voice in the cities of men; she rebuked the moral obliquity and shed light upon the entanglements and labyrinthine deceits wherein wickedness seeks to lie hid. She must have had a vision, then, such as science or inspiration may bestow, of the essential, right, and infinite relations of the wide world; and it was her feeling of that beauteous order that lifted her above the multitude. Such a vision did George Eliot think she had. It was not her calling to teach the facts of science, but to distil from them the true religion of mankind, to clothe its mysterious sayings in the finest imagery, and to interpret its bearings on the life of every day.

But where shall the modern Pythoness erect her tripod and deliver the messages of the new gods? Times are changed since heralds were sent with presents to Delphi and Dodona, that they might bear back the god-spoken word. And now the Pythoness must be content with *Blackwood's Magazine* as a channel of utterance, or must scatter her mystic leaves as a three-volume novel. This may seem to be cheapening vital truths; and it has led the superficial to deny that a new religion was coming to the birth because they nowhere perceived the solemn garb of a prophet, or heard of any fresh Bible except the Book of Mormon. Upon us it is incumbent to dismiss these childish fancies, and to recognize in the novel its usurped but now unassailable function as an instrument of scientific and religious teaching. There is no likelihood that the epic of our century will be written in verse. But, surely, more than one fragment is already extant of an epic in prose where we may view the movements of thought and the succession of determining events as in a looking-glass. Victor Hugo, Balzac, George Sand, are the epic historians that offer us a faithful saddening chronicle of the newer France.

Across the Rhine we have the famous writer Berthold Auerbach; in whose pages the king and the peasant move along, and life in Southern Germany casts up, as from below the horizon, a parting gleam of mediæval romance and piety into the modern sky. It is natural that poetry should freeze at the chill breath of science and unbelief, and the roar of business in our great cities. To an age so curiously observant as ours, so disdainful of earnest convictions, so utterly embroiled in sifting particulars one by one, neither the epic calmness nor the dramatic greatness would seem attainable. But when poetry fails we are driven upon sounding the possibilities of prose. This George Eliot was born to do: and her finest and least mortal work is that wherein she has striven, not to apply the technical language of science in matters of feeling, nor to win a reputation for herself as an artist in verse, but to frame her own wide experience into an epic whole. And it is in this, her peculiar province, that she has found no English rival or compeer—in the large Homeric representation of the living world. She fulfils her calling as a Pythoness by moulding history so as to suggest or enforce the theories where-with science has imbued her. Thanks to her deep feeling and her marvellous gift of writing as she feels, the dry light of knowledge shines golden across her vision, shot through with orient beams of love and pity.

Hence the wide field of her view, the throng of personages that occupy or move over it, the impartial and seemingly indifferent survey of high and low, believers and infidels, pious and wicked, pure and impure; hence the absence of a hero, except when a symbolic rather than a real character is meant; hence the disregard of conventional situations and stereotyped endings, which sometimes leads to careless neglect of the entanglement and corresponding dénouement required by art; hence, especially, the minor interest attaching to the tale of love where the love itself is not complicated with a larger motive. She has, indeed, written in her most affecting work of the love that is “a potent fatality,” but she prefers it when, to quote a fine-toned sentence, “it acknowledges an effect from the imagined light of unproven firmaments, and has its scale set to the grander orbits of what hath been and shall be.” From all which it follows naturally that her modern epic is far wider in its range of phenomena than the ancient or mediæval, and at least as minute in depicting them. And as it is not inspired by the genial muse of Homer nor by the Christian grace of Dante, as an abstract system rules instead of divine religious instincts, no wonder that George Eliot has been thought to deal harshly with her creations, and as if she were an *Anangke* or Fate that could not be propitiated.

When we view the work complete—and, logically, “Daniel

"Deronda" carried it to the final chapter, after which we could expect only repetitions or variations of an accustomed theme—we see that its parts fall of their own accord into a certain grouping. To the first series belong "Scenes from Clerical Life," "Adam Bede," "The Mill on the Floss," "Silas Marner," and "Felix Holt." To the second very distinct series belong "The Spanish Gipsy," "Romola," "Daniel Deronda," "Theophrastus Such." The link that combines these groups and gives a point of transition from one to the other is "Middlemarch," though in order of time it succeeded "Romola." The first series, which is likewise the most popular, may be taken to represent George Eliot's earliest and most vivid experience. The second is founded rather upon culture than feeling, and grows more and more theoretic, until at last it seems to melt away into a thin cloud of abstractions. Between "Scenes from Clerical Life" and "Theophrastus Such" there is a difference as wide as between a painting in oils and a pencilled outline. Her first book abounds in lusty life, her last is a study of comparatively bloodless shades; for unbelieving theories will blight the richest experience and spoil its humour. In her early writings, George Eliot draws from the fountain of youth; she prizes the living soul she has known above any lesson it may afford in the disturbing light of newly-imported philosophies. She may then have held somewhat by a wise remark of Goethe's; that a rich and manifold life passing across our field of vision has a certain worth in itself, and will convey a moral, though we should not point it. In her latest books the lesson is inculcated with such abstract clearness that the figures which exemplify it sink down into mere symbols, like the painted Vices and Virtues in the miracle plays.

From their searching and minute accuracy of detail, and their multitude of sharp outlines, the earlier group of her stories have all but incurred dispraise at the hands of many critics as no better than photographs, due to mechanical observation and not to genuine art. This condemnation always excepts "Adam Bede" and the biography of Maggie Tulliver. And, certainly, it will not be denied that, when fine touches are made too perceptible, they weary an eye accustomed to large bold drawing; just as the small Oriental alphabets, though exquisite, fatigue an ordinary sight. One can fancy the impatient novel-reader flinging aside "Silas Marner" or "Amos Barton" with the sense that he has been counting all the bricks in a wall or trying to decipher the dust on a fly's wing in the microscope. George Eliot, however, had a design in her dulness, and defends it from criticism.

I share with you (she says) the sense of oppressive narrowness, but it is necessary that we should feel it. Does not science tell us that

its highest striving is after the attainment of a unity which shall bind the smallest things with the greatest? In natural science, I have understood, there is nothing petty to the mind that has a large vision of relations, and to which every single object suggests a vast sum of conditions. It is surely the same with the observation of human life.

Thus, then, she would, as it were, lay upon her photographic outlines the soft blooming colour of the epic unity and life; the details are beneath an artist's consideration only when severed from the electric current which endows them with unseen energies and far-reaching consequence. And this, perhaps, is true so long as the human proportion (art's essential postulate even where it least is indicated) be not broken by dissection into the infinitely little or by its disappearance in the infinitely great. Her most taking story, "Adam Bede," is that wherein George Eliot has kept this proportion, we think, quite faithfully. Our comfortable sense in reading it is a proof of the practised eye that has here disposed the figures on a canvas neither too large nor too small, and with due regard to the perspective and standing-point of life rather than science.

However much, then, we may blame the photographic hardness, the dull and painstaking flatness even, of her work upon occasion, George Eliot has painted life in the country with a simple warmth and grace that leads many to quote Hermann and Dorothea, and to speak as we have spoken of the Loamshire Idylls. This attractive word—now fast losing the significance it formerly had, and becoming synonymous with Tennyson's poems and the "Morte d'Arthur"—may in some loose and large sense describe "Silas Marner," "Janet's Repentance," and "Adam Bede." Passages of idyllic loveliness or humour we may, indeed, find interspersed through her volumes until we reach the over-speculative "Daniel Deronda." For when all the other gods and goddesses have been dissolved into their lucid atoms, George Eliot will worship still her kindly Mother Earth, to whom, as she says, we owe it, that

always there is seed being sown silently and unseen, and everywhere there come sweet flowers without our foresight or labour. For though we reap what we sow, yet Nature has love over and above that justice, and gives us shadow and blossom and fruit that come from no planting of ours.

With happy insight she lights up for us the primeval mystery of association, that, long before Arcadia and Sicilia were praised in song, or the gathering of the vintage in Attica was become world-famous for its tragedy, had consecrated to Religion things entirely common. Through her eyes we perceive how natural a thing it is when peasants hold the plough sacred and dedicate the wain

to Ceres and Cybele. Why should seedtime and harvest not be festivals to the gods, and the implements of husbandry holy, when the early and the latter season give cause to venerate the beneficent simple things that, like friendly hands, procure us a manifold sustenance, filling our hearts with food and gladness? This is true piety, and no superstition, exceedingly tender towards God, as it is brave and healthy in the soul where it springs. Mayhap when we, the latest seed of time, come to recognize a divinity in the cotton-mill and the steam-engine (though it were only, as Mr. Ruskin says, the lesser Phthah or deity of mechanical fire), our trouble of scepticism will begin to have an end. But George Eliot's Mother Earth was a local divinity, not the mere name of a universal power: she was the goddess at whose knees she had grown up, a Midland goddess, with green raiment mildly beautiful when the sun shone down upon it, and a garland of corn-flowers mixed with the apple-blossom. Vine leaves, and the shouting at the winepress in southern lands could never charm George Eliot's fancy like the chant of "Harvest home!" rising and sinking in the distance, whilst the last load of barley was winding its way towards the yard-gate of the Hall Farm, and the low westering sun shone right on the shoulders of the old Binton Hills, turning the unconscious sheep into bright spots of light; shone on the windows of Adam Bede's cottage, too, and made them aflame with a glory beyond that of amber or amethyst. That was enough to make her feel that she was in a great temple, and that the distant chant was a sacred song. In a later book she says, exquisitely:—

We could never have loved the earth so well if we had had no childhood in it—if it were not the earth where the same flowers come up again every spring that we used to gather with our tiny fingers as we sat lisping to ourselves on the grass—the same hips and haws on the autumn hedgerows—the same redbreasts that we used to call "God's birds," because they did no harm to the precious crops. What novelty is worth that sweet monotony where everything is known, and loved because it is known? The wood I walk in on this mild May-day, with the young yellow-brown foliage of the oaks between me and the blue sky, the white star-flowers and the blue-eyed speed-well and the ground ivy at my feet—what grove of tropic palms, what strange ferns or splendid broad-petalled blossoms, could ever thrill such deep and delicate fibres within me as this home scene? These familiar flowers, these well-remembered bird-notes, this sky, with its fitful brightness, these furrowed and grassy fields, each with a sort of personality given to it by the capricious hedgerows—such things as these are the mother tongue of our imagination, the language that is laden with all the subtle, inextricable associations the fleeting hours of our childhood left behind them.

And so Maggie Tulliver, when she read about Christiana passing "the river over which there is no bridge," always saw the Floss between the green pastures by the Great Ash.

Therefore George Eliot has not painted the infinite horizons of deep blue sky that are seen from Alpine summits, nor the wild waters that lay so far off when she was a child, nor hardly that "Midland Sea, moaning with memories," that she came to know on its Italian and Spanish coasts when she had travelled some way on in life. No object in Nature "haunted her like a passion," unless it had been a part of the dead years that still lived in her and transformed her perception into love. Such is not the idyllic tone to which Theocritus and the "Pastor Fido" have accustomed our ear. It does not melt into mere animal joyousness nor vibrate with panic terror: it is too human to be quite rustic. The bovine gravity whereat we have laughed so often with George Eliot would surely ripple over a little more into smiling, could it feel so delicately as this. But even a Sicilian peasant—unless he were some god turned shepherd for the nonce—would smile towards the sun and the olive-clad slopes of Etna with eyes less intelligent than the affectionate melancholy gaze of George Eliot across her Loamshire fields. For she never can forget the vast world and the fateful issues of life; upon the narrow scene of Hayslope village a pitiful tale may be enacted that will leave long memories of terror in the country-side. Her border of rustic beauty is embroidered on the pages of an epic song, wherein the gods descend to battle against man as well as for him, and the unseen powers make love "that endures for a breath," the mighty instrument of measureless ruin. But apart from the sense of sorrow, which is, however, the persistent undertone that deepens all her music, one can hardly imagine George Eliot likening herself to Theocritus or accepting the somewhat superficial praise that her stories were idyllic. She would rather be Teniers than Theocritus. She takes pleasure in many a Dutch painting which lofty-minded people despise, and finds a source of delicious sympathy (and a style kindred to her own) in these faithful pictures of a monotonous homely existence, which has been the lot of so many among her fellow-mortals.

I turn (she says in a well-known passage), without shrinking, from cloud-borne angels, from prophets, sybils, and heroic warriors, to an old woman bending over her flower-pot or eating her solitary dinner, while the noonday light, softened perhaps by a screen of leaves, falls on her mob-cap, and just touches the rim of her spinning-wheel and her stone jug, and all those cheap common things which are the precious necessaries of life to her.

But here again we have come upon that secret of deep human

sympathy which raises George Eliot from the crowd of miniature-painters, that love prettiness or pettiness, to the epic height. She would not blind herself to the vision of the ideal—at least she thinks so—any more than the divinest poet.

Paint us (she says) an angel, if you can, with a floating violet robe and a face paled by the celestial light; paint us yet oftener a Madonna turning her mild face upward and opening her arms to welcome the Divine glory. But let us always have men ready to give the loving pains of a life to the faithful representation of commonplace things—men who see beauty in them and delight in showing how the light of heaven falls upon them. There are few prophets in the world; few sublimely beautiful women; few heroes. I can't afford to give all my love and reverence to such rarities; I want a great deal of those feelings for my everyday fellow-men, especially for the few in the foreground of the great multitude, whose faces I know, whose hands I touch, for whom I have to make way with kindly courtesy.

This is very loving and loveable; it recalls many a humorous gentle touch in her writings, some of the words we remember soonest when we think of George Eliot, or the scenes whereon we linger most willingly. But how remote from the classic idyll! To Hermann and Dorothea, such feelings are much more akin. George Eliot, we do not doubt, often murmured to herself some saying like the good Pastor's :

Ich

Tadle nicht gern was immer die gute Mutter Natur gab.

For neither could *she* bring herself to despise a gift, however slight and vulgar-looking, that came from the hand of Nature. But can there be a quality more requisite or more helpful in searching the mysteries of man's heart than this rare humour that, whilst it views all things, great and small, in their relation to the infinitely Perfect, as if it were Faith, yet bears with their limits and their feebleesses, as if it were Charity? Here are the finest elements of our nature combined spontaneously; wide-glancing intelligence softened by love until it learns to be tolerant, love intensified by prevision of impending loss. George Eliot desires, if that may be, to taste no delight which shall make her unfaithful to the past. She has a more trusting belief in Nature than in self-confident, aspiring, much-devising Man. Irreproachable perfection she would wish to see spread far above, like the bright distant heavens; but she does not feel herself at one with it. Her affection dwells in past years, and is tender towards everything that is old and homely, or that has missed the mark by mere lumpish stolidity, and not by clever malice. She is not so resolute in reforming away the ills of life as those noble Radicals who seem to have derived their name from dis-

obeying the Lord of the Harvest, and manfully rooting up the tares and the wheat whilst both are green and somewhat indistinguishable. Custom demanded her reverence, as it had won her earliest love. And the same temper which strengthened her clinging to all natural growths in spite of their irregularities—their departure from the type beheld in vision by Linnæus or Owen—stirred up in her a half-comic jealous feeling towards the fine speculations that create a Dogmatist of peremptory sentences on paper and a Jacobin with unyielding formulas in the world of action. Perhaps to her keen eye it did not appear that the American cheapness, as of brittle, because hastily forged, metal, that marks our modern advantages, is a sure proof of their lasting worth. Large-hearted as she was, how could she help crying out against the scientific wire-fences wherein we are all going to be penned by the culture of the day? What wonder if she was given to wistfully looking back to the hedgerows that wasted the land, indeed, with their straggling beauty, but shrouded the grassy borders of the pastures with catkinèd hazels, and tossed their long blackberry branches on the corn-fields? Hers, she amusingly said, was not a well-regulated mind; it had moments of slumber when imagination

did a little Toryism by the sly, revelling in regret that dear old brown, crumbling, picturesque inefficiency was everywhere giving place to spick-and-span, new-painted, new-varnished efficiency which will yield endless diagrams, plans, elevations, and sections, but, alas! no picture.

Thus did she take a quaintly malicious pleasure in setting the Past against the reforming Present, and at all times find food for innocent laughter.

George Eliot, as we have often thought, is the aptest illustration of Thackeray's true saying, that "Humour is wit tempered by love." For indeed it is a quality that comes of the "one touch of Nature" that "makes the whole world kin," and that bids us in a friendly voice remember that we somehow share a little in the imperfections we are so brilliantly mocking. Some have said that Humour perceives "the soul of good in things evil." We had rather say that it mingles with the mood of irony some spice or condiment of humble patience, which is a belief in the pardonableness of faulty man. Take away the capacity for good in George Eliot's peasant-folk, or in the large mind that is considering their way of life, and you will have slain the soul of humour in her, leaving only a contemptuous thin-lipped scorn instead of it. And you will have set her down from the company of Cervantes and Shakspeare to which she is entitled by this gift most of all.

Certainly she has nothing that astonished the world more than her abundant humour. The annals of Parisian civilization and Madame de Sévigné notwithstanding, it was held, at least in England, that a woman could hardly see the point of a jest and did not relish one. Humour, like the theory of ideas, was the *differentia* or distinctive mark of man; or, as George Eliot calls him somewhere, "the male human being." A humorous person was very likely coarse; and, indeed, Smollett and Fielding gave ordinary minds some foundation for thinking so; whilst scholars might, among themselves, illustrate the same tendency from mighty-mouthed Aristophanes and rude old Plautus. There may be still some readers, neither finical nor lackadaisical, who think that George Eliot's humour does occasionally border on the gross; and it is, once in a way, more massive than delicate. But these are spots on the sun. George Eliot is not only a great humorist, in spite of her sex, but it seems clear that she is the greatest—except Carlyle—in modern literature. If Thackeray's feeling had equalled his brilliancy, he might have greatly fulfilled his own definition, and contested the palm with her. Dickens is prolific in monsters and caricatures, odd fancies and impossible comicalities, and is a delightful showman of dreams and shadows; but much as we are in debt to him for laughable situations, we find him neither grave enough in his cast of features nor wise enough in his manner of thinking to be perfectly humorous. The fun of his earlier books is too noisy and stage-like; the jesting which he exchanged for simple fun, latterly, is too strained. He can never mean a good thing without wrinkling his face all over, like an ill-trained clown in the circus. And he has not often discerned the real incongruities that seem to lie in the very nature of things when Reason views them. In this respect Rabelais, Swift, Sterne, and Jean Paul may have overtapped all rivals. But George Eliot is quite worthy to be named with them for her keen sense of the essential ludicrousness that clings to the finite and the individual. It may be said, indeed, that she has inherited the humour of the first three with only the most distant touch of their grossness, and as much of Jean Paul's kindness as might consist with renouncing his faith in Christianity.

Her humour, like the melancholy of which it is sometimes the parent and sometimes the offspring, is compounded of many simples and has the most varied applications. The humorist in grain goes counter to the world's established form; he is sad at a wedding-breakfast and makes a pun at a funeral. He cannot help fancying that whatever the respectable in society take to be quite square is always a little lopsided and out of shape. He has a perverse vision of fine films connecting the sacred with the

profane, and the venerable with the ridiculous, which no one else would have seen had he refrained from pouring his sunlight on their gossamer. There is in him some lack of the perfect homage to imperfect men which is secured by a good dulness, though he may still be more flexible than the average, and not less obedient. Humour, like every species of originality, carries with it a peril for the owner, and is liable to explode upon him as well as his friends. But George Eliot, being many things besides a humorist, has not driven in her liking for incongruities over the precipice, though she comes to its very brink. When Mr. Herbert Spencer bids her look through the telescope he has borrowed from Mr. Darwin, and behold in prospect the Survival of the Fittest—for modesty will not allow us to presume that the day is already here—she draws back in alarm, and asks what is to be the fate of all the lovable oddities whom she remembers in the country and has still an admiration for? It does not soothe her to be told that unless they perish the world cannot be perfect. She objects to perfection at such a price. Never will she believe in the undertaker's heaven, where all faces are composed to a decent solemnity; nor in Coleridge's, where Charles Lamb would be admitted only on condition of developing his imperfect sympathies into perfect dulness, and could surely not revere a man whom he had once playfully taken by the nose, as there is an unfounded though plausible legend that he did to Wordsworth. Poor George Eliot! she could not resist the suspicion that our modern progress, if not checked in time, might land us, like Mr. Brooke's studies—anywhere! When doing good to one's neighbour had grown into as complete an instinct as keeping one's balance; when, the struggle for existence having come to an end by the bringing in of perfection, there was nothing in the world to help or hinder, and things had reached that state of democratic equality and unvarying evenness which we ominously call "a dead level;" what, she said to herself, would be the motive to keep on living a moment longer? Shudderingly she cries out—

"Tis a poor climax to my weaker thought
That general middlingness.

And in this mood she strikes upon her deep-voiced organ such a dismal chord as Mr. Stuart Mill brought out, to every one's surprise, on his somewhat piercing scranneI-pipe, a few years ago. He called up, as we remember, a vision of all the glory that should be, when the reign of benevolence and atheism had wrought the universe to the pattern designed by his flinty-hearted father. And he asked himself, Shall I be happy then? An irresistible foreboding whispered No; and the poor enthusiast

of benevolence sank in the waters of despair. Henceforth he would forego happiness, and be content with advancing his theories. And has not Mr. Matthew Arnold apologized for his own occasional high spirits on the plea that they cannot last? "You know," he says, in a deprecating tone of sadness, "we shall soon be all yawning in one another's faces." Man used to be defined, by a supposed inseparable peculiarity of his, as "a laughing animal." But M. Comte and Mr. Spencer will ere long have changed all that. Even smiling may come to be looked upon as prehistoric—at all events when it is directed against the sacred doctrines of Positivism.

However, except in this unaccountable shying at the luminous shadows of a future, she devoutly—we cannot say prays for, but—hopes in, George Eliot has a steed that answers the rein well, and his curvetings and demivolts are but to show off her unrivalled skill in the *manège*. How pleasant to stand by and watch them! Impossible to read the opening pages, say, of "Janet's Repentance" without a touch of compassion for the unconscious denizens of Milby, who little thought that their accurate knowledge, fine satire, and genial sense of their own importance, and of the manifest pettiness of any world outside their borders, were to make inextinguishable laughter for all England a hundred years hence, and all because one quiet-looking person (whose religious gravity may have been the only thing to remark about her) was just within earshot, and took note of them! But Milby may find comfort in the reflection that St. Ogg's is not a whit less ridiculous, though somewhat less interesting; and Treby Magna has only the privilege of demonstrating that its political wisdom was worthy to match the religious uprising against Mr. Tryan at Milby, and the moral protest of St. Ogg's against Maggie Tulliver.

If drawings in the manner of Hogarth, or groupings like the well-known School of Athens, were in vogue—and it is a pity they are not—one might fancy a great tableau of the humours of George Eliot set over against a great tableau of the humours of Charles Dickens, say at Burlington House. The contrast would be striking, and the effect upon the average spectator remarkable. What an astonishingly rich, animated, multitudinous picture; what comic situations, queer figures, grotesque, overdrawn, impossible attitudes; what visions of a good-humoured nightmare and Carnival of Goblins, the canvas of Dickens would exhibit! How like a laughable dream, how unlike the sights of every day, even amid the picturesque horrors of unfashionable London! George Eliot's drawing would appear by comparison sober and prosaic; her faces not queer and distorted, but of a simple human ugliness; her situations common and not often theatrical; the

lines not lengthened into caricature, nor twisted to the impossible grotesque, but seriously, nay anxiously, correct. We should not be able to keep from laughing with Dickens and at him; and our laughter would easily melt into sentimental, or perhaps genuine pity, when he chose to demand it. George Eliot would have, indeed, her groups of Laughers and Laughables, and she would excite our better feelings not less than Dickens; but the humour would never be sentimental, and whilst we were amused we should begin to reflect as well. Mr. Casaubon, with the Key to all Mythologies mislaid in a hundred note-hooks, his features making known to us that not even immortal fame in this world, and a happy eternity in the next, are a soothing balm for the poisonous criticism of Carp (Carp, whom he has been led to address as "nullo ævo periturum"), would surely be more humorous, because more true to Nature and more tragic, than half of Dickens's droll fancies. And how penetrating would be the humour of Rufus Lyon's surroundings and doctrines—all the more so, because he is a lovable upright old man, with deep and earnest thoughts and a brave spirit. Note, again, the subtle touch in describing Mrs. Poyser—she is pale and in delicate health—and how sharp an edge it gives to her sarcasm whilst heightening our conviction that she is drawn from the life. And a wide canvas that should take in the great square of the Mercato at Florence for a foreground, having in perspective the dingy streets of Milby and Middlemarch, where the sky itself seems only a strip of soot-begrimed calico, would offer us, indeed, a mixed and motley company from George Eliot, but nothing incredible, or the product of an unrestrained fancy. It is so commonly expected that the humorous will not be true—will be somewhat far-fetched and improbable; for humour is an irresistible solvent of reality, and a token that we have escaped from the control of the men and the opinions we hold up to its gentle scorn. Whence no institutions on their trial can bear to be ridiculed (if they have any weak points), and laughter is the beginning of revolt or reformation. But George Eliot, intent upon bringing into clear sunshine the limitations of English character, the inadequacy of English beliefs, would defeat her purpose by airy unsubstantial caricature, and when she makes a man laughable must demonstrate that he is so, not by any accidental mishap, or seen through the comedian's spectacles, but in the very eyes of Truth and Love. To laugh with George Eliot is to decide against human folly by appealing to the ideal of human or divine perfection. For there is a true laughter and a false. Peasants laugh at refinement, citizens laugh at genius or humility, courtiers laugh at honesty, and the world laughs at religion. It is only the philosopher and the saint that laugh

at essential unreason ; and their laughter is seasoned with knowledge and compassion, and perhaps the hope of better things, or, at least, the vision of their possibility. George Eliot construed her experience in the light of an immense theory, and felt for mankind (the word is not too large) as one that desired no happiness which all might not share. She was never made to be a satirist, bounding her notions of good and evil by the conception of civilized and transient social forms. Nor would her cast of thought encourage the beautiful unrealities, the slight and morning dreams, the easy forgiveness of a Christian poet whose tone, like that of Charles Dickens, vibrates to love rather than fear. Her sympathy for man is not the "child of golden hope," but of deep and tender pity. The grave will right many wrongs, the future will bring in a peaceful holy age ; what more can science or its religion promise ? Not that God will wipe away the tears from every eye ; for Heaven is only the vision of the ideal, and never can be a fact. But if our grief has an end with ourselves in the dust, why be so troubled ? and if there is good in store for the race, why not strive towards accomplishing it ? How laughable our regard for self ; how piteous, too ! How delightfully comic the contrast between our submission to social statutes, and our genuine likings and schemings to have our own way ! How unaffected, loving, helpful we might be, did the spirit of the Christian teaching rule us ! How ridiculous and unhappy we shall remain until we learn those principles of true knowledge, or science, which make it clear that, however the Christian legends may be exploded as mythical, the sayings of Christ, the self-sacrifice of Christ, the humanity of Christ, the compassion of Christ, must enter as elements into any theory of religion that is to govern the future.

Therefore the creative genius, the keen eye and loving heart for all things natural, the unselfish tolerance, the grave and serious tone, the spirit of humour subdued by knowledge, the beseeching earnestness, the unwearying sympathy, the ever-growing sadness, that have made George Eliot a familiar great name amongst us, are combined into their peculiar form, and receive a distinct energy from the religion that George Eliot preached, and, in some degree, practised. It is a religion that many other leading spirits profess to hold ; but none have given expression to its mysteries in shapes so clear and beautiful, nor can we trace its development from ancient creeds, and the mutual relation of old and new, with such epic breadth, humour, and liveliness as in the pages she has recited out of her own history, and the history of her age. No criticism of her characters can be worth attempting unless we take her purpose into account ; and when we have looked upon *Dinah Morris*, *Adam Bede*,

Maggie Tulliver, Dorothea Brooke, and Daniel Deronda, through the eyes of the great woman that has drawn such remarkable personages for us, we shall have gained an insight into the New Religion that has so grand a literature of its own, and threatens to grasp hereafter the sceptre of social sovereignty. If it survives for long, it must be in the form that George Eliot has given it. And the question deserves our study, how long that form can last? Or shall we not have to say of it, as of her—not so many days hence?

Quel foco è morto, e'l copre un picciol marmo.

ART. VIII.—CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

1. *The Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII., of December 3, 1880, on Christian Missions.*
2. *Les Missions Catholiques.* Lyon.
3. *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith.* London.
4. *The Jesuits: their Foundation and History.* By B. N. London: Burns & Oates. 1879.

THE only considerable region of the earth which has been left, down to the present generation, as absolutely virgin soil for missionary enterprise, is the teeming heart of what the most daring of modern pioneers has aptly called "The Dark Continent." To the far East and the far West the Gospel had long ago been preached. Huron and Iroquois, by the inland seas of America, had heard its message of peace from the Black Robes who penetrated their prairie solitudes to deliver it. China and Japan had given confessors and martyrs to the faith announced to them from beyond the setting sun; and even the central plateaus of Mongolia and Thibet, the great cradle-land of primitive man, the parent hive of all the nomad swarms of Asia, had been explored by dauntless missionaries in search of new fields of toil and conquest.

But on the benighted regions of Central Africa no twilight of illumination had yet dawned, no morning-star of truth had ever so faintly glimmered, and the uncounted millions of its population lived and perished, generation after generation, without other tradition than that of rapine and carnage, other creed than ferocity and superstition, knowing nothing of the world without, or knowing it only through the still worse barbarities of the slave trade. Those vast equatorial regions, hidden behind impassable barriers of scorching desert and trackless forests, of

pestilential jungle and reeking morass, were until lately as effectually cut off from the rest of the globe as though situated on another planet, and the tropics still kept their central mystery sacred from the prying gaze of the white man. There, in the great laboratory of the sun, Nature, unregarded of science, exults in her own monstrous fecundity, attended by not less monstrous activity of destruction ; prodigal of life, she seems to riot in a fantastic exuberance of creative force, and to fling forth in reckless profusion whole systems of organisms, only to see them devour and prey upon each other. Earth, quickened by the stimulus of the solar energy, teems with germs, and, like a seething hotbed, forces them into sudden and luxuriant vitality, followed by correspondingly swift dissolution ; the very surface of the waters becomes clogged each season with a tangle of succulent vegetation, swept away the next, a festering mass of decay ; the putrescence of one generation feeds the rank redundancy of the succeeding one ; and the cycle of life and death, of annihilation and reproduction, runs its round with a lavish and wasteful expenditure of individual existence.

In this tremendous orgie of Nature, the interests of man, generally her first care, seem neglected or forgotten, and he appears, as it were at his peril, an unwelcome intruder on the wanton moods of the universal mother. All the elements conspire against him, and are prolific of forms of life hostile to his own. The earth breathes poison, the waters exhale miasma, the air is pregnant with the germs of fever. Misshapen creatures of huge bulk and ferocious instincts wallow in the river mud and gambol in the steaming lagoons ; fierce and powerful brutes roam the desert plains and ambush in the dense forest ; and swarms of winged plagues, with venomous bite or sting, make war on the traveller in his own person, or in those of the indispensable four-footed companions of his journey.

When we consider, moreover, that the human denizens of the region thus triply guarded by Nature are races of powerful savages of sanguinary and predatory habits, we need no longer wonder that Central Africa should have remained down to our own time as much a *terra incognita* as the lunar deserts, and the secret of the sources of the Nile been still the unsolved secular riddle of geographers. How it has fallen to the lot of this generation to see the mystery of ages at last cleared up, and the heart of Africa, if not yet wholly, at least in great part, laid bare, is a story fresh in our readers' minds, from the narratives of the series of hardy adventurers who, one after the other, plunged dauntlessly into the gulf of that unknown world, and brought out each his quota to the gathering stock of information respecting it.

The result is visible, if we compare a map of Africa produced some twenty years ago with one filled in with the details of recent discovery. In the former, the great continent, with the exception of a comparatively limited area along the coasts, is a void, featureless blank; while in the latter we have its leading traits already sketched in, and its gigantic lake system and central watershed almost completely outlined, like a portrait waiting for the final sittings before receiving the finishing touches. A whole library of travel has been written giving minute particulars as to the inhabitants of these vast regions, and the modes of penetrating their inmost recesses; so that the route from Zanzibar to Ujiji, with all its perils and difficulties, seems as well known to us as that from London to St. Petersburg, and the sanguinary etiquette of Mtesa's court, on the shore of the great Nyanza, is as familiar to our minds as the routine of royal ceremonial at Madrid or Vienna. An enormous field of inquiry and research has thus been thrown open to us, only comparable to that which the great discovery of Columbus disclosed to our ancestors, now nearly four centuries ago.

This, then, is the inheritance of the nineteenth century, given, as it were, in trust to it for all futurity. This great waste vineyard is made over to the present generation, to plant and water, to tend and till, that it may give forth fruit in due season; these countless millions of dark brethren, left till now in brutish ignorance, in spiritual blindness, in moral degradation, are given in charge to modern Europe, with all its vast machinery of intellectual and material progress, to humanize, to elevate, to civilize, to instruct. To her have been committed the keys of knowledge and the seals of thought; nor will it be sufficient for her to declare, like the first fratricide, that she is not her brother's keeper. A great moral responsibility accompanies the task, How will it be performed?

It cannot but occur to any one who studies the early missionary history of the Church, to reflect with something like a feeling of discouragement how much more abundant was the visible fruit garnered by the preachers of the Gospel among the heathen some centuries ago, than that reaped by their successors at the present day. We read of missionaries exhausted by the mere physical labour of administering baptism, of whole tribes and communities converted in a day, of neophytes crowding into the church faster than the zealous teachers could find time to instruct them. At the opening of the seventeenth century, Japan numbered 750,000 Christians, and 5,500 natives were baptized in the year 1604 alone. The Jesuits had thirty houses and various other dependencies scattered through the empire; while the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians were also estab-

lished there.* In China, in the year 1661, the Jesuits had 151 houses and 38 auxiliary residences, the Dominicans 21, and the Franciscans 3 churches, while the Jesuit mission, founded in the province of To-Kien in 1625, was so prosperous as to have built in a very short time 17 churches. In India, about the same period, the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Jesuit missionary Father Roberto de' Nobili and his colleagues baptized in the course of a few years, 100,000 natives, principally Brahmins; and in the following century (1737), Tong-King, in Cochin China, contained 250,000 Christians.† And while such was the progress of the Church in the East, in the West, the faith was embraced by nations of Indians, whose Christian settlements were long models of primitive innocence and virtue.

Missionary enterprise in our own days can point to no such striking results as these, and it may be worth while to ask ourselves why it should be so? The Gospel certainly has lost none of its efficacy to touch the human heart and understanding, nor are its preachers wanting in zeal and self-sacrifice. How is it, then, that their efforts are crowned with a measure of success so comparatively scanty?

The cause of the falling-off must obviously lie in some change in the conditions under which their teaching is presented, and is probably to be found in the other influences of modern civilization to which their savage disciples are exposed, previously to, or contemporaneously with, those of religion. The very extension and multiplication of means of communication, which give material facilities for their task, throw moral obstacles in the way of its accomplishment, by allowing counteracting social forces to have equal access to their fields of toil. The tares are sown along with the wheat, and exhaust the soil before the good seed has time to germinate. The Gospel of Mammon excludes the Gospel of Christ from the ground which it occupies by what the Americans call "the right of pre-emption." Commercial morality in its lowest form (for the standard of honesty is not likely to be raised where the pressure of public opinion is removed, and the customers are only ignorant savages) is too often, to the black man, the first practical exposition of the working of the white man's creed, and all subsequent impressions made by it on his

* It seems that some descendants of these early converts still retain a traditional attachment to the faith, as Baron Hübner, a recent traveller, says there are villages inhabited exclusively by Christians, and certain families in which the office of baptism is hereditary.

† These facts are taken from the interesting work quoted at the head of this article, "The Jesuits, their Foundation and History," in which the wonderful story of the Society, though told in the sober language of history, has all the interest of romance.

untutored mind are apt to take their colour from this earliest experience. Modern trade, in a word, with its pursuit of purely material aims, and consequent lowering of the whole tone of thought, is the great foe of the spirit of Christianity abroad as well as at home.

But the most demoralizing agency which civilization brings to bear on barbarous races is the unchecked distribution among them of alcoholic drinks, moral and material poison to their excitable natures and unseasoned constitutions. Sir Arthur Conynghame, in his work "My Command in South Africa," gives a deplorable account of the strict application of free trade principles to the sale of spirits among the native Africans adjoining the British Colonies.

The facility (he says) with which these untamed savages (Kafirs) can obtain any amount of villainous drink is one of the most fruitful sources of danger. Some of the chiefs, being aware of the evil, forbid canteens in their localities, and have repeatedly requested that the same prohibition should be extended among the adjoining (British) districts. The answer of authority has always been, "that the natives should place a moral restraint on themselves, and not imbibe more than is beneficial; and that trade cannot be impeded, simply because it may engender evil consequences among the natives."

Comment is needless on the complacent indifference with which British political economy thus washes its hands of all care for the welfare of the weaker brethren, who make such excellent customers for excisable goods. No wonder that Livingstone, discouraged by the slow progress of conversion among the aborigines, should have written :—

If our missions would move onwards now to those regions I have lately visited, they would in all probability prevent the natives from settling into that state of determined hatred to all Europeans, which I fear now characterizes most of the Kafirs near the Colony. If natives are not elevated by contact with Europeans, they are sure to be deteriorated. It is with pain I have observed that all the tribes I have lately seen are undergoing the latter process.

To the same effect writes Lieutenant-Colonel Butler in his volume of brilliant sketches of travel recently published, when describing the South African diamond-fields :—

Diamond stealing is on the increase. The negroes are yearly becoming more dishonest. It is a sad fact, but a true one. What produces this result? Unquestionably it is contact with civilization. It is one thing to tell this black man that it is wrong to steal; it is another thing to let him see, day after day, white men buying stolen stones; Jews and Christians, and men who are neither Jews nor

Christians, prowling round the pit, and offering money at random for the morning's find.*

The evidence of missionaries is of the same tenor; one of those established on the coast of Guinea wrote in 1847:—

There is a wide difference as to probity and morals between the blacks of the interior and those of the sea-coast, who are in frequent communication with Europeans; these latter have unfortunately learned nothing from our compatriots up to this, but to drink brandy, smoke, and commit all sorts of excesses. Commerce with foreigners will be always an obstacle to the success of the mission. We ardently desire the time when we shall be able to fix establishments far from the coast and all its causes of scandal.

And Monsignor Comboni says of the Soudan country:—

The first period of the existence of the Vicariate had shown that the negroes on the White River had become corrupted by the visits of Mussulman traders, and Eastern and Egyptian Christians. Some Europeans, and above all the Giallabas, had introduced with themselves the most hideous vices.

It would seem, then, that the influence of civilization, apart from that of religion, works unmixed evil among barbarous races, and if the antidote were not introduced with the poison, we should be compelled to answer the question put above—How will Europe fulfil the task of regenerating Africa?—in an absolutely unfavourable sense. But the Church, divining the necessities of humanity, with her inspired instinct in her vocation, is nerving herself to keep ahead of civilization in the race on whose result is staked the future of Africa. Deeper and deeper into the wilderness her flying columns plunge, farther and farther inland the missions are advanced, striking, like so many converging arrows of light, towards the shrouded heart of the Dark Continent.

And here we may pause to pay a passing tribute to the great missionary pioneer of Africa, of whose work all denominations of Christians will reap the benefit. The name of Livingstone is a passport to his fellow-countrymen among the savage tribes he passed through, and many a one will gather the harvest in the field where he first turned the furrow. Nor, while we condemn the errors of his creed, need we deny full recognition to the incalculable indirect service he rendered religion, by first associating it in the negro mind with his lofty standard of probity and rectitude in his dealings with coloured men. The ennobling effect of his example on native character was shown in the touching fidelity of the black followers among whom he died,

* "Far-out. Rovings Re-told." By Lieut.-Col. W. F. Butler, C.B.

far from all other companionship, by the swampy shore of Lake Bangweolo. With a thought that was poetic in its sympathy with his life's work and aims, they buried his heart under a baobab-tree, in the centre of that continent for which its last pulse had throbbed, and then bore his remains, sometimes by stratagem to save them from native hostility or superstition, always at the cost of personal toil and danger, in safety to the coast, where they consigned them, as a precious deposit, to the hands of his countrymen. Surely in the long record of his wanderings and explorations there is nothing more wonderful than this, the brief story of his last journey towards his far distant home.

Where the coast of Africa is fringed throughout with European settlements, a chain of Catholic missions has long been established, like so many beacons linking one point with another, and much has been done for the native population within their reach, despite the antagonistic influences just pointed out. The ecclesiastical constitution and jurisdiction of these various districts have been fully described in a former number of this Review,* and we will not therefore recapitulate the information there supplied. Enterprising missionaries have also at various times journeyed far into the interior of the country, but only as casual pilgrims, and never with a view to permanent organization. For a Catholic Mission is like the advanced column of an army; it must not only penetrate the enemy's country, but at the same time keep up its communications with the main body, and cannot subsist in absolute and definitive isolation. It is only the extraordinary stimulus given to exploration within recent years that has supplied the necessary conditions of its existence at any considerable distance from the shore-line of Africa.

The Church has not been slow to take advantage of the new opening thus created, and from north, south, east, and west, attempts are now being made to push forward religious colonies on the track of recent discovery. Three principal expeditions stand out conspicuously as the most adventurous among many others recently started, and it is the history and vicissitudes of these that we propose in this and succeeding articles to sketch for our readers, first enumerating the various obstacles, moral and material, that the physical and social conditions of Africa offer to their progress, as well as the circumstances that seem hopeful for their success. The oldest of these recent exploratory missions is that now directed by Monsignor Comboni, dating from 1846, with Cairo for its starting-point, and the little known regions of Nubia and Kordofan as the theatre of its operations.

* January, 1879. "The Evangelization of Africa."

Then come the French missions to Equatorial Africa, organized by Monseigneur Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, and already established, though by the latest accounts in a somewhat precarious position, in the great Nilotic basin, on the shores of Lakes Tanganyika and Nyanza, with the caravan route from thence to Zanzibar as their line of communication. A still further extension has been given to the vast region already assigned to the Algerian missions by the projected establishment of two additional settlements farther west—one at Kabebe, in the country of Muata Yanvo, accessible from the Tanganyika direction, the other at the northernmost point of the Upper Congo, to be reached from the West Coast by the course of the Congo itself.

Finally, the Jesuit mission to the Upper Zambesi, especially interesting to the inhabitants of this country, as it has been confided to the English Province of the Society, and has made the British Colonies of South Africa its point of departure for the interior of the continent, where it is now established.

The difficulties, moral and material, that lie in the way of the success of these undertakings can scarcely be exaggerated, and it may be as well to lay them briefly before our readers, that they may understand how arduous a task the missionaries have to grapple with, and how little it is to be wondered at if the results of their labours are somewhat slow in growth.

To the first category of obstacles belongs polygamy, with all the disorganization of domestic ties it inevitably brings, and which, from its deeply-rooted hold on the minds and prejudices of the African races, forms an almost insuperable barrier to their adoption of Christianity.

Next in order comes the desolating influence of the internal slave trade, whose brutalities have been so feelingly set forth by Livingstone, and whose horrors so weighed upon his mind that his later writings are one long cry of protest against it. Whole tracts of country, where the vestiges of recently flourishing communities still remained, were found by him absolutely depopulated by its ravages; while the various miseries it entails, by fostering unceasing raids of tribe against tribe, and village against village, in order to enrich themselves by the capture of these human cattle, would furnish forth pages of harrowing details. For descriptions of these barbarities, and the scenes of sickening butchery of the failing and infirm by their savage captors, as their strength breaks down in the march to the coast, we refer the reader to the records of African travel, which are rife with instances of similar enormities. Suffice it to say that where the slave trade prevails, missionaries, from their irrepressible hostility to it, are viewed with suspicion, and their task is almost hopeless in seeking to preach a religion of love.

Finally, among the hindrances to missionary enterprise in Africa, the increasing spread of Mahometanism through the continent must be counted, since it is imbued with a spirit of far more uncompromising hostility to Christianity than the idolatry and fetichism it supplants. Indeed, the wretched negroes are indebted for many of the evils that afflict them to the incursions of the Arabs, who, to say nothing of the most prominent of these, the trade in human flesh and blood, leave behind them everywhere a taint of physical and moral contamination, introducing vices and diseases previously unknown. As they invariably abstain from capturing slaves among tribes professing Islamism as their creed, it is only wonderful that all the races of the interior of Africa do not hasten to declare themselves votaries of a faith conferring so great an exemption. Many indeed have done so, and among these proselytes of a religion so much more in accordance with their habits and traditions than Christianity, the missionary is doubly at a disadvantage.

These are some of the principal difficulties he has to overcome as a teacher, but not less formidable are the obstacles that present themselves to his actual bodily progress towards the scene of his labours. Miasmatic exhalations prevail to a great extent through the entire of the equatorial region of the continent, but are especially poisonous in the level tracts lying between the central uplands and the sea. Thus the entire coast may be considered as lined to a considerable distance by a fever-haunted zone, in which any prolonged sojourn is perilous, and often fatal, alike to natives and white men. Certain districts, again, are infested by the tsetse fly, and this winged scourge, whose bite is deadly to nearly all beasts of burden, renders ordinary means of transport impossible through great part of Africa. Horses, oxen, mules, and camels, alike succumb beneath its attacks, which the ass alone, of all draught animals, seems entirely proof against. The result is, that the whole carrier work of Central Africa is done solely by men, and as each porter must carry, in addition to the traveller's luggage and equipments, an equivalent in some form for the food consumed by him on the way, the number of bearers required is largely out of all proportion to the effects transported. The absence of any portable currency among the natives necessitates the taking of bulky wares, such as cloths and cotton stuffs, sufficient for payment by way of barter, for all supplies required. A perfect army of coloured carriers must therefore attend the steps of a single European traveller, who requires in addition an armed escort to protect him from attack. Thus the cost of African travelling and transport is enormously enhanced, and, to take one instance out of many, Commander Cameron's expedition from the east to the west coast cost a sum of no less than twelve

thousand pounds. Add to these difficulties the absence of roads and bridges, the delays occasioned by floods, swamps, and impenetrable undergrowth of jungle, the incessant stoppages caused by illness or misconduct among the porters, the wearisome negotiations with petty chief after chief, the interruptions to traffic by internecine wars along the route, and some idea may be formed of the utter uncertainty that overhangs every stage of an African journey.

But while land traffic is thus impeded, water-carriage, despite the gigantic streams that carry the equatorial rainfall to the sea, is rendered absolutely impracticable by a singular feature in the conformation of the country. From the broad level tracts that belt the coasts of Equatorial Africa, the flanking ranges, buttressing up and enclosing the great central water basin, rise in steep successive flights, and may be compared to a massive pedestal with spreading base, in which is set a gigantic trough. Thus while the flat zone by the sea-shore is a land of sluggish streams, and the regions of the interior have in most parts the same character, the rocky staircase descending from the higher to the lower of these levels, is travelled over by the great equatorial streams in a series of falls and rapids, that make them utterly useless as highways of commerce. On the Nile, navigation is interrupted in this way for a considerable part of its course, while above the last cataract it admits again of steamboat traffic for hundreds of miles farther towards its source. The great river of Western Africa, the Congo or Livingstone, hurls itself over the abrupt declivities of its bed in that interminable succession of boiling rapids which delayed Stanley's famous canoe voyage five months, in the weary effort to transport his goods past these obstacles. The Zambesi casts itself headlong down a vertical cliff into the abyss of a yawning chasm, and goes raging down the gorge in smoke and thunder. The Tugela, in British South Africa, leaps the mountain-wall of the Drakensberg, and gains the plain of Natal, twice a thousand feet below, in two consecutive flashes of arrowy descent.

This impetuous character of the African water-courses, which extends to the tributary as well as the main streams, is ascribed to their comparatively recent origin, as they have not yet had time to wear down the irregularities of their beds to a uniform declivity, and seems to countenance the theory held by some geographers as to the physical history of the continent. According to this view, its central concavity was once completely filled by a great inland sea, of which the present lake system is but the shrinking remnant, while the saline deposits found in many parts of the same region are proofs of its extension in other directions. When, through some change in conditions of climate, the equi-

librium long maintained between rainfall and evaporation was destroyed, and the influx began to gain on the waste by heat, the accumulating surplus of water must necessarily overflow its bounds, and the great reservoir then bursting its circling dam at several points, the mighty rivers leaped forth through the shattered gateways of the hills, hastening by their several paths to the sea. The precipitous steeps or rocky inclines which all alike meet at a certain point of their career, form an impassable barrier to their use as channels of communication, and this geographical feature is one of the principal causes contributing to the inaccessibility of Central Africa and the barbarous isolation of the vast regions thus fenced in from all contact with the outer world.

But while the difficulties here enumerated in the way of missionary enterprise in Africa might seem sufficient to discourage all but the most ardent spirits, the records of travel contain some incidents calculated to reanimate the zeal of Christendom, showing that the negro races, however slow to adopt the faith, are capable of retaining and transmitting it with tenacious fidelity, even when cut off from all external aids to religion. No one need despair of the future of Africa who reads the accounts furnished to us by missionaries and explorers of the survival of a traditional form of Christianity among isolated communities, formerly evangelized, but again abandoned, and left for generations without rites or teachers of religion. Such a community was discovered by some French missionaries sent to the West Coast of Africa in 1773. In the kingdom of Kaongo, on the north bank of the Livingstone River, they came upon a group of Christian villages, whose inhabitants received them with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. The ancestors of these people had emigrated from the neighbouring kingdom of Congo, at that time completely Christianized, during some of the wars by which it was devastated, and, carrying with them a deep-rooted attachment to the faith, had retained it in the midst of the heathen population by which they were surrounded. There they constituted a separate colony of about 4,000 souls, settled in twelve little villages, the principal one being called Maguenza. The missionaries were received and lodged by the chief, and were led to the little church, where, before an altar surmounted by a cross, the natives were accustomed to celebrate their form of worship, singing canticles in their own language in double chorus, praising the divine mercy and imploring grace not to relapse into idolatry. The missionaries remained a week among them, preaching, instructing, and baptizing some hundreds of children. So great was the anxiety of the inhabitants to see their children received into the church, that two women who had not heard of

the arrival of the priests till after their departure, followed them for a distance of thirteen leagues, carrying their infants to receive the sacrament. The missionaries left, promising to return or send other priests, but were unable to do so, and nothing further has been heard of this interesting colony. May it not be that the religious whom the nations of Europe are casting out with contumely, are destined to be the new apostles of some of these forlorn children of the Church, who pine for the teachers rejected among their own people?

A similar Christian settlement has recently been discovered and restored by Father Duparquet, Prefect Apostolic of Congo, who, hearing of its existence, though scarcely believing in it, sent Father Carrie on an exploring voyage in March, 1876, and some months later made it the site of the new mission of St. Antoine. It had been founded by the Capuchins in 1645, and abandoned by them, owing to the disturbed state of Europe, early in this century. The church, originally built in the capital of the little principality of Sogno, now stands isolated in the midst of a vast plain, the town having been abandoned in the course of native wars. The slaves attached to the convent formed themselves into an independent community, called "The People of the Church," and continue to elect their own chiefs, of whom the present, Dom Pantaleon, is the seventh since the departure of Father Seraphim, the last of the friars. An old man, who had lived in his time, remained as guardian of the church, with the right of presiding over the worship still held there, and so tenacious was the little community of their ecclesiastical privileges, that when the new mission was established they insisted it should be in their midst, instead of in the neighbouring town. Having overcome all opposition to their desire, its members proceeded to construct the dwellings of the priests with their own hands. In the sacristy all the altar-plate was found in safety, and amongst other objects were brought to light a cross of chased silver and exquisite workmanship, with the name of the artist, Fernando Porto; a censer by the same hand, with the date 1668; a number of statues, a silver gilt chalice, &c. During the short visit of Father Duparquet, 131 people received baptism, and he left there a flourishing Christian community. He collected a number of the hymns which the people sing in their own language to their native melodies, still remembering the Catholic prayers taught them by the monks.

In an opposite quarter of the continent, in Upper Ethiopia, or the country of the Gallas, similar settlements of Christians, surviving in the midst of paganism, were found by the French traveller, M. d'Abbadie, who wrote an interesting account of them to the Comte de Montalembert, in October, 1843. Of one

of these groups of Christian families living among a Mahometan population he says :—

This is now the fourth generation for which they have been without priests, and the rich are obliged to send their children to Gogam (in Abyssinia) to have them baptized, for the Ethiopians, as you know, erroneously believe that baptism cannot be administered by a laic. The touching perseverance of these poor people is nothing short of a miracle. But this is not all. Adjoining Essarya is Nona, where the Christians are very numerous, nearly three hundred hearths. One of them, a fortunate warrior, has acquired great influence in Nona ; he is educated enough to calculate the time of Easter. He is to be seen with his co-religionists celebrating all the feasts of the Abyssinian Church ; but for more than a hundred years Nona has had no priests, and not one of these Christians has been baptized.

In another district, he says, the people, who were without a single minister of religion, were to be seen on Sunday evenings leading their children and flocks round their churches, crying at the top of their voices, "We invoke you, Mary." And further on he describes an extensive country, which he says was the refuge of all the Christians of the Sidam race, occupying the region between the 7th and 10th degrees of latitude, from the advance of the Gallas. These people had sent envoys to Gondar, imploring some of the priests of the mission to accompany them home, but in vain ; the difficulties at that time were too great. Perhaps the recent persecutions encountered at the hands of the monarch of Abyssinia by the mission of the Gallas, in the persons of Monsignor Massaja and his colleagues, may be the means of bringing these abandoned congregations once more into contact with Christendom, as it has compelled the missionaries, hitherto restricted from penetrating into the interior of the country, to take a more circuitous route to their stations, and thus to visit on their way remote and hitherto neglected districts.

The Egyptian conquests in the Soudan have opened a way into the heart of the continent, for the mission which Monsignor Comboni, Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa, if not its actual founder, has developed from a comparatively small nucleus to its present importance. The district under his jurisdiction has an area greater than the whole of Europe, and contains an infidel population of a hundred million souls. It was created a Vicariate by Gregory XVI., on April 3, 1846, when the Jesuits undertook its spiritual care, transferring it, in 1861, to the Franciscans. The mission in its earlier stages was not very prosperous, as the climate proved a fatal obstacle to its progress, and the stations first chosen were so ill-selected, that out of four points determined on as bases of operation—Khartoum, Gondokoro, Ste. Croix, and Scellal—the three latter have had to be abandoned, and a new

direction given to the advances of missionary exploration. The enterprising prelate who is now the guiding spirit of Christianity in this vast region, with a true Apostolic vocation, consecrated himself in January, 1849, being then only seventeen years of age, to the mission of Central Africa, moved to this determination by the account given by Father Vinco, on his return from the country, of the abandoned state of the population. Ten years later he was sent to Khartoum, where he learned the Denka and other African languages, and formed the plan, which he carried out later with the assistance of the Bishop of Verona, Marquis of Canossa, and lineal representative of the great Countess Matilda, of founding two institutes for priests and nuns specially devoted to the missions of Nigritia. The first was established in 1867, and in November of that year he started from Marseilles at the head of a band of associates, consisting of three priests, three nuns of the Order of St. Joseph of the Apparition, and thirteen negresses, educated at the Mazza Institute of Verona, and destined to be made use of as native teachers. Two of the missionaries, Fathers Stanislaus Carcereri and Joseph Franceschini, were priests of the Order of St. Camillus, who, on the suppression of the religious orders in Italy, had obtained leave to associate themselves with him for five years. Thus Africa profits already by the prevarication of Europe, and "the whelps do eat of the crumbs that fall from the table of the children."

The missionary caravan took the way of Cairo, enjoying the protection of Egypt, the only Mahometan State whose rulers, following the traditions of Mehemet Ali, have adopted to a certain extent the civilization of the West, and are anxious to afford every possible facility to Christian teachers. Thus, the late Khedive, on the representation of the Austrian Consul, bestowed on the missions of Central Africa a piece of land in the Ismailish quarter of Cairo, valued at 43,000 francs. Here was founded, in 1867, an institution for the education of negroes, as well as for the acclimatization and training of missionaries for Central Africa, under the direction of the Verona Seminarists and the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition. In 1872, the mission of Khartoum, with all its dependencies, was ceded to the religious of these Orders by the Franciscans, who had suffered much during their residence there; and in May of the same year the Abbé Comboni, Superior of the Institute at Cairo, was created Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the mission of Central Africa, thus entering on that enlarged sphere of activity which has since afforded scope for his untiring energy and zeal.

The region committed to his spiritual charge occupies the vast area extending to the frontiers of Egypt and Tripoli on the north, to the Sahara and the two Guineas on the west, bounded

on the east by Abyssinia and the Red Sea, and having for its southern limit the wholly or semi-fabulous Mountains of the Moon. It comprises a population little known to the rest of the world, ranging through all shades of dusky hue—brown, dun, and ebony—and as various in their habits and manners as in the colour of their skin. Within its boundaries are comprised those strange uncouth races visited and described by the celebrated German explorer Dr. Schweinfurth—the fierce Niam-Niam, the terrible man-eaters, of whose revolting banquets he brought the relics to Europe; the diminutive Akkas, whose stature almost justifies the classical fables of the pygmies; and the powerful Monbottu, with their wild songs and dances, and the savage ceremonial of their barbarous Court. Among tribes so isolated and uncivilized, the diversity of tongues spoken offers a great difficulty to missionary teaching, since, never having been reduced to literary classification, they must be learned in the country through the medium of native interpreters, and cannot like the Oriental languages, be acquired beforehand in a preliminary course of study pursued in European colleges. Monsignor Comboni calculates the number of idioms spoken in Central Africa at a hundred, these dialects consisting principally of monosyllables, and expressing only a very limited range of ideas, such as are connected with material objects or sensations. The Arabic spoken in Africa is also extremely corrupt, and consists of a number of dialects unknown to European students of language. Much assistance has been afforded to the missionaries in their efforts to acquire some medium of communication with the natives, by the compilation of a dictionary of Italian and Denka, one of the principal idioms of the country, the work of Father Mitteruntzner, Canon of St. John Lateran, and Director of the diocesan seminary of Brixen.

It is not, however, to that quarter of the Vicariate made known to Europe through the explorations of Dr. Schweinfurth, that Monsignor Comboni's efforts to extend his mission are at present directed, but rather to the provinces lying to the south—Nubia, the Egyptian Soudan, and Kordofan, countries notorious as the great centres and channels of the slave trade debouching in the valley of the Nile. Among these provinces the English Pro-consul, Gordon Pasha, ruled with absolute power over a country five times as large as France, and extending as far as the great twin lakes, foster-parents of the infant Nile. His mission, in which, with the austere exaltation of a biblical hero, he believed himself predestined to success, was the suppression of the commerce in human flesh and blood, and with this object he established a cordon of military posts along the course of the Nile, where fugitive slaves were received and sheltered, the

authorities being in many cases obliged to feed and maintain as well as emancipate them. These regions are cut off from European commerce and travel by the arid wastes of the great Nubian Desert, interposed like a zone of fire between them and Upper Egypt. Across its scorching ridges all goods and passengers must be transported on camel or dromedary back ; the navigation of the Nile, during that part of its course which encircles with a great loop this inhospitable region, being interrupted by the succession of cataracts in which it descends from the plateaus of the interior to the sunken trough of the Valley of Egypt. The fatigue of the passage of the desert is increased by the necessity of traversing it in a series of forced marches of ten days, almost without a halt, as the total absence of water along the way limits the time spent in the journey to that for which a supply can be carried. The Soudan railway, projected, but far from being completed, is intended to bridge the gap in the communications between Egypt proper and its southern provinces ; while the design was also entertained by the late Khedive, that man of many schemes, of enabling ships to pass the cataracts of the Nile by an inclined plane, up which the force of the falling water itself should be made use of for the traction engines required to draw them.

Meanwhile Khartoum, the principal station of the Vicariate of Central Africa, is two months' journey from Grand Cairo. It is the capital of Nubia, and a considerable town of some 30,000 inhabitants, but its prosperity, which was principally due to the iniquitous business of the slave trade, has received a sensible shock from the raids of Gordon Pasha and Sir Samuel Baker, and its leading merchants are gradually transferring themselves to a more undisturbed field of enterprise in Kordofan. Although from its central position it must continue to be occupied as a basis of missionary operations, Monsignor Comboni disapproves of it as a station, from the unhealthiness of its site. Situated close to the junction of the Blue and White branches of the Nile, the country about it at the rainy season forms a lake, in which fish may be caught almost from the windows, while the retreating waters leave the ground covered with bloated batrachians and venomous scorpions. The same objection applies to all stations on the banks of the White Nile, which are, according to the experience of Monsignor Comboni, everywhere miasmatic ; the fish of the river are unwholesome, and its waters clouded with a white sediment. This view is confirmed by Colonel Long, of the Egyptian army, who explored the Nile through great part of its course to the Victoria Nyanza, and describes the country traversed by him from Gondokoro to the Equator as fatal to the life of Europeans, and even of Arabs, though acclimatized to the tropics.

Nor need we wonder at the poisonous exhalations prevailing in these localities when we consider the vast amount of organic decomposition constantly taking place in the great forcing-house under the Equator, and the enormous mass of vegetable putrefaction annually swept away by the flushing of the water-channels during the tropical rains. The last-named explorer describes the considerable sheet of water which he discovered, and named Lake Ibrahim, as completely overgrown with a floating jungle of aquatic vegetation—cane-brake, sedge, lotus, and papyrus—so dense as to be only passable by the narrow channels cut by the natives for their canoes; and a similar barrier, impenetrable even to a steamer, is encountered on many of the reaches of the Upper Nile.* It is this portentous exuberance of growth and decay that gives the waters of the inundation their fertilizing quality, and fattens the Valley of Egypt with a stratum of virgin soil endowed with all the prolific virtue of the tropical sun.

The presence of this mass of decomposing material renders the banks of the Nile to the south of Khartoum ill adapted for human habitation, and this was one of the principal motives influencing Monsignor Comboni to choose Kordofan in preference, as the chief scene of his apostolic labours. Even before the charge of the Central African Missions had been formally entrusted to him, in October, 1871, he organized and sent out an exploratory party from Cairo, consisting of the Camillian Fathers, Carcereri and Franceschini, with the lay-brothers Bertoli and Polinari, to report upon El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan, as the site for a missionary establishment. They made the voyage in the usual way by *dahabieh*, or decked sailing boat, up the Nile as far as Korosko, the port of the great desert. In crossing the scorching waste on camel-back, they suffered much from want of water, owing to their inexperience in using new skins without washing, in which their supply turned bad very early in the journey, but otherwise described the hardships of this route as exaggerated. At Berber, where they again struck the Nile, they took boat for the remainder of the way to Khartoum, where they were received by the missionaries then established there. They quitted it, once more on camel-back, on the 1st of January, 1872, and having crossed the current of the White Nile, entered Kordofan, where no missionary had ever previously

* A terrible illustration of this feature of the country is afforded by the last news which has reached Europe from it. The Egyptian flotilla for the suppression of the slave trade, commanded by Gessi Pasha, became entangled in the *sudd*, or water-jungle, of the Upper Nile, and for three months was detained in the effort to force a passage. Provisions failed, and the remnant of the expedition which reached Khartoum only escaped starvation by feeding on the bodies of their dead comrades.

penetrated, on the 6th. They experienced much difficulty in finding their way through the unexplored country, as they were without trustworthy guides, and their maps proved utterly unreliable, but they were received everywhere with the greatest hospitality by the inhabitants, who made them welcome to a share of all they had, and refused to accept any payment for food or lodging.

The little caravan, after some circuitous wanderings, finally arrived in safety at El Obeid, where they were well received, and promised facilities for opening schools, and fixing their residence there, as they were eventually desired to do. The town is charmingly situated under the shade of trees, and is growing in importance, as many of the merchants of Khartoum have removed thither, owing to the restrictions placed on the traffic in slaves in the latter place. Of the population about two-thirds are negroes, described as having no religion, and kept as slaves by the Arabs, of course Mahometans, who form the rest of the inhabitants. There is a public slave-market, and the human chattels are sold at prices varying from 150 to 300 francs. The soil, though sandy, is productive, and might easily be made to yield two harvests in the year, but the natives are indolent, and do not make the most of it. The greatest heat, which occurs in May and June, seldom exceeds 36° Reaumur, and as fever is not very prevalent, the country seems adapted for the residence of Europeans. Provisions are generally cheap, but Kordofan depends for its sustenance entirely on the rainfall, and if this fails the soil becomes utterly unproductive. Running water there is absolutely none, and it is, in fact, a series of oases, the site of its habitations being determined by the neighbourhood of a well, where a subterranean spring can be reached by digging.

Monsignor Comboni was not slow in going to take possession of his new spiritual territory, and having returned from a trip to Europe, whither he had gone to enlist fresh recruits for the campaign against infidelity, he started from Cairo on the 26th of January, 1873, at the head of a party of thirty fellow-labourers, comprising nuns, priests, lay brothers and negress teachers. By the usual route up the Nile, across the great Korosko Desert, and by the river again, they reached Khartoum, and were received in State by the Governor-General of the Soudan and other authorities, while even the Mussulman population went to meet them, chanting hymns not unlike the Christian psalms. Similar honours were paid to the new prelate on his first visit to El Obeid, where he arrived on June 19, 1873, and where the sale of slaves was suspended for several days as a special compliment to him.

But a still further extension of his undertakings was in his vol. v.—no. II. [Third Series.]

mind, and circumstances gradually led to the execution of his project. As far back as the year 1849, when he was himself little more than a boy, he had observed, in the service of the Counts Miniscalchi, a Christian negro named Bakhit Coenda. This man, whose good character and conduct had given the penetrating young Italian a high opinion of the qualities of his countrymen, belonged to the tribe of Gebel Noubas, and the course of his apostolic career had led the then ecclesiastical student to the borders of the country inhabited by this very people, in southern Kordofan. The conclusion he had long ago come to in distant Italy, as to their improbability and fine qualities, was now confirmed by observation on the spot, for he perceived that the Egyptian military authorities were particularly anxious to collect recruits for the army from amongst them, while in the slave-market at El Obeid, they were equally at a premium, fetching from fifty to a hundred francs more than captives of other tribes.

Accordingly, when Said Agha, one of this people, was presented to Monsignor Comboni within a month of his arrival in the capital of Kordofan, he received him with particular attention, and the Nouba was shown all the wonders of civilization existing in the Mission, in the hope that his visit would lead to others. Nor was this expectation fallacious, for on the 24th of September following, no less a person than the Cogour Cacoun, or priest and chief of the Noubas of Delen, appeared in person at the residence of the missionaries, with twenty followers in his suite. Much as he had doubtless heard of what he was to see, it was evident that the reality far surpassed his expectations, for as the good fathers put forth all their simple wiles, and displayed their little store of European treasures, seeking to win the approval of the savage chief on whose capricious fancy so much depended, his exclamations of wonder and astonishment were the best testimony to the success of their efforts. The process of knitting, and sundry other ordinary European arts and handicrafts, seemed to his untutored mind little short of miraculous; but the crowning touch was put to his admiration and delight when the harmonium was played in his presence.

From a piece of wood (he exclaimed, enraptured) you produce the most exquisite voices, sweeter than those of birds or men!

And he finally summed up his impressions by saying:—

We are ignorant creatures; we know nothing; we are even as the beasts. Teach us what we ought to do. Come yourself into our country, and instruct us in all those matters you have mentioned. I urge on my cow and my camel; I drive them to the right, and they go to the right; I wish to have my horse and my goat on the left, and I

send them to the left. I order my slave to lead the oxen, my female slave to draw water, and they do it. In like manner, show to us the way we ought to take, and we will obey you like servants and slaves. You shall make us understand exactly what you will. We, our wives, sons, slaves, and servants, our cows, oxen, goats, and sheep, our lands and houses, goods and chattels, even the very leaves on the trees, shall be at your service. We will be your sons, servants, and slaves, and you shall be the father and master of us all.

The invitation so enthusiastically given, was afterwards acted on, and this visit of the chief prepared the way for the mission, which in March, 1875, was sent to Delen, his residence, under the charge of Father Louis Bonomi. In the following September, Monsignor Comboni in person started for a sojourn in the newly established station, and gives the following interesting account of his arrival, in a letter published in the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith":—

After a march of five days, we met, in the midst of the forest of Singiokae, an Arab cavalier, of the race of Omour. I gave him an old *couffie* (a piece of silk used as a covering for the head), and charged him to go and apprise the great chief of the Noubas and the missionaries, of my near approach. In hope of a still better reward, he spurred on his horse, and sped to Delen.

On the evening of the 21st September, 1875, I was extremely surprised to find at half a day's journey from the station of Delen, the great chief of the Noubas coming to meet me, followed by fifty Noubas, armed with firearms and lances. He had scarcely seen me when he dismounted, approached my camel, kissed my hand, saluted me profoundly several times, and said to me in good Arabic, in the dialect of Kordofan: "God has sent you amongst us; and behold, we, our little children, our wives, our young daughters, our oxen, cows, sheep and goats, our houses and lands, all are now placed at your disposal. You are our father, and we are your children; we will do all you command us, and we shall be happy."

"I have indeed come," I replied, "to be your father. In learning all that the missionaries and nuns will teach you, you will prove the best of sons, and be happy, both on earth and in heaven."

I brought the camel to its knees, and, aided by the Cogour Cacoun, I dismounted.

It was a mild night, brilliant with moonlight and myriads of stars. We spread our mattresses, and the supper having been served on a carpet spread on the ground, we ate joyfully, and drank water, which was brought to us by the Noubas. We bivouacked in company with these good natives, around the fires they had kindled both for the purpose of warming us and to keep off the wild beasts.

Having given the great chief Cacoun a woollen coverlet of the value of five francs, I asked him the next day if he had slept well. He replied joyfully: "How could any one fail to sleep well under the care of God, and with this beautiful coverlet which you gave me yesterday evening,

I am going to put it on my horse, and it will be very useful to me at my residence."

I mounted on horseback. At midday we entered into the *zariba* (enclosure) of the mission, amid the sound of firearms, and cries of joy from the chiefs and the people. We were received by Father Louis Bonomi, Superior of the Mission, and his companions. Several Gnomas came to visit me.

The Gnomas are a ferocious people, of tall stature, who wear no clothing. They massacre the Mussulmans and Giabbas who come here to carry them off for the purpose of selling them as slaves. The visits of many other Noubas from the neighbouring mountains gave me great hope of evangelizing this country, where I find that Islamism is greatly detested. But a number of superstitions, rites, ceremonies, and extravagant beliefs, reign here at present, under the influence of a spirit called Ocourou.

The country of Delen is inhabited by more than 50,000 souls. It is situated between 11° and 12° of N. latitude, and 26° and 28° of E. longitude (meridian of Paris). It is the basis of the link of communication, and, as it were, the first great staple of our apostolic undertaking among the people of the great family of the Noubas, which stretches out by the mountains to the south-west. From Delen one may reach in two days the most distant point in the semicircle formed by those mountains. The most thickly populated localities are Gnomma, Sobein, Golfan, Carco, Fonda, hid at a distance of from four to ten hours' journey.

The Noubas are supposed to be descendants of the ancient Christians of Nubia, who fled into Kordofan before repeated invasions of the Arabs from the shores of the Red Sea, the two most formidable of which took place in the seventh and fourteenth centuries. Christianity existed in Ethiopia, which included Nubia, from the fourth century, or even earlier; but in 449, Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, adopted and introduced the Eutychian heresy, the origin of the present Coptic or Jacobite sect. The Noubas are therefore the heirs of one of the primitive churches, disinherited and for ages back cut off from the fold of Christendom, to which our missionaries are now trying to lead them back.

Monsignor Comboni describes them as a peaceable and orderly though indolent people, living in settled dwellings, and attached to their homes. The Cogour Cacoun, pontiff and king, is an absolute ruler, but generally takes the advice of a Council of elders on all business of importance. Their warriors are brave in battle, and frequently possess themselves of the arms and ammunition of the neighbouring tribes, but at the time the mission was established they were very anxious for a fresh supply of powder and ball, as their stock had run so low that they were sometimes reduced to charge their weapons with pebbles. Their language,

which is distinct from Arabic, has several dialects, like most of those spoken in Central Africa.

The prosperous beginning of the infant mission was soon interrupted by a series of misfortunes. Fever, that terrible scourge of all African exploration, was the first foe by which it was attacked. In the October after its establishment all its members were simultaneously stricken down, and while Monsignor Comboni was meditating a temporary removal, he received intelligence which hastened his movements. It came in the form of a dispatch from the Mudir or governor of Kordofan, residing at Birch, three days' journey off, warning the missionaries to abandon Delen, as it was in danger of an attack from a tribe of wandering Bagaras, and begging them to make use of the 20 camels sent by the writer, to transport themselves and their effects to a place of safety.

The real state of the case, however, as the Superioreess learned from the messenger, was that the threatened danger came from the Mudir himself, who, as the Nouba chief had not paid his tribute, had collected a force of 1,000 soldiers and four guns, and was preparing to attack him. Monsignor Comboni, on this information, sent for the Cacoun, and begged him to pay the tribute as usual, but the chief declared it to be impossible, and requested Monsignor to intercede, by sending a letter to the Governor, asking for a delay until after the harvest. This he did, but meantime judged it prudent to start, leaving the property of the mission in charge of the friendly chief.

The journey of the little caravan was a difficult and a dangerous one, as the way lay for fourteen hours through a forest infested by wild beasts. Here, being delayed by the illness of one of the Fathers, who was unable to proceed without rest, they were overtaken by night, and had to sleep on the ground, without provisions or water, and disturbed by the roaring of the fierce denizens of the jungle. At dawn they were able to continue their route, but finding the villages on the way abandoned by their inhabitants, who had fled to escape the exactions of the advancing troops, they had to go on to El Obeid, five or six days' journey from their starting-point.

These temporary troubles having passed away, and peace being restored, the Fathers and their associates returned to occupy the mission-house at Delen, where they set diligently to work to learn the language and compose a little catechism in it, a task of no small difficulty, as it necessitated the reduction to writing of a purely oral language. They are much respected by the people, who say of them, "these are men who do not covet other people's goods;" the highest praise in their eyes, as the other white men they had seen came amongst them only to enrich themselves at their expense. They listen willingly to

instructions, and are all the better disposed to Christianity, as they are described as having little or no attachment to their own religion. Their priests are mere impostors, who practise on the credulity of the people, and are little regarded by them, as seems generally to be the case with idolatrous races among whom Mahometanism has penetrated. The presence of a higher form of belief, as is the most degraded form of monotheism compared with mere fetichism, insensibly undermines the old creed, even in the minds of those who do not adopt the new. Thus the Noubas at the present moment appear to have adopted a sort of Broad Church attitude of latitudinarian indifferentism, and are sometimes willing to have recourse to the Arab priests in preference to their own, and equally ready to accept some practices of Christian devotion. The claim to the possession of a divinely inspired volume gives a religion a certain sanctity or respectability in their eyes, and both the Bible and Koran are regarded by them with reverence. But to produce a profound impression on minds in this condition of tolerant scepticism must necessarily be a work of time, and M. Losi, one of the missionaries at Delen, thus expressed himself in a letter published in *Les Missions Catholiques* on the 26th of December, 1879:—

Despite these excellent dispositions, we do not as yet flatter ourselves with having made numerous conversions. These people are steeped in the most profound ignorance, and it will be necessary to instruct them and lead them from theory to practice. Thanks to our new catechism, we have some consoling results to show, and we shall at least have the rising generation. We are the more led to believe so, as superstition, already shaken, has just received a terrible shock in the following fashion:—

It is customary here to constitute all authority according to the inspiration supposed to reside in the orain of the great Cogiour (chief priest). This year, when the election of a new Sultan, or civil chief of the country, was impending, the Cogiour brought a man from our mountain to teach him the tricks of sleight-of-hand, and wonderful feats of activity, that might make him pass for a creature in direct communication with the Spirit. After having kept him a fortnight in his hut, he proclaimed him Sultan; the Spirit had so willed. All seemed to go well, and the new chief had already opened a shop for the retail of his oracles, when suddenly Hassan Pasha arrived with a mission to combat all those who are carrying on the slave trade. He inquired into the state of the country, and learned that a Sultan had just been elected; he refused to acknowledge him, as being only a creature of the Cogiour, deposed him, and nominated in his place another Sultan, on whom he conferred letters of legalization in due form. The people were enchanted at the change, celebrated his accession to power with great festivities, and seemed little scandalized at the election having taken place without the intervention of the Spirit.

This new functionary, who seemed well disposed towards the missionaries, came in State the day after his installation to pay them a visit, promised them his protection within and beyond his territory, and offered to have his son taught by them, that he might be able to read the Bible and explain it to him. Thus, even in the most remote and savage districts, the Central African Missions, enjoying the protection of the authorities and the sympathy of the natives, seemed to open with a fair promise of prosperity. They, were, however, destined to go through a severe ordeal when the scene of their labours was stricken with one of those dreadful periodical visitations to which tropical countries are especially liable, and the Fathers had to undergo that most painful trial of charitable hearts, in witnessing distress they could do little to alleviate.

Nubia and Kordofan, cut off, as we have seen, from communication with the outer world by a zone of burning desert, are entirely dependent on the production of their own soil for the sustenance of their inhabitants, and a season of unusual drought was followed, in 1878-79, by a total failure of the crops, and the ravages of a terrible famine throughout the country. Monsignor Comboni, writing from Khartoum on the 2nd of January, 1879,* says that to the south, east, and west of that city, over a territory three times the extent of France, death had carried off more than half the population, that Khartoum itself had lost, by emigration or death, a third of its inhabitants, and that several of the neighbouring villages and towns were utterly depopulated. In visiting more than a hundred of these hamlets in the direction of Berber, in order to distribute the alms sent him by the charitable in Europe, he found that the camels, cattle, and even the very dogs, had perished ; while the few remaining inhabitants were but living skeletons, supporting a miserable existence on herbs and grass seeds. At Khartoum, corn, which sold five years previously at five thalers the ardeb, had risen to twenty-eight, and in Kordofan was not to be had at any price ; so that for seven months no bread had been eaten in the missionary establishments. Four months before an effort had been made to send them some flour, the Vicar Apostolic having purchased twenty sacks at an exorbitant price for the three stations in Kordofan, but no exertions could procure the means of transport for it, as all the camels had perished, and it had to remain finally at Khartoum. Famine was as usual followed by fever and epidemic, and the missionaries suffered many losses not easily replaced. During the month of October, 1878, Monsignor Comboni himself represented the whole available strength of the mission at Khartoum ; but at last, worn out

* "Les Missions Catholiques," 28 Fevrier, 1879.

by fatigue and anxiety, was stricken likewise with the malady which had prostrated all his subordinates. A letter of the Italian explorer, Signor Pellegrino Matteucci, written from Zoulah, Abyssinia, 2nd of January, 1879, and published in the *Ossevatore Romano* of the 8th of February, gives the following interesting details of the sufferings of the mission :—

It is now a year since I wrote a letter from Khartoum, enlarging on the importance of the Catholic Missions. Now, since that date, of all the missionaries at Khartoum, there remain only two or three with Monsignor Daniel Comboni. From Cairo to Massowah, each of my stages has been marked by the intelligence of some fresh misfortune that has stricken the Missions of Central Africa.

The climate of Khartoum is fatal to Europeans; the fevers that prevail there being of so pernicious a type as to carry off the most robust at the second attack. This year the fatal effects of the climate have surpassed all that we had previously heard of it. It seems that the rains this year have been much more abundant than usual, and that centres of contagion have multiplied throughout these vast and desolate plains. Scarcely any portion of the Soudan has escaped the scourge; in many places the very animals have perished.

I have in my hands a letter of Monsignor Comboni's, dated the 28th November. This letter bears the impress of profound sadness. It is plainly to be seen that it is written by an energetic man, almost overborne by the weight of tribulations. He struggles and resists, but twenty years spent in Africa in striving against gigantic difficulties have exhausted the vigour of his youth. Last October his episcopal dignity gave him only the privilege of being the doctor, the infirmary, and the grave-digger, not alone of his missionaries, but of all who died beneath the shadow of the Cross.

In consequence of the loss of almost all his missionaries, Monsignor Comboni has to defer the accomplishment of his vast projects. Within these last months he had inaugurated, on the route of the Blue River, at Gadaref, an agricultural station destined for a great future. He had prepared the formation of a station at Fascioda or Denab, the capital of the Shillouks, in one of the most barbarous and unhealthy districts of Central Africa. A short time ago he was making all the necessary dispositions for an expedition to the equatorial lakes, which would have reckoned amongst his most important enterprises. For these great designs, the required staff, and perhaps the pecuniary means, are no longer at his disposal. New recruits will arrive; but they can only advance by slow degrees along this road, marked by so many deaths among their predecessors.

The year 1878 must be counted among the most mournful for the Vicariate of Monsignor Comboni. The Soudan has been desolated by a terrible famine. The negroes dropped from inanition on the public highway, or, dying of hunger, dragged themselves to the Mission to beg a handful of dourah, which they were sure to receive. At this period (10th of June, 1878) water was sold at a higher price in Kordofan

than wine in Paris; notwithstanding which Monsignor Comboni congratulated himself in my presence on having left himself without resources, and on having even contracted debts, in order to alleviate the extreme distress of the famishing population. My illustrious friend had good cause to esteem himself happy. To men of faith and devotion like his, the want of material resources has never seemed a disaster; but the most cruel trial for his heart, as bishop, father, and friend, has been the loss of his companions, the ministers of his designs. . . .

Had the missionaries who died last October been simple travellers, the newspapers and learned societies would have spoken of them; but in Europe, the merit of the African missionary is not done justice to, nor the importance of his work appreciated. Explorers know their worth; we travellers can estimate the moral and material effect of the presence of the priest in the midst of savages.

Stanley, the greatest of living explorers, affirms in the narrative of his wonderful journey, that a prolonged residence of missionaries among the tribes dwelling between the Equator and the Congo, would be required in order to prepare them for civilization; since missionaries are the most dexterous and patient pioneers of civilization. Monsignor Comboni is aware of this declaration of Stanley's; and I am sure he meditates acting on it, proposing next year to send new missionaries to establish a station at the Equator. I hope this great design may be accomplished, to the honour of the Italian name, which, gloriously borne by the missionaries, will be regarded as the propagator of civilization in the last retreat of African barbarism.

In the midst of all these discouragements, Monsignor Comboni did not lose sight of his great object of sending forward the standard-bearers of the Cross to occupy fresh points of his vast spiritual domain. Accordingly, in July, 1879, he despatched to the remote station of Gadaref, to provide for the necessities of its forsaken Christians, Father Gennaro Martini, who in an interesting letter to his superiors in Verona describes his journey thither, and his work while there.*

In the midst of the rainy season he started on camel-back, accompanied only by two negro boys (his destined colleague had died of typhus some days before), and passed through decimated villages, whose few surviving inhabitants, torpid and emaciated, sat crouching on the thresholds of their huts, with barely sufficient consciousness to extend their hands for food as the traveller passed. Comuin, formerly a prosperous settlement on the left bank of the river A-zar, had completely changed its aspect. Its inhabitants were industrious peasants, who, after the rainy season, had always sown grain in some portion of the neighbouring desert, obtaining abundance of corn to carry for sale to Khartoum; herds of cows and sheep grazed

* "Les Missions Catholiques," 19 and 26 Mars, 1880.

around it, and every week a considerable market was held there. Now, with the recent drought, all these signs of abundance had disappeared ; no flocks or cattle were to be seen ; a portion had been killed to satisfy the demands of hunger, and the remainder driven off to distant forests to seek a scanty pasture beneath the trees.

The missionary, repairing to the river at break of day, to renew his supply of water, saw the current swarming with famishing wretches, who dived and swam in all directions in search of some particles of nourishment brought down by the stream. Father Martini distributed some handfuls of corn amongst them, and divided the contents of a can of condensed milk among the starving infants, whose mothers crowded round him for a share of this precious boon, while he took advantage of the occasion to baptize five of the little creatures who seemed near the end of their sufferings.

The journey, as may be imagined, proved a laborious one ; camels could scarcely be had at the stations for the transport of provisions ; and the party, overtaken at one time on a vast plain by a tropical storm of rain and wind, had to pass the night without shelter, on ground rapidly turning into a morass. Eventually, however, the Father reached Gadaref, where his arrival was hailed with joy by the scattered community of Christians, long deprived of the ministrations of a priest. He organized a little chapel, which was filled to overflowing ; and had just opened a school for the boys, with great prospect of success, when an unfortunate outbreak of small-pox, introduced by merchants from Sennaar and Abou-harras, obliged him to close it again.

The ravages of the epidemic, however, served to show the devotion of Christian charity in contrast to the selfishness of the Mussulman population, amongst whom, when a member of a family was attacked with the disease, he was immediately carried to a neighbouring mountain, and deposited in a straw hut, under the care of some old slave, to die or recover as fate might ordain. These huts soon formed a miserable village of the dead and dying, whose sufferings the good Father sought to alleviate, insinuating spiritual teaching, where it was possible, among these outcasts of humanity.

After a stay of five months, finding that the death of the other missionary, who was to have joined him at Gadaref, rendered the permanent occupation of the station for the present impracticable, he started to return to Khartoum, promising his flock to come back as soon as possible to build a church, and establish an agricultural colony in their midst. Gadaref is, in his opinion, well suited for such a purpose, as he considers it the

most healthy spot visited by him in Africa, both from its elevated situation and the dryness of its soil. Typhoid and pernicious fevers, the scourge of the neighbouring districts of Khartoum and Taca, are almost unknown there, and the milder forms of fever which prevail during the rainy season, are not dangerous, and are easily counteracted by the use of bitters, or even such a simple remedy as coffee with a little lemon-juice.

The settlement of his neophytes in these agricultural colonies, so as to form the nucleus of Christian villages, is the main feature of Monsignor Comboni's plan of operations throughout his Vicariate, and his principal hope of success for the future. The children educated in the Christian schools can thus be preserved from growing up amid the deteriorating influences of Mahometanism or idolatry, and retained more directly under the supervision of their pastors. Such a settlement has been formed in the plain of Malbes, in Kordofan, and Geref, near Khartoum, answers the same purpose. Religious instruction alone avails little for the negro, unless accompanied by the teaching of some form of practical industry, so as to train him to the settled habits of civilized life. The establishment organized by the French Fathers at Bagamayo, on this principle, is held up by Commander Cameron as a model for all efforts towards the regeneration of Africa, and the Catholic missionaries have sometimes been congratulated by English travellers on teaching their pupils something besides psalm-singing.

It is, then, on the rising generation that missionaries in all parts of Africa rest their hopes of the future evangelization of the continent, for the fixed habits of a life of degradation render the mind of the adult savage almost inaccessible to the higher truths of religion. The work must necessarily be slow, and its progress perhaps to our eyes scarcely perceptible, since the dire inheritance of ages of barbarism cannot be shaken off in a single generation. But those who work for futurity have time for their partner, and the Church, in whose growth centuries count as years, can afford to be patient, as she is immortal.

Nor should those who sow the seed be discouraged, even if they do not see the harvest.

At any moment a great apostle may be raised up for Africa, to whose voice such persuasive virtue shall be given, as to roll one great wave of conviction from end to end of the Dark Continent, and thrill with an electric message of light all its millions of benighted hearts. Such a one may be destined to appear only after many generations, or is perhaps even now in our midst, preparing, all unconsciously, for his task. His appointed time may be in the remote future, or swiftly coming and close at hand, but when it comes, be it soon or late, those who now toil

amid many discouragements, and with little visible result, will surely know that their life's work was not in vain, while they prepared his way before him, and made straight for him a highway in the desert.

ART. IX.—THE RUSSIAN CHURCH; ITS HISTORY AND PRESENT ORGANIZATION.

IN a former article* we explained the origin of the Greek schism and its present condition in Turkey. This schism has now more adherents in the dominions of the Tzar and among the Slav races than it has within the Patriarchate of Constantinople. And we must here take note that the schismatic Christians of Greece, Bulgaria, and Roumania† have withdrawn themselves from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. We purpose in the present article to complete our former sketch by presenting to our readers the origin, history, and actual condition of the Greek schism among the Slavs and the Russians.

1. *Origin of Christianity among the Slavs and the Russians.*

When speaking of Photius we referred to the conversion of the Bulgarians and to the early vicissitudes of their Church, which, although belonging to the Province of Illyria and thereby to the Roman centre, adopted nevertheless the ritual and discipline of the Greek Church.

It is generally known that the conversion of the Slavs was effected through the preaching of the two brothers Cyril and Methodius, and that it is to these two holy bishops that they owe their faith and their liturgy. To give a sketch of their apostolic labours is now no difficult task, for Leo XIII. in his admirable encyclical letter of the 30th of September, 1880, addressed to the archbishops and bishops of the whole world, has given a full account of them. We cannot do better than borrow the words of the Vicar of Jesus Christ:—

Cyril and Methodius, brothers, born in the famous city of Thessalonica, went early to Constantinople in order to study human science in the chief city of the East. The spark of genius that had already appeared in these young men could not long remain unobserved; they both advanced with great strides in the path of learning; but Cyril,

* DUBLIN REVIEW, July, 1880, p. 22.

† The so-called Greek Orthodox Church of Roumania is now "Autocephalous;" it possesses a primate, an archbishop, six bishops, and four and a half millions of believers.

especially, became so distinguished, that he won for himself the title of "the Philosopher." Soon after this, Methodius embraced the monastic life, and Cyril, at the instance of the Patriarch Ignatius, was deemed worthy by the Empress Theodora to teach the Christian Faith to the Khazar tribes who dwelt beyond the Chersonesus, and who had petitioned that learned priests might be sent to them from Constantinople. Cyril accepted the mission willingly, and departed for Chersonesus,* where, as many relate, he devoted some time to the study of the language. It was at this juncture that he had the good fortune to discover the relics of St. Clement I., Pope. This courageous martyr was thrown into the sea by order of the Emperor Trajan, and was afterwards buried with the anchor to which he had been fastened. This, together with the ancient tradition, served to identify the holy remains. With this priceless treasure Cyril penetrated into the towns and homesteads of the Khazars, and in a short time, after abolishing divers superstitions he won for Jesus Christ these tribes taught by his word and moved by the Spirit of God. To the new Christian community thus happily founded, Cyril gave an example of disinterestedness and charity by refusing all the presents offered him by the converts, except indeed the slaves, whose liberty he restored to them on condition that they embraced Christianity. He returned soon after to Constantinople, and retired into the monastery of Polychronius, whither Methodius had already betaken himself.

Meanwhile, rumours concerning the great events happening among the Khazars, reached Rastiz, Prince of Moravia. Fired by their example, he negotiated with the Emperor Michael III., for an evangelizing mission to be sent from Constantinople, and his wish was granted. The signal worth of Cyril and Methodius, together with their zeal and devotedness to others, caused their selection for the Moravian mission.

Setting forth, they traversed Bulgaria, already converted to the Faith, and they let slip no opportunity for advancing the interests of religion. On reaching the outskirts of Moravia, they were met by crowds of the inhabitants who had come forth with great ardour and joy to greet them. Without delay the Apostles strove to penetrate their minds with the doctrines of Christianity, and to raise their hopes to heavenly things, and this with so much ardour and with a zeal so full of energy, that in a very little while the Moravian people gave themselves to Jesus Christ.

Much of their success must be attributed to Cyril's knowledge of the Slav tongue, acquired when on his first mission. He had translated the Old and New Testaments into the popular tongue, and the influence of this sacred literature was very considerable. The whole Slav people, therefore, owe much to him who gave them the Christian Faith, and with it the advantages of civilization; for Cyril and Methodius were the inventors of the alphabet which afforded the Slav tongue the signs and means of a written language, and they are even looked upon as having formed the language.

* Taurica Chersonesus, generally called the Crimea, but since its incorporation with Russia now again called Taurica.

The two holy apostles were summoned to Rome by Pope Nicholas I., and the Holy Father goes on to relate the magnificent reception given them in the Holy City by Hadrian II. who had just succeeded Hadrian I. He then says :

Cyril and Methodius now rendered an account to the Sovereign Pontiff, in the midst of his clergy, of the apostolic mission they had fulfilled with so much labour and holiness, and as they were accused of having acted in opposition to ancient customs, and contrary to the most holy rites, in making use of the Slav tongue for the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, they pleaded their cause with such exact reasoning, based on such authentic facts, that the Pope and all the clergy praised and approved their acts. Both then took an oath, and swore that they would hold by the faith of the Blessed Peter and of the Roman Pontiff, after which they were created and consecrated Bishops by Hadrian himself, and many of their disciples were raised to different grades in "Holy Orders."

Cyril died at Rome, February 14, 869, at the age of forty-two, and Methodius returned as Bishop, to Moravia. But he was soon sent into exile by Prince Swentopolsk, the successor of Ratz, whom Methodius had excommunicated on account of his cruelty and wickedness. Recalled within a short time, his exhortations resulted in the conversion of this Prince.

That which is most admirable, Leo XIII. goes on to say, is that the vigilant charity of Methodius, which had overstepped the borders of Moravia during the lifetime of Cyril, reaching the Liburnians and the Serbs, now embraced the Pannonians, whose Prince he converted to Christianity, and held within the bonds of duty, and the Bulgarians, whom with their Prince Boris, he confirmed in the Faith, and the Dalmatians to whom he dispensed the gifts of heaven, and the Carinthians, for whom he worked strenuously that they might be brought to the knowledge and the worship of the one true God.

But all this zeal became a source of trial to Methodius, for some members of the new community of Christians jealous of his courage and virtue, accused him, in spite of his innocence, to John VIII., the successor of Hadrian, as being of unsound faith, and of violating the traditions of the Fathers, who, in the celebration of the Sacred Mysteries, made use of the Latin or Greek tongues to the exclusion of every other. Then the Sovereign Pontiff, zealous for the preservation of the integrity of the Faith and for the maintenance of ancient tradition, summoned Methodius to Rome, and bade him justify himself. Methodius, ever ready to obey, and strong in the testimony of a good conscience, appeared before Pope John, several bishops, and the Roman clergy, in 880. He gained an easy victory by proving that he himself had always kept, and had taught to others, the Faith which, in the presence of Hadrian, and with his approval, he had professed and sworn to keep with oath on the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles ; and if he had made use of the Slav tongue in the Holy Mysteries, he

had done so for good reasons, and with the special license of Pope Hadrian himself, Holy Scripture itself not forbidding it. Methodius justified himself so completely from all shadow of fault, that the Pontiff embraced him there and then, and confirmed his archiepiscopal jurisdiction and his mission to the Slavs.

Methodius returned to Moravia vested with full authority, and accompanied by several Bishops who were to be his coadjutors. Soon, with the assistance of a priest, he converted Borzivoy, Prince of Bohemia, and shortly after, Ludmilla, his wife. Through his labours, Christianity was, before long, spread throughout the land. At the same time he caused the Faith to be carried into Poland, where he himself founded the See of Leopol, in Galicia.

Thence, continues Leo XIII., he is said by some to have penetrated into Muscovy proper, and to have established there the Episcopal See of Kiew. Having thus crowned himself with imperishable laurels, he returned into Moravia to his own people. Feeling his end draw nigh, he named his successor, and having by his last words exhorted his clergy and people to the practice of virtue, he, in great peace, departed this life, which for him had been the path to heaven.

As Rome mourned for Cyril, so did Moravia lament the loss of Methodius, testifying its grief by giving all honour to his burial.

The Holy Father thus concludes :

Venerable brethren, the memory of these events causes Us deep joy, and We cannot contemplate without emotion the magnificent unity, in times so far back, of the Slav nation with the Roman Church. For though the two Apostles of the Christian Faith whom We have just spoken of went from Constantinople to preach to the infidel, it was from this Apostolic See, the centre of Catholic unity, they had to receive the investiture of their mission, or, as happened more than once, its solemn approbation. In truth, it was here, in this city of Rome, that they rendered an account of their mission, and that they answered their accusers; it was here, at the tomb of Peter and Paul, that they swore to keep the Catholic Faith, that they received the episcopal consecration, with the power to found the sacred hierarchy, observing therein the distinctiveness of each order. Lastly, it was here that they solicited and obtained permission to make use of the Slav tongue in the sacred rites, and this year ten centuries have elapsed since the Sovereign Pontiff, John VIII., wrote to Swentopolk, Prince of Moravia: "It is but right we should praise the Slav tongue which re-echoes with the praises due to God, and we ordain that in that same tongue, the praises and the works of our Lord Jesus Christ should likewise be celebrated. And nothing either in the true faith, or in doctrine, forbids that the Mass should be sung in the Slav tongue, or that the holy gospel or the divine lessons of the New and Old Testament, rightly translated and interpreted, should be read therein, or that the Divine Hours should be chanted therein." This custom,

after many vicissitudes, was sanctioned by Benedict XIV., in his Apostolic Brief of August 25, 1754.

Notwithstanding that St. Cyril had evangelized the Khazars, and that St. Methodius, according to trustworthy testimony, had carried the Faith to Kiew, the bulk of the Russian nation remained buried in Paganism till nearly a century later. In the treaty* concluded between the Russians and the Greeks, in 907, Prince Ouleg and his warriors swore on their arms, by Perun, their chief god, and Woloss, the god of their armies, that they would keep it. Yet Christianity was spreading. A treaty concluded forty years later, in 945, gives evidence of this. In it Prince Igor solemnly confirms the agreement in presence of the Greek deputation at Kiew, the capital of his States; the Pagan Russians laying their arms and shields before the statue of Perun, the Christian Russians taking solemn oath in the church of St. Elias. Igor, nevertheless, remained a Pagan, but after his death his wife, Olga, whilst on a visit to Constantinople in 957, embraced Christianity, and received baptism from the hands of the holy patriarch, Polyeuct, together with several of her suite. She returned to Kiew to make known her faith. "Harbinger of Christianity," says Nestor, "she was like the morning-star which goes before the sun, like the dawn which precedes the day. She shone like the moon on a dark night, like a diamond in the mire."

Christianity was only finally established under her grandson, the Grand Duke Wladimir, who was baptised at Cherson in 988, by the Bishop of that city, and who took the name of Basil. Thence he returned to Kiew, and ordered that the statues of the false gods should be everywhere destroyed, and cast into the flames. Soon a proclamation was issued inviting all the inhabitants, rich and poor, lords and slaves, to meet on the banks of the Dnieper, there to receive baptism, under penalty of being declared enemies of the Prince. On the day appointed, the Grand Duke appeared in the midst of the assembled people, surrounded by a brilliant *cortège*. At a given signal all entered the stream to receive baptism. Nestor has left us a touching description of this solemn festival, which heaven and earth, he exclaims with enthusiasm, joined together to celebrate. "The tallest," he says, "plunged into the stream up to their neck, the others up to the breast, the youngest stood at the edge, mothers held their babes in their arms, whilst the priests, seated in boats, recited the baptismal prayers. Wladimir kneeling on the bank, prayed: 'Great God,' he said, 'Lord of heaven and earth, cast

* Nestor, the father of Russian history, mentions this treaty in his "Annals."

a look of compassion on Thy people, bless Thy new-born children, enlighten them that they may know Thee to be the true God, whom the Christians adore. Confirm their hearts in faith. I place my trust in Thee, and with Thy help I shall prove victorious in the warfare with hell.' " Wladimir introduced Christianity into other parts of his empire, founded a city named after himself, built churches, established priests in them, and founded schools.

It is therefore erroneous to state that Russia received the Faith from the schismatic Greek Church of Constantinople. It is quite true that Photius boasts, in one of his letters, of having sent a bishop and priest into Russia, but we have seen that the two apostles of the Slavs, Saints Cyril and Methodius, though Greeks, had received their faculties from the Holy See, and cannot be counted among the schismatics. The Khazars evangelized by St. Cyril, and the other Russian tribes converted by St. Methodius, were not schismatics. When the Princess Olga and the Grand Duke Wladimir, together with their subjects embraced Christianity, the See of Constantinople was occupied by Patriarchs living in communion with the Roman Church, and acknowledging her supremacy. The Patriarch Nicholas Chrysoberg, like his predecessors, Anthony, Basil, Polyeuct, was always in communion with the Holy See. Now it was Nicholas Chrysoberg who governed the Church of Constantinople when Wladimir and his people embraced Christianity.

The Russians having received their first bishops and priests from Constantinople naturally followed the ritual of the Greek Church taught them by their pastors. A further reason for their so doing was, that the beautiful liturgy and the Holy Scriptures had long since been translated into the Slav tongue. This indicates no tendency to schism, especially when we reflect that the Holy See had formally authorised these rites, and the use of the vulgar tongue. It is not surprising, therefore, that the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors should be so often and so distinctly made profession of in the liturgical office of the Russian Church. This office dates from the time when the Russian Church and the Greek Church had not fallen into schism. *Should Russia return to Catholic unity, she would have nothing to change in her liturgy, which for the people at large makes up their religion; she would only have to amend the errors which have crept into it.

The principal See of the Russian Church was established first at Kiew, which bore the title of Metropolitan. Historical details

* See C. Tondini, "La Primaute de S. Pierre prouvée par les titres que lui donne l'Eglise Russe dans sa liturgie." Paris, 1867.

concerning the first prelates who occupied this See are neither precise nor well authenticated. In 1051, whilst Michael Cerularius was planning his schism, we find the Russian bishops, assembled in synod by the Grand Duke Jaroslav I., electing the devout monk Hilarion as metropolitan of Kiew, and this without intervention on the part of the Church of Constantinople. Although George, the successor of Hilarion was sent from Constantinople, we find no trace of schism during his episcopate (1072-1082). We have even a positive proof to the contrary in the following fact. The Grand Duke Demetrius, or Isaslau, son of Jaroslav, having sent his son to Rome to place his kingdom under the protection of the Holy See, Pope Gregory VII. sent him legates, and wrote a letter to him dated April 17, 1075, which is still extant.* This is a palpable proof that the Russian Church was still orthodox, although the schism of Michael Cerularius had been consummated twenty years before. This same Patriarch introduced into the Russian Church the feast of the translation of St. Nicholas, instituted by Urban II., and which was rejected by the Greek Church.† At the end of the next century we again find the Metropolitan, John (1170), appealing to Pope Alexander III. in a dispute, and soliciting, in the name of all the Russian bishops, the Papal decision. Later still, Alexander, son of Jaroslav II., after defeating the Swedes on the banks of Neva, in 1241, returned to the communion of the Roman Church, as testified by a letter written to this Prince by Innocent IV.

2. *The Russian Church becomes schismatic.*

As the Metropolitan See of Kiew had been made dependent on the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the custom of receiving the Primates of the Russian Church from Constantinople could not but result in drawing her into schism. The Prelates chosen by the schismatic Patriarchs would naturally keep up friendly relations with their patrons. Born in schism, accustomed in the monastic schools to hear the Latins, their ritual, their canonical discipline, their creed, railed against, how could they be free from the taint of schism? Thus, at the beginning of the twelfth century, Nicephorus (1104-1121), sent from Constantinople as Primate of the Church at Kiew, avowed himself a schismatic. This is proved from an Encyclical written by him against the Latins. His successors down to John, mentioned above, followed the

* See Gregorii VII. Registrum, II., 74, in Jaffe, "Monumenta Gregoriana."

† See Nilles, "Kalendarium utriusque Ecclesiæ Orientalis et Occidentalnis." Ceniponte, 1879, p. 156.

impulse given by the Byzantine patriarchate. In proportion as the Greeks withdrew more and more from the Latins, the spirit of schism took deeper root in the Russian Church, and her clergy soon fell completely under the power of the Grand Dukes just as the clergy of Constantinople had fallen under the yoke of the Byzantine emperors.

The taking of Constantinople by the Latins, and the antipathy then confirmed between the Greeks and the Latins, contributed not a little to strengthen the Eastern schism. This event was felt in Russia, whose clergy, as we have said, were chosen by the Patriarch of Constantinople. On the invasion of the Tartars, which occurred soon after, the churches, convents, schools, were reduced to ruins; the Russian clergy were plunged into the darkness of ignorance, and the separation from Rome was rendered more complete.

We cannot here follow all the vicissitudes which befell the Russian Church from now till the end of the sixteenth century.

We must, however, note, that several attempts at re-union, both partial and general, were made, the success of which was more or less durable. It will be sufficient to mention the union concluded at the Council of Florence, in 1439, by Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiew and of all the Russias. If the Grand Dukes of Moscow and their people remained obstinately in schism, the Metropolitan See of Kiew, together with eight bishoprics of the Southern Provinces, remained in union with Rome till 1520, when they again fell away into schism.

Several bishops of Northern Provinces wished to imitate the example set them by the Primate of Kiew, but persecution stayed their endeavours. On the other hand, the preaching of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, much esteemed by the Tartar Khans and by the Princes of Lithuania, and above all, the conversion of Jagellon, who in his own person united the crowns of Poland and Lithuania, served to increase the body of Catholics belonging to the Latin rite in the Russian and Lithuanian Provinces.

3. Patriarchate of Moscow.—Nikon.—The Rascolniks.— The Starovertzi.

The taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, weakened in a remarkable way the power and the prestige of the Byzantine Patriarchs. The Tzars took occasion thence to subject the Primates of Moscow to themselves, and to free them from all foreign dependence. This was accomplished in 1589 by the erection of the Russian Patriarchate of Moscow. Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople, having come to Moscow to collect

alms for his destitute and ruined Church, was welcomed by the Tzar, who loaded him with presents, obtaining in return the creation of a Russian Patriarchate at Moscow. The Metropolitan Job was raised to the dignity of Patriarch.

The consecration of the Prelate elect was celebrated with great pomp in the Church of the Assumption at the Kremlin. A great number of bishops were present. The ceremony over, the Tzar hung the *Panagion* suspended from a chain of gold round the neck of the new Patriarch, clothed him in a rich mantle or *homophora*, placed on his head a white mitre, ornamented with a cross, and placed in his hand the Patriarchal staff, saying : " Most holy Father, most worthy Patriarch, Father of Fathers, first Bishop and Patriarch of all Russia, of Wladimir, of Moscow, &c., I command that thou shouldst have, and I tell thee that thou hast pre-eminence over all bishops ; that henceforth thou art to wear the patriarchal robe, the bishop's cap and the grand mitre. That throughout my kingdom thou shalt be honoured as a Patriarch and as the brother of Patriarchs." The dignity thus established was confirmed by a decree regulating the rights and the duties of the new Patriarch.

One reads therein, amongst other matters, that : Ancient Rome having fallen into the heresy of Apollinaris, and that the new Rome (Constantinople) being in the power of the Turks, Moscow has become the third Rome ; that in the place of the Prince of Lies, who presides over the Western Church, the first oecumenical Bishop is the Patriarch of Constantinople, the second he of Alexandria, the third he of Moscow, the fourth he of Antioch, the fifth he of Jerusalem. That in Russia, prayer should be made for the Greek Patriarchs, and in Greece for the Russian Patriarchs ; that these last henceforth till the end of time shall be elected and consecrated without need of the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. From that moment the Russian Church became purely national, and made itself independent of that of Constantinople ; but in accordance with the invariable fate of all national churches, the Tzars were more potent to impose their own will on the Church. The sole guarantee of independence now held by the Russian Church lay in the firmness of its pastors and chiefly of its Primate, the Patriarch of Moscow.

The Patriarchate founded by one Tzar, lasted rather more than a century, when it was abolished by another Tzar, Peter the Great. This is not the place to discuss the conduct of the Pontiffs who in succession filled the Patriarchal chair, but we must say a word about Nikon, who exercised the Patriarchal jurisdiction from 1652 until his deposition in 1666. From the time when Christianity was introduced into Russia, the old liturgical books translated into the Slav tongue by St. Cyril had been in use.

In the course of time many errors, due to the negligence of copyists, had crept into them. To remedy this, Nikon, with the permission of the Tzar, in 1654 convoked a numerous synod at Moscow, when he proposed that the sacred Scriptures and the other liturgical books should be revised according to the ancient Greek and Slav manuscripts. The synod adopted the proposal, and the revision was undertaken under the direction of Nikon. Notwithstanding the deposition of this prelate (in 1666), the synod met at Moscow in the following year, 1667, approved the corrections introduced by Nikon, had the work completed, and the liturgy was adjusted and made of obligation.

Then arose violent discussions; fanatical partisans of the old books and ancient rites inveighed against the falsification of the old Faith and changing of old customs, which they proclaimed to be heresy and schism; they cursed and anathematized Nikon and his partisans, that is to say, all the adherents of the dominant Church. Their immovable tenacity to old customs and their opposition to the reforms of Nikon won for them the name of Starovertzi or "Old Believers." They are also designated by the more general name of Rascolniks, that is to say schismatics. But it should be remarked that the appellation Rascolniks is much wider than that of Starovertzi. Under the name of Rascolniks are comprised all the sects within the Russian Church, however diverse.

The Rascolniks are generally divided into Bopovzi or Starovertzi and Bespopovzi according to whether they admit or deny the divine ordination of priests and the sacerdotal hierarchy. Those sects which have preserved the priesthood are styled Popovstchina; the principal ones are six in number. The sects which have rejected the priesthood and are known under the collective name of Bespopovstchina (without priests) are much more numerous, and are reckoned at fifty.

According to the Ecclesiastical Canon of Peter the Great every Christian is bound to go to confession and to receive Holy Communion once a year. If he omits to fulfil this duty for one or two years he is classed among the Rascolniks, unless he can justify himself on oath,* and he is to be denounced to the civil authorities. Although the laws relating to the Rascolniks have undergone many changes since the time of Peter the Great, this Article still remains in force. Official lists are drawn up of those who have not complied with the obligation of yearly confession and communion. From these lists, which are often defective, the Government computes the number of Rascolniks. They have been the victims of Draconian laws and of atrocious persecutions

* See Tondini, "Le Réglement Eccles. de Pierre-le-Grand," pp. 188, 189.

during two centuries, and yet the sect is still numerous in Russia. Mr. Schedo-Ferroti, whose researches on this subject have been most precise, estimated them in 1863 at nine millions.*

The laws relating to that branch of the Rascolniks called the Starovertzi or "Old Believers" have been greatly relaxed. A sort of compromise has been made between them and the State Church. The Holy Synod, or to speak more plainly, the Tzar, has at last consented to allow them their books and their ritual; he has even provided for the reprinting of the books with the same mistakes as in the time of the Patriarchs. Those who have accepted this compromise are styled "United Starovertzi." The "Dissenting Starovertzi" have obtained a bishop of their sect, who is the Metropolitan of Bela Krinitza in Boukovina, who can consecrate other bishops and who holds jurisdiction over all the Starovertzi in Russia. The real cause of the schism of the Starovertzi, if sought, will no doubt be found in the encroachments made by the civil on the religious authority, in the subjection of the Church to the State; but there are secondary causes, which, apparently trivial, have in reality contributed greatly towards strengthening the schism. Such are the duplication of the Alleluia in certain portions of the Divine Office; the sign of the cross made with two fingers, the writing of the Holy name Jesus "Isus" and not "Jisus" (*Ιησούς*); the cross with eight arms instead of four; the custom of processions walking from east to west following the sun's course, &c., &c.

To these causes must be added another, which to our readers may seem very foolish, but which, Tondini tells us, contributed strongly to the increase of Rascolnikism; this was the violent persistency with which Peter the Great insisted on the abolition of beards among the Russians. The first Ukase concerning this matter is dated the 16th of January 1705. In 1707 Peter printed a dissertation compiled by the celebrated Dmitri, Metropolitan of Rostoff, on the "Image and likeness of God in man," with the aim of proving against the Rascolniks, that to shave was not the grievous sin they considered it, and that in losing his beard a man did not lose the image and likeness of God. Dissertations were vain; a tax on beards, enormous in that age, and a thousand petty persecutions on the part of Peter the Great, resulted in creating a new class of martyrs indigenous to Russia, the martyrs of the beard! †

* Schedo-Ferroti, "La Tolérance et le Schisme en Russie," ch. viii. Berlin, 1863.

† Tondini, *opere citato*, p. 189, note.

The Holy Synod. Canon of Peter the Great.

As long as the Patriarchate of Moscow—their own creation—lasted, the Tzars encroached ever more and more on the spiritual power until they held it in complete subjection. This bondage, so skilfully planned, and favoured as it was by the ignorance and disorderly lives of the clergy, was consummated by Peter the Great in his *Ukase* of January 21, 1721, wherein he arrogated to himself the right and duty of reforming the Church as he had reformed the State; and he replaced the Patriarchate, purposely left vacant after the death of Hadrian (1700) by a permanent Synod chosen by himself, and quite submissive to the royal pleasure. If Peter did not yet assume the title of “Head of the Church” as was soon done by Catherine II. and Paul I., he enjoyed all the prerogatives attached to this title. Moreover, in his “Ecclesiastical Canon” he styles himself “the *guardian of Orthodoxy*,” and of all that concerns right order in Holy Church. The *Ukase*, just mentioned, runs thus :

We, Peter the First, by the grace of God, Tzar and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c., &c. In the midst of the many solicitudes that the authority received from God imposes on us for the improvement of our people and of the other kingdoms under our rule, our attention has likewise been given to the ecclesiastical state; and having remarked therein many disorders and great faults, our conscience has made us fear, and this with great reason, to appear ungrateful towards the Most High, if, after being so powerfully aided by Him in the reform of the military and civil states, we neglected that of the religious state. And we fear to stand without excuse before God when this Judge, who hath no regard to persons, shall demand an account of the so great charge he hath given unto us. Therefore, after the example of pious kings, whether under the old or new law, we have taken upon ourselves to reform the ecclesiastical state. Now finding no better means to accomplish this than a “Council” (for power vested in the hands of a single person has no safeguard against passion, and when the power is not hereditary is held in less account), we therefore institute the “Ecclesiastical College,” that is to say, an ecclesiastical governing Council which, according to the Canon herewith given, shall administer all ecclesiastical matters in the Church of all the Russias. We command all our loyal subjects of every rank, clergy and laity, to recognize this Council as having authority and power, and to have recourse to it in final appeals for every application, solution and decision, in affairs ecclesiastical; to accept its judgment and to obey its decrees in all things, under the same penalties incurred by those who resist or disobey the other Colleges.

This College shall in time complete its “Canon” by such new rules as circumstances may require. Nevertheless, the College shall not do so *without our consent*. . . . We decree that this Ecclesiastical College

shall be composed of ten members as mentioned herein—viz., a President, two Vice-presidents, four Councillors and four Assessors.*

The composition of the Holy Synod has varied according to the good pleasure of the Tzars. This is only natural. Peter the Great was able to modify that which he himself had created, and his successors in like manner have thought themselves equally entitled to make changes in an institution wholly dependent on the civil power. At its beginning the Holy Synod counted but few bishops amongst its members; at the present time, all with the exception of two are bishops, and belong to what is called the “Black Clergy.” The two members belonging to the secular, or “White Clergy,” are the Emperor’s confessor, the Abbé Bazanov, who is a secular priest and is married, and the grand chaplain of the Army and Fleet, the Abbé Rogdestvenski, who is likewise a secular. The President is Mgr. Isidor, the Metropolitan of Novgorod, St. Petersburg and Finland. The members are:—Mgrs. Philotheos, Metropolitan of Kiew and Gallicia; Makairios, Metropolitan of Moscow; Joannikins, Exarch of Georgia, and Eusebius, Archbishop of Mokilew.

The oath imposed on the members of the Synod from Peter the Great down to the present time, contains a phrase which in itself is alone sufficient to prove the complete bondage of the Russian Church. We give it here. “Moreover, I profess with oath that the supreme judge of this Ecclesiastical College is the monarch of all the Russias, our most gracious Sovereign.” The members of the first Synod had to humble themselves so far as to promise obedience to the Tzarina Catherine whom the Tzar had married in defiance of the Canons, his legitimate wife being still alive.† As though their bondage was not yet complete, Peter decreed that one of his confidential officials should be attached to the Synod as “Procurator in chief,” “to be as it were his eye and the advocate of state affairs.” The Tzar’s instructions are: “That the Procurator should keep careful watch over the Synod, that it fulfils its duties, and that the affairs confided to its inspection and decision be treated according to the statutes and the Ukases, according to truth, with order, zeal, and without loss of time.”

Peter I. was not satisfied with substituting a permanent Synod, which he calls “the most Holy Synod,” or elsewhere, “the most

* See Tondini, “Le Réglement,” &c., *jam cit.*, pp. 1-5.

† Eudoxia Lapouckhina, whom Peter had married in 1689, was still alive, yet in 1711 he publicly espoused Catherine without alleging any cause which could nullify his first marriage. The Greek Church admits divorce in cases of adultery, but Peter did not put forward that reason. Besides, no ecclesiastical decision ever intervened to declare the marriage void. The conduct of Peter recalls that of Henry VIII.

Holy directing Synod," for the Patriarchate ; he himself drew up, with the aid of the celebrated Theophanes Procopovitch, created by him Bishop of Pskow, a Canon for the reform of the Russian Church, which he imposed as law in the Ukase we have just cited. As this Canon, though considerably modified by the successors of Peter the Great, remains to this day the basis of the organization of the Russian Church, it is necessary to indicate its principal points.

It is divided into three parts. The first treats of the Synod, and of the reasons necessitating its creation ; the second treats of matters in general relating to the Church, and of special points concerning the clergy, the monks, the schools, the laity ; the third refers to the members of the Synod and their functions. Then follow, as a supplement, the rules of conduct imposed by Peter on the secular clergy, on the monks and the nuns ; a complete ecclesiastical code. In many points the rules laid down in this new code are only the expression of the canonical laws received by the Greek Church, but in other and important ones the ancient Canons are trodden under foot. Thus, provincial Synods are abolished, and the hierarchical order of Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Bishops is suppressed. In the Russian Church there is only the order of bishops ; the title of Archbishop or of Metropolitan is merely honorary and lucrative. All the bishops are under the jurisdiction of the Holy Synod. The election and the nomination of bishops are no longer regulated by the Canon of the Greek Church. The Tzar names the bishops on the presentation by the Synod of two names. The nuns cannot take their vows till they have reached the age of sixty. A later Ukase fixes the age of religious profession at forty. Up to that age virgins who enter the cloisters are only novices. These are not the only innovations which the Tzar has taken the liberty to introduce, as we shall see in the course of our analysis.

We have shown the object of the first part. In the second the Tzar turns his attention to various prayers in the Divine Office, forbids certain superstitious practices peculiar to Russia, and orders the revision of the "Lives of the Saints."

The ordinances relating to the instruction of the people deserve special notice. The "Canon" admits that ignorance was great among the faithful, and even among the clergy in the preceding century—(the state of things is much the same now).

Seeing (it goes on to say) there are few men who can read and that there are not many priests capable of teaching by word of mouth the dogmas and the precepts of Holy Scripture, it is absolutely necessary that short treatises, easy and comprehensive, should be compiled for simple people, containing all things needful for the

instruction of the faithful, and that portions of them should be read in the church to the congregation on Sundays and Festivals.*

It is necessary, therefore, that three books should be composed ; these must be short and of small size.

The first shall contain those dogmas of our Faith which are most necessary for salvation,† and also the commandments of God contained in the Decalogue.

The second shall explain the duties of each state of life.

The third shall be a collection of sermons easy of comprehension and taken from the Holy Doctors, relating to the principal dogmas, and more especially to virtues and vices and also to the special duties proper to every state of life.

On Sundays and Festivals, at Matins, a portion of the first book shall first be read, and the second lesson shall be taken from the second book. At Mass on the same day a discourse taken from the third book shall be read, the subject to be the same as was treated of in the two lessons *read at Matins*. In this wise the instruction conveyed at Matins being again repeated at Mass, will become more firmly fixed in the memory of the hearers.‡

The first of the little books here prescribed was compiled by Theophanes Procopovitch, and was published a year before the Canon was promulgated. It is called "Peter the Great's Catechism."§ Phillips brought out a translation in London in 1723 called "The Russian Catechism, composed and published by order of the Tzar." Father Tondini remarks that in many points it is more Protestant than the Book of Common Prayer. The second book was not compiled till much later, by Tikhow, Bishop of Voronegi (+ 1783), recently canonised by the Russian Church. After revision, the Holy Synod adopted and published it in 1789. Lastly, the third book, the joint work of the Metropolitans of Moscow and St. Petersburg, was published at St. Petersburg in 1779, and was made obligatory by the Holy Synod in all the churches of the towns, of the country, and even of the monasteries. The Holy Synod, however, took occasion to invite the clergy to compose their own sermons, giving it to be

* The Canon decrees that these books should be "written in the vulgar tongue," that is to say in Russian. Up to this period Sclavonic was the language of the learned.

† These principal dogmas recall to mind the "fundamental dogmas" of the Protestants. Peter the Great's Canon breathes in more than one place the Protestantism with which Theophanes Procopovitch had become tainted.

‡ See Tondini, "Le Réglement," *jam cit.*, pp. 46-52.

§ Before this time the Russian Church used the catechism or exposition of the orthodox faith of Peter of Mojila (+ 1646) the founder of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiew. This catechism had been approved by the Council of Jassy in 1643, and that of Jerusalem in 1672.

understood that the collection of discourses had for sole aim to supplement their own short-comings.*

Referring to special subjects, the Canon treats first of the duties of bishops; the first of which is, it considers, to know the impediments of marriage. The impediments of consanguinity and affinity are the same as in the Greek Church, and are taken from the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus. There are other impediments fixed by the Canons or by the regulations of the Tzars. Thus, according to the Canons, men may not enter into the married state before the age of fifteen, and women before the age of thirteen; but a Ukase of the Emperor Nicholas has fixed eighteen as the age for men and fifteen for women. The Russian Church, like the Greek, allows divorce in cases of adultery. Furthermore, it allows of a second marriage after a lapse of five years in the event of the disappearance of one of the parties, if during that time no tidings can be obtained of them. The *civil* death of one of the parties also annuls marriage. It is therefore clear that the Tzars have arrogated to themselves a really spiritual jurisdiction over marriage.

The first duty of bishops, according to the Canon, then, is to know the impediments of marriage. Peter the Great goes on to order that the rules which concern them should be read to the bishops at their meals. This reading may be omitted on great festivals, and on some other occasions here specified. Bishops are to adhere to the laws of residence in their strictest sense. They are to have within their residences or adjoining thereunto, a school for the children of priests and others who are destined for the Ecclesiastical state. None but the students at these schools are to be promoted to the priesthood. Further on the Canon ordains that there shall also be seminaries organized after a completely monastic fashion, where the discipline is to be of the strictest, in which youths destined for the priesthood shall be educated together with such as are preparing for the liberal professions. Such of the seminarists as, on the completion of their studies, seem most suited for the ecclesiastical state, shall be promoted by the bishops to all the degrees of the hierarchy in preference to any others who shall not have been educated at the seminary.

Peter concludes the ordinances relating to bishops by saying that they are not to take pride to themselves in their dignity.

* Monsignor Philaretos, Metropolitan of Moscow, published in 1825, "A Detailed Catechism of the Orthodox Church," for the use of schools. A second and corrected edition appeared in 1839. His sermons have been collected and edited, and are held in great esteem. Monsignor Makairios, the present Metropolitan of Moscow, has published an "Orthodox Dogmatic Theology," which is in great repute.

The aim of this declaration is not, as might be imagined, to inculcate evangelical humility, but rather submission to the Tzars, for it is in their regard that the bishops are to restrain their pride. Bishops must therefore be circumspect and forbearing in the matter of excommunication. Peter regulates every step in the procedure of this penalty, which is not to be launched against any of the faithful without the written authorization of the Holy Synod.

We will not here give the ordinances of the Canon which relate to the "Academy," for the reference here is not to the "Ecclesiastical Academy" of St. Petersburg, which was erected later on with that of Kasan by Paul I., in 1797, nor to the two Ecclesiastical Academies at Kiew and Moscow, already in existence. The rules laid down for the seminaries have since been greatly modified.

The Canon then proceeds to treat of preachers, and lays down these strange rules. "No one shall take upon himself to preach unless he has been educated at the Academy, and is approved of by the Ecclesiastical College (Holy Synod)." Nevertheless, those who have pursued their studies under *heterodox* teachers, that is to say, Protestants, may also, after passing an examination, be allowed to preach. "Every preacher must possess a copy of the works of St. John Chrysostom, and must read them assiduously. As to authors whose works are superficial and quibbling, as are specially the Polish writers, he will avoid them." "Sermons should be practical and sound, and preachers must avail themselves of texts from Holy Scripture in favour of penance, amendment of life, respect due to authority, *especially to the supreme authority of the Tzar*, on the duties of every station in life, and against superstitious practices, which must be completely extirpated."

Under no circumstances does the Catholic Church allow the seal of confession to be violated. Confessors are under a grave obligation to keep secret the confidence reposed in them, even should it bring on them the heaviest penalties. This did not suit Peter the Great's views. In the "supplement" he decides that when there is question of a plot against the Tzar, his government, or his family, and that the penitent will not forego his intentions, the confessor must *break the seal of confession*. The same is to be done in the case of a false miracle. One is no longer astonished that the confidence of the confessional has been often violated by the Russian popes.*

The Canon now turns its attention to the simple faithful. These must first learn the orthodox doctrine; they must also go

* See Gagarin, "Le Clergé Russe." Brussels, 1871, pp. 231, 232.

to confession and communion at least once a year. Parishioners who have not communicated for one or two years, or not at all, must be denounced to the bishop by their parish priest. They must declare on oath that they are not Rascolniks, otherwise the bishop is obliged to *inform the civil authorities*, who will prosecute them on the ground of their being Rascolniks. Père Gagarin, who is thoroughly conversant with Russian customs, observes that notwithstanding the stringent laws which oblige all Russians to go to confession every year, it is rare that more than half the number of persons of age to fulfil the precept of the paschal observance present themselves at the tribunal of penance, sometimes only one-fourth, sometimes even one-tenth. To go to confession more than once a year is almost an unheard of thing in the village parishes.*

Lastly, no gentleman can have a chapel in his house, or a private chaplain. All the faithful, without exception, must attend the parish church. No oratory can be erected in Russia without the permission of the Synod, a permission not easily obtained.”†

The third section of the Canon is taken up with the Holy Synod, its functions and its duties. The Holy Synod must know in detail the obligations of each state of life, and must punish transgressors. No book treating of religious matters can be published without the *imprimatur* of the Holy Synod. Religious works having greatly increased in the present day, four committees, styled “Ecclesiastical Censorships,” have been established and attached to the four Ecclesiastical Academies of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiew, and Kasan. These committees transmit the result of their criticism to the Holy Synod, and with its assent they grant the *imprimatur*. The Holy Synod can of itself authorize publications.

The authentication of miracles, the decision as to whether a person is or is not a Rascolnik, difficult conscience cases, doubtful marriages, disputes between bishops and their clergy, in a word, all those matters formerly appertaining to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch are now the province of the Synod. The inspection and superintendence in chief of church property has also devolved on the Synod.

Lastly, Peter desires the Synod to frame some regulations in respect to mendicity. He is incensed at such as beg through idleness; they are, he considers, the worst of scoundrels. Those who give them alms share in their sin, and are themselves guilty. With this decision of exaggerated sternness against the poor, Peter concludes his Canon, which remains as we have said the

* Gagarin, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

† See Tondini, “Le Réglement,” *jam cit.*, p. 199.

basis of Ecclesiastical discipline in the Russian Church. The Canon was signed by Peter and by the bishops he had gathered round him in a sort of Synod. It was afterwards communicated to the different "Eparchies," to be signed by the Bishops and the Archimandrites of monasteries, which was done. Finally the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople recognized the Holy Synod in a letter of September 23rd, 1723.

PRESENT STATE OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

The Russian Church constitutes the largest branch of the Greek schismatic Church. It is now, as we have seen, completely separated from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and only maintains with it a communion of belief and of liturgical rites. The Tzar is the head of the Russian Church. With him lies the choice of the members of the Synod, and their dismissal. The government of the Church is entirely in his hands, and he can do everything but officiate.* Paul I. was the first to declare in formal terms that "the supreme authority granted by God to the Autocrat extends also to the ecclesiastical state, and that the clergy must render obedience to the Tzar *as to their head chosen by God Himself in all matters, religious and civil.*" † According to the laws of the Russian empire the Emperor, in virtue of being a Christian sovereign, is the supreme defender and protector of the dominant creed, the guardian of orthodoxy, and of all that concerns good order in the Holy Church.‡ Next to the Tzar comes the Holy Synod, which has the charge of all matters, whether spiritual or temporal, relating to the Orthodox Church.

Holy Synod. The Holy Synod is held at St. Petersburg. The Metropolitans and Bishops who compose it are dispensed from the obligation of residence in their diocese, and live always at St. Petersburg, except those bishops who are summoned to the Holy Synod as "assistants" for a specified time. Their functions fulfilled, these latter return to their eparchies. Besides the stipend attached to their respective positions, the members of the Synod receive an annual payment, the bishops of 2,000 roubles,§ the archimandrites of 1,000 roubles, and the archpriests of 600 roubles. As all the members of the Holy Synod are bishops, it follows

* Theophanes Procopovitch, the favourite of Peter the Great, declared "that the Tzars had received from on High the power to govern the Church; but they might not officiate."

† *Ukases Nos. 18,734 and 19,684; see Tondini, p. 14. "L'Avenir de l'Eglise Russe."* Paris, 1874.

‡ "Code of Laws of the Russian Empire." Fundamental Laws, a. 42, ed. 1847, p. 10. *Tondini, op. cit.*, p. 16.

§ The value of a silver rouble is about three shillings of English money.

that they belong to the regular clergy. The only exceptions are the Emperor's confessor, and the grand chaplain to the army and fleet, who belong to the secular clergy, and are married. The Synod counts a certain number of lay functionaries, whose influence on the decisions of the assembly is something considerable. In the first place there is the "Procurator-in-Chief," the representative of the Emperor, who keeps watch over all the proceedings of the Synod. He has the direction of the Exchequer of the Synod, and of the numerous attendants employed by it. Besides the Exchequer, the Holy Synod has a section for the superintendence of the schools for the orthodox clergy, and an accountant and administrative section under the direction of a State Councillor.

The present members of the Holy Synod are :*

President : Isidor, Metropolitan of Novgorod, St. Petersburg, and Finland.

Members : Philotheos, Metropolitan of Kiew and Galicia; Makairios, Metropolitan of Moscow and Colomna; Joannikins, Exarch of Georgia, Archbishop of Kartalini and Kakhetia; Eusebius, Archbishop of Mohilew and Mstislaw; Protopresbyter Bazanof; Archpriest Rozdestvenski.

Procurator-in-chief; Privy Councillor Pobedonoszhev, Minister of Public Instruction. *Assessor*: Privy Councillor Smirnow.

Chancery-Director: Privy Councillor Vochtchinine. *Vice-Director*: State Councillor Pavlovski.

Director of Schools for the Education of the Orthodox Clergy (Academies and Seminaries): T. Vassilien.

Department of Administration and Accounts—Director: State Councillor Iliinski. *Vice-Director*: State Councillor Ostroumow.

Archbishoprics and Bishoprics. As we have already observed, there is no longer any real distinction in the Russian Church between the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops; the title of Metropolitan or Archbishop is purely honorary, and carries no special jurisdiction over the bishops of a province; it constitutes a difference of salary without imposing any bond of subordination. As celibacy is requisite in a bishop, it follows that all the bishops belong to the monastic state, styled in popular language the "black clergy," the monk's habit being of that colour. In contradistinction, the parochial clergy composed of married priests is called the "white clergy." Great antagonism exists between these two sections of the clergy. The black clergy alone are eligible for the episcopate, and this gives them a great advantage over the white clergy.

Revenue. Since Catherine II. by a Ukase of February 26,

* According to the *Gotha Almanac*, 1881.

1764, confiscated all Church property and suppressed a great many convents, the bishops and clergy have received stipends from Government—a very slight compensation for their lost property. These stipends vary much. Thus, the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg receives 5,414 roubles, he of Kiev, 4,900; the Archbishops of Riga, Taurida, Staveropol, Lithuania, Mohilef, and Minsk, each 4,000 roubles; he of Cherson, 2,414 roubles; twelve others 914 roubles. There are some bishops who only receive 743 roubles. These bishops, besides their stipend, receive an allowance to defray the expenses of their cathedral and household, varying between 1,000 and 3,000 roubles. The Synod moreover owns capital to the amount of 254,543 roubles, the revenue of which is distributed among the bishops as a subsidy. To this we must add what may be termed “casual moneys,” that is to say the proceeds of ordinations, burials, church consecrations, offerings made in the episcopal chapels, offerings made to miraculous pictures, of which a portion has to be set aside for the bishop. Lastly, as the bishops are monks, and as they continue to follow the monastic rule, they generally select for their Archiepiscopal palace one of the numerous monasteries suppressed by Catherine II., and they enjoy the revenue still belonging to them, which consists of land, mills, and fisheries of some value. The bishop is in a way the archimandrite of his monastery; he lives like the monks, though his table is better served, separate from the rest, and all his personal suite live in community as do the monks. The household of the episcopal palace is composed of two archpriests who are monks, a confessor, a steward, three deacons, and attendants who vary in number and are maintained at the bishop’s expense. The Archbishop of St. Petersburg keeps thirteen ecclesiastics, monks or seculars, and fifty-eight other attendants and servants.

Administration. The administration of a diocese belongs to the bishop; the clergy, both regular and secular, are under his jurisdiction. To help him in the administration, the bishop has a “consistory” composed of five, six, or ten members, chosen partly from the Archimandrites and the Hegoumeni of the monasteries, and partly from the secular clergy. The Secretary of this Consistory is a layman chosen by the Holy Synod on the nomination of the Procurator-General. This secretary has under him a host of assistants and clerks, each one more mercenary than his fellow. By right, of course, all authority lies with the bishop, but in real fact it is the secretary and his staff who decide all temporal affairs, often very much to the disadvantage of the clergy.* It must be admitted that the bishop has small liberty

* Russian bureaucracy has a bad reputation for venality; the bureaucracy of the “Consistories” is even more mercenary than any other. A

in the administration of his diocese ; he depends almost entirely on the Russian bureaucracy. The seminaries and the ecclesiastical educational establishments which one would imagine ought especially to be under the jurisdiction of the bishop are dependent on the Synod. All that concerns the discipline and the direction of these houses is withheld from episcopal authority. The new ecclesiastical regulations, however, have now given the bishops the right of presentation in the nomination of the superiors of seminaries.

Residence.—Bishops are ordered to reside in their dioceses. Peter I. and his successors framed laws so stringent on this matter, that bishops could neither meet or hold any verbal communication with each other. It is only lately that Russian bishops have obtained faculties to absent themselves for eight days from their Eparchies after informing the Synod, and for twenty-eight days with previous permission. For any longer absence it is requisite to obtain leave from the Tzar.*

Translations and Depositions.—As the Tzars have reduced the Russian Church to complete subjection, the bishops no longer enjoy much of that stability which the Canons of the Greek Church assigns to them. Thus, translations from one See to another, are of frequent occurrence. Now, by way of promotion and now as a sign of disgrace, Russian bishops are sent from one See to another, as easily as elsewhere the prefect changes his prefecture, and their consent is not asked.† Bishops are deposed without a trial, and often without any canonical cause. The displeasure of the Administration is sufficient reason for a bishop “to be allowed to rest,” that is to say he is allowed to retire into a monastery.

Eparchies and Bishoprics :‡—1. Kiew: Philotheos, Metropolitan of Kiew and Galicia. 2. Novgorod and St. Petersburg: Isidor, Metropolitan of Novgorod, St. Petersburg and Finland. 3. Moscow: Makairios, Metropolitan of Moscow and Colomna. 4. Kasan: Anthony, Archbishop of Kasan and Iviagsk. 5. Astrakan: Guerasim, Archbishop of Astrakan and Jenotafevsk. 6. Tobolsk: Ephraim, Bishop of Tobolsk and Siberia. 7. Jaroslaw: Jonathan, Bishop of Jaroslav and Rossow. 8. Pskow:

regular system of extortion, perfectly organized, which racks priests, deacons, and poor clerics, and swallows up all their savings. A hideous cancer which devours the Russian clergy, who if once delivered from these shameful spoliations would find their income quite sufficient.—Gagarin, “Le Clergé Russe,” p. 203.

* Tondini, “Le Réglement,” p. 60, note.

† Gagarin, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

‡ The Eparchies are taken from the “Gotha Almanac,” 1881; the Bishoprics from Silbernagl: “Verfassung und gegenwärt. Bestand sämmt. Kirchen des Orients,” Landshut, 1865.

Paulus, Bishop of Pskow and Pockhow. 9. Riaesan: Polladius, Bishop of Riaesan and Saraïsk. 10. Iver: Savva, Archbishop of Iver and Kachina. 11. Kherson: Platow, Archbishop of Kherson and Odessa. 12. Taurida: Gourii, Bishop of Taurida and Simpheropol. 13. Lithuania: Alexander. 14. Warsaw: Leontius, Archbishop of Cholme and Warsaw. 15. Mohilew: Eusebius, Archbishop of Mohilew and Mstislaw. 16. Riga: Philaret, Bishop of Riga and Mitan. 17. Tchernigow: Serapion, Bishop of Tchernigow and Nieshin. 18. Minsk: Eugenius, Bishop of Minsk and Tourovsk. 19. Podolia: Marcellus, Bishop of Podolia and Braçlaw. 20. Kichinew: Paulus, Bishop of Kichinew and Khotine. 21. Olonetz: Paladius, Bishop of Olonetz and Petrosawodsk. 22. Region of the Don: Mitrophanes, Archbishop of the Don and of Novolcherkask. 23. Irkoutsk: Benjamin, Archbishop of Irkoutsk and Nertchinsk. 24. Georgia: Joannikins, Exarch of Georgia, Archbishop of Khartalinia and Karkhetia.

To these, Silbernagl adds the Archbishoprics and Bishoprics mentioned below:—

(1) Archbishopric of Jekaterinoslaw. Bishoprics of (2) Raluga and Borovsk; (3) Smolensk and Dorogobusch; (4) Nijni-Novgorod and Arsamas; (5) Kursk and Bjelgorod; (6) Wladimir and Susdal; (7) Polotsk; (8) Wologda and Ustzug; (9) Tula and Bjelew; (10) Vjatka and Slobodskoi; (11) Archangel and Cholmogori; (12) Voroniga and Zadonski; (13) Kostroma and Galitsch; (14) Tambow and Zadsk; (15) Orel and Sievsk; (16) Pultava and Perejaslaw; (17) Volhinia and Zitomir; (18) Perm; (19) Sitka and Kamtchaka; (20) Pensa and Saransk; (21) Saratow and Tsaritsia; (22) Charkow and Ukrain; (23) Orenbourg; (24) Simbirsk; (25) Ostrog; (26) Pinsk; (27) Tomsk; (28) Vilna; (29) Vitebsk. The Exarch of Georgia has under him the Bishops of Gori, Kutais, Imeritien, Mingrelia, and Guriel. Besides the above, the Russians have a Bishop at Jerusalem.

The Secular or White Clergy.—In Russia there are 36,000 parishes. The clergy attached to a parish church regularly consist of a priest or pope, a deacon, and two clerks filling the functions of sacristan, beadle, bell-ringer, lector, cantor, &c. All the popes or parish priests are married, so are the deacons. In the Latin Church, celibacy is obligatory for all who enter Holy Orders. In the East, a less rigorous discipline has prevailed from early times. There, as in the Latin Church, once a man has received Holy Orders he cannot marry, but if a married man presents himself for ordination he is not rejected, and he is allowed to live with his wife, but should she die he cannot marry a second time. In former times, when seminaries did not exist,

and when each parish chose its own pastor, the selection naturally fell, as it does now among the Maronites, on some virtuous father of a family esteemed by all for his morals and piety. He then retired into a monastery to learn the Office, and how to administer the sacraments, after which the Bishop ordained him. Now when there are seminaries in Russia where aspirants for the priesthood are prepared for the ministry, the inconveniences of this custom have become much greater. As the end of their studies draw nigh, and the time of ordination approaches, the young collegians must look about in haste for a wife. To this end they are allowed to attend balls and entertainments, and to act the suitor. The spirit of piety is easily put to flight by these distractions, and the young men newly married are but badly prepared for ordination. Add to this that regulations introduced since Peter I., ordain that all the sons of popes and deacons should be sent to the seminaries to be brought up for the priesthood.* Vocation is simply ignored. As in ancient times all Levites were dedicated to the service of the altar, so now all the sons of the popes are vowed to the priesthood, and they alone can attain to it. The sons of a nobleman, burgher, or peasant, who would wish to be admitted to Holy Orders would meet with insurmountable obstacles unless they entered the monastic state. It is not difficult to understand how such a state of things is apt to introduce a spirit of laxity among the Russian clergy. Besides this plague of "Levitism," which is the ruin of the whole clergy, the marriage state which they adopt must lessen the respect due to them. Without doubt married priests can administer the sacraments of baptism and matrimony, perform the burial service, celebrate Holy Mass, chant the offices of the church, and hear a certain number of confessions, especially at Easter; but absorbed by household cares, by the education and prospects of their children, they cannot bring to the exercise of their holy ministry the same zeal, devotedness, and self-abnegation as do priests who are free from all these impediments. Let us suppose a case: a man is dying of some infectious disease; the celibate priest hastens to him as a soldier to the battle-field; but will the father of a family always have courage to risk the lives of his children? Moreover, the same disinterestedness cannot be looked for in a married priest as in a celibate.†

Although there is no positive law obliging all seminarists to

* A Ukase of Alexander I., published in 1814, orders that all the sons of the clergy should, between the ages of six and eight, be placed at the disposal of the department of Ecclesiastical schools.

† Gagarin, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

marry before receiving Orders, yet are they obliged to do so by custom, and they have not even perfect freedom in choosing their wives. Priests and deacons have daughters, these daughters must be settled in life; thence results a prohibition to the clerics to marry out of their own class. Some bishops will even not tolerate that they should marry any one out of the diocese.

The incomes of the parochial clergy are generally sufficient. The total is 28,000,000 roubles for 36,000 parishes. This includes the offerings of the faithful for baptisms, marriages, confessions, communions, and burials. This sum does not include the perpetual foundations for the dead, or the revenue from landed property attached to the parish church. This last is considerable; even in small parishes the pope has *at least* twenty *hectares** of glebe land. The collective income is divided thus: the pope receives half, the deacons a quarter, the remaining quarter being divided between the two clerks. Priests are exempt from all taxation. Hence we see the clergy are fairly remunerated, and in towns they may even sometimes afford to live in moderate luxury. The village priest's position is that of one of his well-to-do peasant parishioners. He lives as they do, speaks after their fashion, and is clothed like them; he tills his fields, guides his plough, plants his garden, whilst his wife attends to the house, looks after the children, and knits their stockings. If his status is not higher and more in harmony with his sacred functions, it is not so much because his stipend is small as because he has a family dependent on him, and also because he is often the victim of the venality of Russian underlings. The sacred character of the priesthood, nevertheless, inspires such respect, that should the pope be addicted to drunkenness (no rare thing), his parishioners continue to look up to him with the solicitude and affection of children. The pope chants the Mass and the Sunday office with all the magnificence of the Greek ritual. He never preaches, and indeed strives but little to acquire the capacity needful for so doing, he knows it would not help him to better his condition. He administers the sacraments according to the Greek rites. Baptism is given generally two or three weeks after a child's birth. Immediately after baptism the priest moistens a feather with the holy chrism; and touches the forehead, breast, lips, hands, and feet of the child with it, repeating at each application: "Receive the Seal of the Holy Spirit." This is the manner of administering the sacrament of confirmation in the Russian Church. Ten or twelve days later the child is carried to the altar to receive the Holy Eucharist. The mother mounts the steps in front of the

* A hectare = 2.471 English acres.

royal gates, and when the deacon comes forward holding the chalice, she advances to meet him; with a small spoon he pours a few drops of the Precious Blood into the mouth of the child saying, "N., servant of God, receives this communion in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The marriage ceremonial is very solemn, and the fasts, as in the Greek Church, are very rigorous.

The Monks, or Black Clergy.—From what we have already said, it results that a church possessing only a married priesthood would be very incomplete, but in all Eastern churches by the side of the married clergy is found a celibate clergy; these are the Monks. It is from among them, and only from them, that the bishops are chosen. If the austere lives of the monks and their celibacy cause them to be held in veneration by the people, we may imagine what further importance and authority they acquire by the fact that all the dignities of the church are reserved for them. The monks all follow the rule of St. Basil. Their habit is black; hence their name of the black clergy. Those monks who are raised to the priesthood are called, as in the Greek Church, "*ιερουργαχοι*." From the monasteries are taken the professors and directors of seminaries and academies, the preachers for the large towns, confessors and prelates. The Abbots of the large monasteries are styled Archimandrites, those of the lesser, Hegoumeni. It is noticeable that the monasteries for men are much more numerous than the convents for women. This is accounted for by the edicts of Peter I. and his successors, which have made admission into the convents much more difficult. For instance, a young girl must remain a "Novice" until she attains the age of forty, only then is she allowed to take her vows.

Formerly convents were very numerous in Russia. In 1762, without including Little Russia or White Russia, there were 732 monasteries and 222 convents. The Ukase of Catherine II., confiscating church property, ordered that the number should be reduced to 361 monasteries and 39 convents. This meant the suppression of 544 religious houses. Little by little the rigour of this law had to be relaxed, and the number of religious houses has been gradually increasing. In 1850 there were 464 monasteries, containing 4,978 monks, and 123 convents containing 2,313 nuns. In 1850 the novices or aspirants numbered 6,230. These numbers include the convents of the "United Greeks," who were forcibly incorporated in 1839.

The Russian monasteries are under the jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese they are placed. There are, however, a few of the great monasteries which depend directly on the Holy

Synod. These are the four great "Lauras": St. Alexander Nevski at St. Petersburg, the Trinity of St. Sergius at Moscow, the Crypts or Catacombs at Kiew, Potchayew in Volhynia taken from the "United Greeks by the Emperor Nicholas, and the seven "Stauropigies": the New-Saviour at Moscow, the Don at Moscow, Simon at Moscow, the Resurrection near Moscow, the Picture of the Saviour at Moscow, Solovetz in the Eparchy of Archangel, St. Jaroslaw at Rostow.

Conclusion.—This short sketch of the state of the Russian Church is sufficient to show that it is now in complete bondage to the temporal power of the Tzars, and this is the principal cause of the misery and abuses which oppress it. And indeed there are many Russian writers of the present day who demand that it should be freed from the civil power, and that its hierarchy and its provincial councils should be re-established in conformity with the Canons. These writers, however, see but one side of the question. Did they push their investigations farther they might perhaps perceive that the real safety of the Russian Church lay in her reunion with the centre of unity—the Roman Church from which she separated herself. United to the See of Rome from which she received Cyril and Methodius, strengthened by the successor of St. Peter, the successor of him who in her liturgy is styled the *Coryphæus*, the Head, the Chief, the Prince of the Apostles and of the Church, she would reform the abuses under which she languishes, she would preserve her own liturgy and ritual, to which she is so deeply attached, and her own canonical discipline re-established in its primitive purity. She would purify her faith, and profess those dogmas of the procession of the Holy Ghost, "*a Filio*" and of the Supremacy of the Pope which all the Oriental churches admitted before their schism. We will prove that the obstacles said to be presented by these two dogmas proceed really from the sophistries heaped together by Photius and those whom he seduced. Though the Bishops, and at their head the Archbishop of Moscow, Mgr. Makairios, are striving to maintain these two points, the people take but little interest in the matter. They do not sufficiently know their religion, and the ignorance of the populace, and even of the country clergy is too great to allow these questions to stir them. It is not in matters of faith that the difficulty lies. The people care only for their liturgy and their solemn rites, to which they are so deeply attached that the slightest change shocks them; this is proved by the schism of the Starovertzi.

The greatest obstacle lies in the civil authority. The Russian Government allows to all the free practice of their own religion,

but it does not allow the members of what is called the Orthodox Church to embrace any other Confession of faith, and especially to become Catholics. The most severe penalties are incurred by those who are guilty of such a crime. A Russian who embraces Catholicism through a conscientious belief that it is the true faith, or a Catholic priest proved to have caused the conversion of a Russian, is treated like a state criminal. The following are some of the laws of the Russian "Penal Code" published May 1st, 1846.

ART. 195.—Whoever shall seduce any one from the Orthodox Faith to any other profession of Christianity shall be condemned: To forfeit all the rights and privileges of his station and to be exiled to the province of Tobolsk or Tomsk. If he be not exempt by law from corporal punishment he shall receive fifty to sixty strokes of a rod before being sentenced to hard labour for one or two years.

ART. 197.—Any one who by conversation or writing shall have striven to entice away the faithful unto the profession of any other creed, even Christian, shall be condemned here follows an enumeration of the penalties, which go as high as exile and hard labour for a second offence.

ART. 200.—He who is aware that his wife or children, or any one under his charge have the intention to leave the Orthodox Faith, and shall not strive to dissuade them from so doing by taking the measures authorized by the law for this purpose, shall be liable to imprisonment varying from three days to three months, and if he belong to the Orthodox Church he shall be liable to Ecclesiastical penalties.

Happily this barbarous law, compelling a man to denounce even his own wife and children, has remained a dead letter; but for the honour of the nineteenth century it should no longer exist.

ART. 203.—Members of the Catholic clergy secular and regular belonging to Western States, who, though they use no means to convert Orthodox believers, shall permit them to assist at their services in church or monastery, this being expressly forbidden, shall for this transgression pay a fine of ten roubles a head.*

We must, however, hasten to explain that these laws which are such a grievous violation of liberty of conscience, are at the present time much mitigated in their application. Let us hope that the noble-minded Sovereign who has just concluded a pacific arrangement with the wise and benevolent Pontiff now governing the Catholic Church, will make them still more lenient, and even be allowed to repeal them altogether, and to inaugurate for

* See all these laws in the work of Prince Augustin Galitzin: "L'Eglise Greco-Russe." Paris, 1861, pp. 107-113.

Catholics in Russia an era of peace which will cause his name to be blest and will strengthen his Empire, develop its prosperity, and merit the protection of Heaven and the praise of all Europe.

T. J. LAMY.

P.S.—These lines were in type when the horrible assassination plunged the imperial family of Russia in mourning and terrified Europe. The Emperor Alexander II. has fallen a victim to an abominable sect. Alexander III. has succeeded to the throne, and confidence returns; Europe recovers; Russia, for an instant dismayed, regains courage. Let us hope that Alexander III. will continue the good relations with the Holy See that have been commenced by his father. He will always find in his Catholic people, faithful subjects, formed in a school of respect, and brought up in sentiments of horror for assassins and wicked sects.

T. J. L.



ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII.
ON
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE
FAITH, &c. &c.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus Patriarchis Primatibus Archiepiscopis et
Episcopis Universis Catholici Orbis, gratiam et communionem
cum Apostolica Sede habentibus.*

LEO PAPA XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

SANCTA Dei civitas quae est Ecclesia, cum nullis regionum finibus contineatur, hanc habet vim a Conditore suo inditam, ut in dies magis dilatet locum tentorii sui, et pelles tabernaculorum suorum extendat.* Haec autem christianarum gentium incrementa, quamvis intimo Sancti Spiritus afflatu auxilioque praecipue fiant, extrinsecus tamen hominum opera humanoque more perficiuntur: decet enim sapientiam Dei, eo modo res universas ordinari et ad metam perduci, qui naturae singularum conveniat. Non unum tamen est genus hominum vel officiorum, quorum ope fiat ad hanc terrestrem Sion novorum civium accessio. Nam primae quidem partes eorum sunt, qui praedicant verbum Dei: id exemplis et oraculis suis Christus edocuit; id Paullus Apostolus urgebat iis verbis: *Quomodo credent ei quem non audierunt? quomodo autem audient sine praedicante? . . . Ergo fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi.*† Istud autem munus ad eos pertinet, qui rite sacris iniciati fuerint.—His porro operae studiique non parum afferunt qui vel auxilia in rebus externis posita suppeditare, vel fusis ad Deum precibus caelestia charismata conciliare solent. Quapropter laudantur in Evangelio mulieres, quae Christo evangelizanti regnum Dei ministrabant de facultatibus suis,‡ et Paullus testatur, iis qui Evangelium annuntiant voluntate Dei concessum esse ut de Evangelio vivant.§ Pari modo assetatores auditoresque suos Christum ita iussisse novimus: *Rogate Dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam.*|| primosque Eius alumnos, Apostolis praeeuntibus, ita supplicare Deo consuevisse: *Da servis tuis cum omni fiducia loqui verbum tuum.*¶

Duo haec munia quae in largiendo supplicandoque consistunt, cum perutilia sunt ad regni caelorum fines latius proferendos, tum illud habent proprium, ut ab hominibus cuiuslibet ordinis expleri facile queant. Quis enim est aut tam tenui fortuna, ut exiguum dare stipem, aut tantis rebus occupatus, ut pro nuntiis sacri Evangelii Deum obsecrare aliquandiu prohibeatur? Huiusmodi vero praesidia adhi-

* Is. liv. 2.
§ 1 Cor. ix. 14.

† Rom. x. 14, 17.
|| Matth. ix. 38, Lue. x. 2.

‡ Luc. viii. 3.
¶ Acts iv. 29.

bere semper viri apostolici consueverunt, nominatum Pontifices romani, in quos christiana fidei propagandae maxime incumbit sollicitudo: tametsi non eadem perpetuo ratio fuit haec subsidia comparandi, sed varia et diversa, pro varietate locorum temporumque diversitate.

Cum aetate nostra libeat ardua quaeque coniunctis plurimorum consiliis et viribus aggredi, societas passim coire vidimus, quarum nonnullae etiam ob eam caussam sunt initiae, ut provehendae in aliquibus regionibus religioni prodescent. Eminet autem inter ceteras pia consociatio ante annos fere sexaginta Lugduni in Galii coalita, quae a *propagatione fidei* nomen accepit. Haec primum illuc spectavit, ut quibusdam in America missionibus opem ferret: mox tamquam granum sinapis in arborem ingentem excrevit, cuius rami late frondescunt, adeoque ad missiones omnes, quae ubique terrarum sunt, actuosam beneficentiam porrigit. Praeclarum hoc institutum celeriter Ecclesiae Pastoribus probatum fuit et luculentis laudum testimonii honestatum. Romani illud Pontifices Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., Decessores Nostris et commendarunt vehemente et Indulgenterum donis ditaverunt. Ac multo etiam studiosius fovit, et plane caritate paterna complexus est Gregorius XVI., qui in encyclicis litteris die XV. mensis Augusti anno huius saeculi quadragesimo datis in hanc sententiam de eodem loquutus est: "Magnum sane opus et sanctissimum, quod modicis oblationibus et quotidianis precibus a quolibet sodalium ad Deum fusis sustinetur, augetur, invalescit, quodque Apostolicis operariis sustentandi christianaque caritatis operibus erga neophytes exercendis, nec non fidelibus ab impetu persecutionum liberandis inductum bonorum omnium admiratione atque amore dignissimum existimamus. Nec sine peculiari divinae providentiae consilio tantum commodi atque utilitatis Ecclesiae nuperrimis hisce temporibus obvenisse censemendum est. Dum enim omnigena inferni hostis machinamenta dilectam Christi sponsam lacescant, nihil illi opportunius contingere poterat, quam ut desiderio propagandae catholicae veritatis Christifideles inflammati iunctis studiis, collataque ope omnes Christo lucrifacere conarentur." Haec prolocutus, Episcopos hortabatur, sedulo agerent in sua quisque Dioecesi, ut tam salutare institutum nova quotidie incrementa caperet.—Neque a vestigis Decessoris sui deflexit gloriosae recordationis Pius IX., qui nullam praetermisit occasionem iuvandae societatis meritissimae, eiusque prosperitatis in maius provehendae. Reversa auctoritate eius ampliora pontificalis indulgentiae privilegia in socios collata sunt, excitata ad eius operis subsidium christianorum pietas, et praestantissimi e sodalium numero, quorum singularia merita constitissent, variis honorum insignibus decorati; demum externa aliquot adiumenta, quae huic instituto accesserant, ab eodem Pontifice ornata laude et amplificata sunt.

Eodem tempore aemulatio pietatis effecit, ut binae aliae societas coalescerent, quarum altera a *sacra Iesu Christi infantia*, altera a *Scholis Orientis* nuncupata est. Priori propositum est tollere et ad christianos mores educere infantes miserrimos, quos desidia vel egestate compulsi parentes inhumaniter exponunt, praesertim in *Sinensium* regionibus, ubi plus est huius barbaria moris usitata. Illos itaque

per amanter excipit sodalium caritas, pretioque interdum redemptos christiana regeneratio lavacro abluendos curat, ut scilicet vel in Ecclesiae spem, Deo iuvante, adolescent, vel saltem morte occupatis sempernae felicitatis potiundae facultas praebeatur.—Sollicita est de adolescentibus alia quam commemoravimus societas, omnique industria contendit, ut ii sana doctrina imbuantur, studetque prohibere fallacis pericula scientiae, ad quam proni persaepe illi feruntur ob improvidam discendi cupiditatem.—Ceterum utraque sodalitas antiquiori illi, cui a fidei propagatione nomen est, adiutricem operam praebet, et stipe precibusque christianarum gentium sustentata ad idem propositum amico foedere conspirat; omnes enim eo intendunt, ut evangelicae lucis diffusione quamplurimi ab Ecclesia extores veniant ad agnitionem Dei, Eumque colant, et quem misit Iesum Christum. Meritis proinde laudibus, velut innuimus, haec duo instituta, datis Apostolicis litteris, ornavit Pius IX. Decessor Noster, iisque sacras Indulgentias liberaliter est elargitus.

Itaque cum tria sodalitia tam certa Pontificum maximorum gratia floruerint, cumque opus singula suum studio concordi urgere numquam desierint, uberes edidere salutis fructus, Congregationi Nostrae de propaganda fide haud mediocre attulere subsidium et levamen ad sustinenda missionum onera, atque ita vigere visa sunt, ut laetam quoque spem facerent in posterum segetis amplioris. At vero tempes- tates plures ac vehementes, quae adversus Ecclesiam excitatae sunt in regionibus iamdudum evangelica luce illustratis, detrimentum intulerunt iis etiam operibus, quae sunt ad barbaras gentes excolendas instituta. Etenim multae caussae extiterunt, quae sociorum numerum liberalitatemque minuerent. Et sane cum passim opiniones pravae spargantur in vulgus, per quas mundanae felicitatis appetitio acuitur, caelestium autem bonorum spes abiicitur, quid ab iis expectetur, qui animo ad excogitandas, corpore ad capiendas voluptates utuntur? Huiusmodi homines precesne fundant, quibus exoratus Deus populos sedentes in tenebris ad divinum Evangelii lumen victri gratia ad- ducat? Istine sacerdotibus pro fide laborantibus ac dimicantibus suppetias ferant? Restrictiores porro fieri ad munificentiam animos etiam piorum hominum temporis improbitate oportuit, partim quod abundante iniquitate refixit multorum caritas, partim quod rerum privatuarum angustiae, publicarum motus (iniecto etiam metu peioris aevi) plures in retinendo tenaces, parciores ad largiendum effecerunt.

Multiplex contra gravisque necessitas Apostolicas missiones premit atque urget, cum sacrorum operariorum copia efficiatur quotidie minor; neque abreptis morte, senio confectis, labore attritis praestos sunt qui succedant pares numero et virtute. Religiosas enim familias, unde plures ad sacras missiones prodibant, infensis legibus dissociatas cernimus, clericos ab aris avulsos et onus militiae subire coactos, bona utriusque Cleri fere ubique publicata et proscripta.—Interim aditu ad alias plagas patefacto quae videbantur imperviae, crescente locorum et gentium notitia, aliae atque aliae quae sitae sunt expeditiones militum Christi, novaeque stationes constitutae: ideoque plures desiderantur, qui se iis missionibus devoteant, et tempestiva conferant subsidia.—Difficultates omittimus et impedimenta a contradictionibus oborta.

Saepe enim viri fallaces, satores errorum, simulant Apostolos Christi, humanisque praesidiis affatim instructi munus catholicorum sacerdotum praevertunt, vel deficientium loco subrepunt, vel posita ex adverso cathedra docentis obsistunt, satis se assequutos rati, si audientibus verbum Dei aliter ab aliis explicari ancipitem faciunt salutis viam. Utinam non aliquid artibus suis proficerent! Illud certe deflendum, quod ii vel ipsi, qui tales magistros aut fastidiunt aut prorsus non noverunt, puramque veritatis lucem inhiant, saepe hominem non habeant, a quo sana doctrina erudiantur et ad Ecclesiae sinum invitentur. Vere parvuli petunt panem, et non est qui frangat eis; regiones albae sunt ad messem, et haec quidem multa, operarii autem pauci pauciores forsan propediem futuri.

Quae cum ita sint, Venerabiles Fratres, Nostri muneris esse ducimus, piis studiis caritatique christianorum admovere stimulos, ut qua precibus, qua largitionibus sacararum missionum opus iuvare et fidei propagationi favere contendant. Cuius rei quanta sit praestantia, cum bona ostendunt quae illi proposita sunt, tum quae inde percipiuntur compendia et fructus. Recta enim tendit sanctum hoc opus ad gloriam divini nominis et Christi regnum amplificandum in terris; incredibiliter autem beneficium est iis, qui e vitiorum coeno et umbra mortis evocantur, et praeterquam quod salutis sempiternae compotes fiunt, ab agresti cultu ferisque moribus ad omnem civilis vitae humanitatem traducuntur. Quin etiam iis ipsis est valde utile ac fructuosum, quorum in eo aliquae sunt partes, cum spirituales illis divitias comparet, praebat materiam meriti, et Deum quasi beneficii debitorem adstringat.

Vos igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, in partem sollicitudinis Nostrae vocatos etiam atque etiam hortamur, ut concordibus animis apostolicas missiones sedulo vehementerque adiuvare Nobiscum studeatis, fiducia in Deum erecti et nulla difficultate deterriti. Salus agitur animorum, cuius rei causa Redemptor Noster animam suam posuit, et Nos Episcopos et sacerdotes dedit in opus sanctorum, in consummationem corporis sui. Quare retenta licet ea statione gregisque custodia quam cuique Deus commisit, summa ope nitamur, ut sacris missionibus ea praesidia suppetant quae a primordiis Ecclesiae in usu fuisse commemoravimus, scilicet Evangelii paeconium, et piorum hominum cum preces tum eleemosynae.

Si quos ergo noveritis divinae gloriae studiosos et ad sacras expeditiones suscipiendas promptos et idoneos, his addite animos, ut explorata compertaque voluntate Dei, non acquiescant carni et sanguini, sed Spiritus Sancti vocibus obtemperare festinent.—A reliquis autem sacerdotibus, a religiosorum virorum utriusque sexus ordinibus, a cunctis denique fidelibus curae vestrae concreditis magnopere contendite, ut numquam intermissis precibus caeleste auxilium satoribus divini verbi concilient. Deprecatores autem adhibeant Deiparam Virginem, quae valet omnia errorum monstra interimere; purissimum eius Sponsum, quem plures missiones iam sibi praestitem custodemque adsciverant, et nuper Apostolica Sedes universae Ecclesiae Patronum dedit; Apostolorum Principes agmenque totum, unde profecta primum Evangelii praedicatio omni terrarum orbe personuit; ceteros demum

praeclaros sanctitate viros, qui in eodem ministerio absumpsere vires, vel vitam cum sanguine profuderunt.—Precationi supplici eleemosyna accedat, cuius quidem ea vis est, ut vel loco dissitos et alienis curis distentos apostolicorum virorum adiutores, eorumque cum in laborandum in bene merendo socios efficiat. Tempus quidem est huiusmodi ut plures premat rei familiaris inopia; nemo tamen idcirco animum despondeat: stipis enim, quae in hanc rem desideratur, collatio nulli ferme potest esse gravis, quamvis e multis in unum collatis satis grandia queant parari subsidia. Vobis autem, Venerabiles Fratres, commonentibus, unusquisque consideret, non iacturae sed lucro suam sibi liberalitatem futuram, quia feneratur Domino qui dat indigenti, eaque de caussa ars eleemosyna dicta est omnium artium quaestuosisima. Revera si, ipso Iesu Christo auctore, non perdet mercedem suam qui uni ex minimis eius poculum dederit aquae frigidae, amplissima profecto merces illumanebit, qui insumpto in sacras missiones aere vel exiguo, precibusque adiectis, plura simul et varia caritatis opera exercet, et quod divinorum omnium divinissimum sancti Patres dixerunt, adiutor fit Dei in salutem proximorum.

Certa fiducia nitimur, Venerabiles Fratres, eos omnes qui catholico gloriantur nomine, haec reputantes animo et hortationibus Vestris incensos, minime defuturos huic, quod Nobis tantopere cordi est, pietatis officio; neque passuros studia sua in amplificando Iesu Christi regno, eorum sedulitate et industria vinci, qui dominatum principis tenebrarum propagare nituntur.—Interea piis christianarum gentium coeptis Deum propitium adprecantes, Apostolicam benedictionem, praecipuae benevolentiae Nostrae testem, Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, Clero et populo vigilantiae Vestrae commisso peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die III Decembris A. MDCCCLXXX,
Pontificatus Nostris Anno Tertio. LEO PP. XIII.

LETTER OF THE HOLY FATHER**TO****CARDINAL GUIBERT.**

*Dilecto Filio Nostro Hippolyto S. R. E. Presbytero Card. Guilert
Archiepiscopo Parisiensi.*

LEO PP. XIII.**DILECTE FILI NOSTER SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.**

PERLECTAE a Nobis libenter sunt litterae, quas ipse, Dilecte Fili Noster, ad Principem Reipublicae, ad Praefectum consilii publicis negotiis administrandis, nuperrime vero ad Praepositum negotiis Galliae interioribus misisti super decretis die xxix. mense Martio factis adversus collegia sodalium religiosorum, in quibus non sint, ut fere loquuntur, iura collegiorum legitima. In iis quidem litteris non mediocris est commendatio constantiae tuae cum eximia caritate

coniunctae: propterea quod libere aequa ac placata demonstras, ubicumque est Ecclesiae catholicae libertas constituta, ibi religiosos ordines sponte coalescere: ipsos enim tamquam ex stirpe quadam existere et quasi nasci ex Ecclesia; et perinde esse atque auxiliares copias, his temporibus maxime necessarias, quorum sollertia et industria cum in perfectione munera sacrorum, tum in hominibus christiana caritate adlevandis peropportune atque utilissime Episcopi adhibeant.—Atque illud quoque scienter inter cetera ostendis, nullum esse rei publicae genus, cui religiosae sodalitates aduersentur atque repugnant: non parum autem interesse tranquillitatis publicae, tot civibus innoxii quiete placideque vivendi integrum manere facultatem; non esse denique virorum populo bene consulentium, videri velle a religione, quae communis est omnium, discedere, fidemque catholicam ab avis et maioribus hereditate acceptam hostiliter consectari.

Ceterorum autem Episcoporum Galliae eadem de funestis illis decretis sententia fuit, idemque iudicium. Omnes enim magna cum laude fortitudinis ac moderationes patrocinium ordinum religiosorum publice studioseque suscepereunt, in eaque re fungi se officio intellexerunt iusto atque debito; sentiunt enim, id quod res est, impendentium malorum magnitudinem, nec solum Ecclesiae luctum futurum, sed etiam imminentem Galliae calamitatem non levem, liberis civibus iniuriam, publicae tranquillitati discrimen.

Et sane, eximios istos viros, in quorum capita vim placuit acuere legum, Ecclesia ipsa et genuit et materna solicitudine aluit ad decus omne virtutis atque humanitatis. Neque uno tantum nomine plurimum iis debet civilis hominum societas, cum et sanctitate morum ad recte faciendum incitare animos multitudinis consueverint, et doctrinae copia sacras profanasque disciplinas illustrare; demum omnium optimarum artium patrimonium mansuris ingenii sui fructibus locupletare. Et quibus temporibus maior extitit Clericorum penuria, ex coenobiis prodire sacrorum operariorum manipuli praestanti sapientia et sedulitate, qui adiumento Episcopis essent in excolendis ad pietatem animis, in doctrina evangelica disseminanda, in instituenda ad litteras bonosque mores iuventute. Eorum autem qui ad barbaros populos, Evangelii caussa, mittuntur, maximum numerum semper contulerunt domus sodalium religiosorum in Gallia consistentium; qui magnis pro catholica fide exantatis laboribus una cum Evangelio christiano Gallorem nomen et gloriam ad dissitas gentes transtulerunt.—Nullum vero in conditione humana prope est infortunii genus, quod non lenire, nullus casus, in quo nomen ponи solet calamitatis, cui non sodales religiosi tempestivam admovere medicinam studuerint, in nosocomiis, in domibus infimae plebi recipiundae, in urbium pace et otio, in trepidatione atque aestu tumultuum bellicorum; idque ea suavitate et misericordia, quae non potest nisi a divina caritate proficisci. Cuius caritatis cunctis provinciis, urbibus, oppidis in conspectu sunt nobilissima exempla egregiisque fructus.

Tot tantorumque meritorum commendatio, concordi Episcoporum testimonio instructa, satis virium ad intentatam prohibendam cladem habitura videbatur; praesertim cum Galliae cives ex omni ordine longe plurimi, praesenti sacrorum ordinum discrimine commoti, alias

alio studiosius profiteri voluntatem suam, honestissimo certamine obsequii ac benevolentiae, contendent; neque pauci magistratu abire, publicisque muneribus sese abdicare memorabili exemplo fortitudinis maluerint, quam aut cladis adiutores se praebere, aut illorum decretorum fautores videri, quibus legitimae usuque diurno receptae civium libertari inferri grave vulnus intelligebant.

Sed ad nobilissimas Episcoporum voces hominumque catholicorum querimonias, male auspicato consilio, clausae aures fuerunt. Imo prudenter coniiciebatur sodalites religiosas non esse interitum evasuras, etiamsi legitima societatum iura petivissent; quoniam non obscuris rerum atque animorum indicis satis apparebat, propositum de tollendis sacris ordinibus iam in mentibus insedisse; eamque ob rem decere unanimi sententia censuerunt abstinere precibus; eo magis quod aliae caussae non deessent, quae id ipsum persuaderent.

Itaque ad constitutam diem, vi adhibita, primo illo decreto agi coeptum, quo sanciebatur ut Societas Iesu universa Gallia dissolvetur. —Eius rei caussa Legatum Nostrum Parisiis consistentem deferre extemplo iussimus querelas Nostras ad rei publicae administratores, simulque ostendere, nihil esse tale meritos tot spectatae virtutis viros; quorum caritatem, doctrinam, curasque summo studio et perspicaci prudentia in educanda praesertim iuventute collocatas haec Apostolica Sedes sicut diu novit, ita plurimi facit. Atque eorumdem virtuti, et gratia et praeclaro iudicii sui testimonio, Galli suffragantur, cum filios adolescentes, carissima pignora, disciplinae integratique ipsorum alacres et fiduciae pleni commendare soleant.

Verum cum editae per Legatum Nostrum querelae nihil profecissent, in eo iam eramus ut vocem Nostram apostolicam pro officio et potestate Nostra attolleremus aduersus ea quae in sacrorum ordinum perniciem gesta essent, quaeve in posterum gererentur. —Tunc autem significatum Nobis est, posse a decretis ceterum perficiendis desisti, si sodales religiosi, datis in id litteris, declararent, se a motibus commutationibusque rerum publicarum esse alienos, nec vivendo agendoque in studia partium discessisse.

Caussae Nobis multae et graves suaserunt, ut conditionem accipremus ultro ab ipsis imperantibus oblatam, quae praeterquamquod nec doctrinis catholicis esset, nec ordinum religiosorum dignitati contraria, hoc etiam habebat commodi, ut arcere detrimentum permagnum a Gallia, aut saltem eripere ex inimicorum manu quoddam quasi telum posse videretur, quo ipsis saepenumero abuti ad nocendum sodalibus religiosis consueverant.

Perspectum atque exploratum Nobis et huic Sedi Apostolicae est, quo consilio, cuius rei gratia, sodalites religiosae sint in Ecclesia catholica constitutae: nimirum ad perfectionem absolutionemque virtutis in sodalibus ipsis progignendam; in actione autem vitae, quae foras eminet, et propria est singularum, nihil esse aliud ipsis propositum, quam aut sempiternam proximorum salutem, aut miseriarum humani generis levamen; quibus rebus student alacritate mirabili, assiduitate quotidiana. —Procul dubio nullam Ecclesia catholica reprehendit aut improbat formam civitatis; et quae ab ipsa Ecclesia ad communem utilitatem instituta sunt, prospere esse possunt, sive unius sive plurium

potestate et iustitia regatur res publica. Sedes autem Apostolica quae, in variis vicibus flexibusque rerum publicarum, negotia expediat necesse est cum iis qui populo praesunt, hoc vult hoc spectat unice, rem christianam salvam esse: laedere vero iura imperii, cuiuscumque tandem ea sint, nec vult, nec velle potest. In rebus autem non iniustis parentum eis esse, qui praesunt, conservandi causa ordinis, in quo est publicae fundamentum incoluntatis, nemo dubitat: nec tamen est consequens, obtemperando approbari si quidquam est aut in constitutione aut in administratione civitatis non iustum.

Cum haec sint iuris publici praecepta catholicorum hominum communia, nihil erat impedimento quominus illa animi declaratio fieret.—Atque idcirco in eo est admiratio nonnulla, quod istud gravissimis momentis ponderatum consilium, et christianaee civilisque rei causa susceptum parum aequos existimatores et iudices offenderit viros cetera probables, quod in religione catholicā defendenda strenue ingenioseque elaborent. Quibus ad rem aequius aestimandam, nosse satis erat, eam, quam diximus, animi declarationem auctoritate, aut hortatu, aut saltem assensu Episcoporum peractam fuisse. Praesesse enim et consulere rebus, quae ad religionem catholicam pertinent, Episcoporum est, quos *Spiritus Sanctus posuit regere Ecclesiam Dei*: ceteros autem subesse et obtemperare oportere perspicuum est.

Igitur ea, quae expetebatur, declaratione proposita, religiosis familiis minus timendum videbatur.—Verumtamen maxime dolendum est gubernatoribus rerum Galliae publicarum pergere placuisse quo instituerant; iamque illinc nuntii Nobis in dies afferuntur acerbi ac tristes; reliquas etiam ordinum religiosorum familias disiici atque ad interitum vocari coepisse. Qua quidem nova, quam Gallia iam sentit, pernicie Nos graviter commovemur, vehementerque angimur; atque iniuriam, quae Ecclesiae catholicae infertur, deploramus ac detestamur.

Interea tamen cum saeviat atrociter bellum et acriora haud procul sint e conspectu certamina, Nostri munera est instituta Ecclesiae ubique conservare invicta stabilitate constantiae, et fortis excelsaque animo iura tueri, quae sunt fidei Nostrae commissa.—Quam ad rem omnino confidimus, nec tuam Nobis, Dilekte Fili Noster, nec ceterorum Venerabilium Fratrum operam defuturam, qui obsequentem Nobis animum egregiamque voluntatem modis omnibus testari nunquam intermittunt. Vobis igitur adiuvantibus, illud Deo aspirante consequumur, ut in his temporibus rebusque tam trepidis admirabilis illa coniunctio retineatur, a fide et caritate profecta, qua christianas gentes, Episcopos universos et supremum Ecclesiae Pastorem colligatos inter se esse necesse est.

Hac spe freti Tibi, Dilekte Fili Noster, Venerabilibus Fratribus Episcopis Galliae, Clero populoque curae vestrae concredito, divinorum munerum auspicem et praecipuae benevolentiae Nostrae testem, Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxii Octobris A. MDCCCLXXX, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Tertio.

LEO PP. XIII.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, of Cologne.

1. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

TO the January issue I contributed a critique of the five volumes of Father Gams's "Ecclesiastical History of Spain." This learned work was started in 1862, but completed only in 1879; the cause of this delay being not only the publication of the "Series Episcoporum Ecclesie Catholicae," but mainly the fact that Dr. Gams, owing to the liberality of the late King, Maximilian II. of Bavaria, was enabled to go to Spain, there to continue his studies in the Spanish libraries. He also employed his sojourn in Spain for making himself thoroughly acquainted with the liturgy of the Spanish Church, the condition of the hierarchy and clergy, and the position of religion in the public life of the nation. Father Gams extended his studies even to Spanish America; hence students of Church history are greatly indebted to him for those most interesting and instructive notices about that southern America; which otherwise would be for many scholars a *terra incognita*. Besides this, archeologists may profit by his solid researches concerning Spanish inscriptions, the canon law of the Spanish Church, the position of the inhabitants in different periods, and the journeys of St. Paul in Spain. What the reader looks for in vain is the description of the influence of the Arabian philosophy in Spain, the struggles sustained by the Church against those dangerous systems, and the foundation and development of the English and Scotch colleges in that country. But what was, after all, the author's motive in publishing a Spanish Church History on a scale so large that it grew to five bulky volumes? Dr. Gams, in the course of his historical researches, became, as it were, enchanted by Bishop Hosius of Cordova, whose labours for the Church and whose orthodoxy he was then wholly occupied in defending against so many attacks of old and modern writers. The plan and limits of a mere biographical sketch were soon passed, and the work grew to its present bulk. The first volume treats of the introduction of the Christian religion into Spain, and very cogent reasons are adduced for St. Paul's sojourn in that country. It is only by assuming it, that we can fully understand the notice given by St. Clement of Rome of St. Paul's arriving, ἐν τῷ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως; or bring order into the chronology of the Acts of St. Luke, or account for the various traditions preserved for so many centuries in the Spanish churches, of St. Paul's missionary work in the Peninsula. Dr. Gams lays great stress on the immemorial devotion of the Spanish

Church to St. Thecla, because her cult is inseparably bound up with that of St. Paul.

The second volume deals with the persecutions under the Roman emperors, a topic affording occasion to our author to defend the Christians against the assumptions of those modern Protestant writers who dare to taunt them with disobedience and provocation, whilst they excuse, or even praise, the inhuman measures resorted to by the heathen emperors. For our author it is not difficult to prove that the Emperor Diocletian was urged by the influence of the neoplatonic philosophers to persecute his Christian subjects in Spain as elsewhere. The philosophers had failed to re-establish paganism, and inspired the emperor with their own rage against Christianity. Next the author treats on the victory of Christian religion in Spain, the great dogmatical struggles with Arianism, and the defence of the Catholic faith by Bishop Hosius. Although many divines in the Western Church doubted Hosius' orthodoxy, the liturgy of the Eastern Church recognizes his merits by celebrating his memory on August the 27th, together with Pope Liberius. Whoever wishes to study the Spanish liturgy, or to follow the history of St. James's relics, ought to peruse Father Gams's third volume. He traces the history of the relics from the Emperor Justinian I., in whose reign they came to the convent of Raithu in Palestine, and describes their translation to Saragossa in Spain by three monks in the middle of the seventh century, after the spread of Islam in Palestine. Father Gams may boast of being the first scholar who has dragged out of the dust of Spanish libraries the bull "Vox in excelso audita est lamentationis," by which Clement V. suppressed the order of the Templars: he published it in Germany in 1865. A large part of the fifth volume is occupied with the nature, the object, and the introduction of the Inquisition. It was not originated by the Church; it was, on the contrary, a mere State institution. Every period in the Church's history has its peculiar drawbacks; one of the grievous evils endangering the Spanish Church consisted in that immense—not to say overwhelming—power of the sovereigns which was not far from totally stifling her life. "In Spain the clergy looked up to the King as the one man bestowing graces, dignities, and salaries. A case is not known (?) in which the Pope refused to appoint a royal nominee. The Royal Council of Castile exerted an almost unlimited jurisdiction also over the clergy; as a matter of fact, it was the last and highest tribunal. Except the Church of Toledo and the Jesuits, the whole clergy applied to the 'recursos de fuerza appellatio ab abusu' (vol. v. 513)." In our days the condition of the Spanish clergy is very different; they have, indeed, been deprived of worldly splendour and material riches, but as to love and faithfulness towards the Holy See, they are second to the clergy of no other country. Dr. Gams's work is based on extensive studies and original documents, and is deserving of a wide circulation.

Two able articles in the January and February issues describe the meritorious part taken by the Church during the Middle Ages in the construction of bridges. The author brings many proofs taken from

the several European countries. A special interest attaches to the notices he brings of England from the registers of the archbishops of York and the bishops of Durham. In those times, the construction of bridges was regarded as a very meritorious work, and the Catholic bishops were foremost in helping it, by granting indulgences. Elvet bridge in Durham, Otley bridge in York, and many others were completed in this way. The author of "Wanderings of Jansenism through Europe," describes in his contribution to the February issue another champion of Jansenism in Austria. This was the unfortunate ex-Capuchin, Fessler, who in 1782 published the pamphlet, "What is the Emperor?" Joseph II., having perused it, is reported to have said: "This man we must esteem and employ." Fessler strongly vindicated in words the Jansenistic "rigueur des principes morales," but in his life, so far from following it, became totally profligate, and sank into the deepest misery.

The September issue contains an article on "Secret Italian Politics, 1863-1870." Two interesting books treating on that Machiavellian policy to which the Holy See has been cruelly sacrificed, have just appeared in Turin and Rome. The following bears the title "Politica Segreta Italiana, 1863-1870." The learned Professor Balan, second keeper of the Vatican archives, using the valuable documents published by the Pope's adversaries, brought out in Rome "La politica Italiana dal 1863-1870, secondo gli ultimi documenti." A diligent perusal of these two books is enough to destroy any lingering esteem for the late King of Italy, who generally has been described as being dragged on by his Ministers or the Revolution. On the contrary, it was the King who decidedly worked for the destruction of the temporal power. There are also given clear hints as to what part Germany took in the breaking down of the Porta Pia, September 20, 1870.

2. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*.—Father Cathrein, in the February issue, treats on "Socialism and Liberalism struggling against each other for the right of property." Liberalism, in giving up the Christian principles concerning property and its use, necessarily must be swallowed up by Socialism. Christian jurisprudence and philosophy have always deduced the right of property from the will of God. But as Liberalism aims at separating society and property from God, basing them only on the will of man, it could not object to a law abolishing private property, and declaring it to be property of the society. In the same issue F. Spillmann tells the history of the martyrdom of F. Lewis, in South Wales, under William III.; and F. Beissel describes Cologne Cathedral.

3. *Literarische Rundschau*.—In the January issue we meet with a criticism of considerable weight, contributed by Professor Hettinger, on the "Système des mediocrités," advocated some years ago by a certain French theologian for the seminaries of that country. When Count de Maistre published his work "Du Pape," he excused himself for treating

of questions that were the special property of divines by the sad fact that the veterans of the French clergy, owing to the disastrous effects of the Revolution, had passed away, whilst he hoped that a time would come when the French clergy would again be admirable, both by their sanctity and vast learning. In our days we are condemned to hear praised a system of spiritual starvation to which the French seminaries are to be sacrificed; the "Système des mediocrités." Against this system two learned books have appeared: "Quelques observations soumises à NN.SS. les Evêques concernant les études des Séminaires en France. Par un Prélat romain, résidant à Paris," and "Lettre en réponse aux objections touchant la réforme des études des Séminaires." The author, a high ecclesiastical dignitary, cites the "Système" before the tribunal of the Fathers and the Scholastics, pointing out the words of S. Thomas, that the *Summa Theologica* was written "ad eruditio[n]em incipientium," and having utterly condemned it, he goes on to ask that two years may be devoted to the study of philosophy, and four years to that of theology. He exclaims: "You would educate practical theologians, and are you not aware that every act of the clergy ought to be illuminated and supported by those sublime principles which are to be derived only from the centres of philosophy and theology?" In a period which witnesses the old religious Orders who have ever ranked foremost in France and the cultivation of theology—the Jesuits and Dominicans—crushed by the blows of a liberal, or rather an unmerciful party, the lessons given by this "Roman dignitary" ought to be duly attended to.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Scuola Cattolica. 30 Novembre, 1880.

1. *The Rosminian Philosophy.*

THE *Scuola Cattolica* has been much occupied in its late numbers with the subject of the Rosminian Philosophy. While expressing respect, as all must, for Rosmini personally, it regards his metaphysical doctrines as involving dangerous consequences, which the magnificent restoration of the teaching of St. Thomas in the schools by Leo XIII. will, it expects, effectually counteract. The attempt of Rosmini's followers to prove that the *Dimittatur* of the Congregation of the Index, pronounced with reference to his works in July, 1854, amounted to a formal approbation, being, they would have it, equivalent to "nihil censura dignum," whereas it is simply a negative declaration, that of non-prohibition, is dealt with both in this periodical and in the *Civiltà Cattolica*. "The *Dimittatur*," says the *Civiltà Cattolica* of February 5, 1881 (in its review of a recent work of Cardinal Zigliara on this subject, upon which, as being a member of the Congregation of the Index, he is a high authority), signifies exclusively the negative of the *prohibeatur*. Hence, it argues, whatever the attending circumstances may have been, such as a prolonged examination, the presence of the Pope in the Congregation, &c., the nature of this judgment can never be altered. A book thus dismissed

can be freely discussed and combated in the philosophical and theological arenas, it may be examined anew by Roman Congregations, and it may finally be even prohibited.

Further, the writers in the *Scuola* are of opinion that Rosmini's philosophical system is actually proscribed as unsound and pernicious in the Encyclical "Æterni Patris," and, as they contend, it has thus been generally understood by the faithful. But what they consider as most worthy of remark is the interpretation put upon the Encyclical by the great body of the Episcopate, as they undertake to prove in the course of an article entitled "La Odierna Questione Filosofica guidicata senz' entrare in Filosofia," which appeared in their number of November, 1880. This interpretation is expressed more or less explicitly and distinctly in the numerous letters of adhesion addressed by bishops to the Sovereign Pontiff, an interpretation quite opposite to what the partisans of Rosmini strive to put upon it. It is also remarkable that, although there are not wanting some bishops who still cling to Rosminianism, nevertheless one only, as would appear, the Bishop of Casale, has written to the Pontiff, giving to the Encyclical an interpretation favourable to it. The letter in which the Holy Father made reply, while courteously expressed, showed evident disapprobation. This disapprobation forms a striking contrast with the favourable reception he has given to the letters of those bishops who have interpreted the "Æterni Patris" as condemnatory of the new philosophy. As an instance, the *Scuola Cattolica* alleges an address signed on the 28th of August by seventy priests, the document being endorsed and published by the Bishop of Vigevano, in which they engaged to follow in its entirety the teaching of the Angelic Doctor, *etiam contra recentiora systemata, inter quæ et Rosminianum recensendum, uti tu pandere tot modis dignatus es.* In the circular in which this address was issued, Mgr. Di Gaudenzi, the Bishop of Vigevano, distinctly enunciated the same sentiments, naming especially the Rosminian philosophy.

It will, doubtless, be remembered that two works of the Abate Rosmini, "Le cinque piaghe della Chiesa" and "La costituzione secondo la giustizia sociale," were actually placed on the Index in the year 1849. This condemnation drew more particular attention to his works of speculative philosophy, and the discussion waxed hot. In 1851 all the works of Rosmini were by some one referred for examination to the Sacred Congregation of the Index. By that time his system had acquired much celebrity, and had taken the place in almost all the schools of Italy of other preceding systems, with the exception of that of St. Thomas. The Pope, out of regard for the person of the illustrious writer, had these works subjected to a careful examination, which extended over three years, but, as the writer observes, the length of time and the care expended are not altogether favourable indications, but rather tend to prove that the case of Rosmini was hard and difficult. The *Dimittatur* was finally given, but it must be remembered that that sentence does not possess the force of a public ecclesiastical law; it is never published, but only communicated to the parties who

have moved the judgment *in foro externo*. In this case most persons knew nothing about the sentence, and it is only recently that attention has been called to it. According to the text, as stated, the person of the meritorious writer, as well as the religious society founded by him, are expressly excluded from the question at issue.

The great affinity which exists between Ontologism and Rosminianism, observes the writer of "La Questione Filosofica sotto il Pontificato di Pio IX.," was calculated to suggest the suspicion that some at least of the censures pronounced by the Sacred Congregation against the former system might strike also at that of Rosmini; the more so, as a posthumous work of his, published in 1859, and therefore subsequent to the *Dimittatur*, entitled "Il nuovo Saggio sull'origine dell' idee," was marked by a much clearer approach to Ontologistic views than had appeared in his former publication on this subject. The points of divergence between Rosmini and the Ontologists with reference to intuition have been carefully elaborated in the pages of the *Scuola Cattolica*, which arrived at the conclusion that there is a distinction without a substantial difference. Be this as it may, Rosminianism could not but be regarded as a kind of branch of Ontologism, with which it has many points of contact, and, as such, would feel the *contre-coup* of its condemnation; and, in point of fact, the censures pronounced against it were not seldom applied by grave and thoughtful persons to the Rosminian system, or, at least, to those bad interpretations to which it too frequently lent itself. Nevertheless, the knowledge that Rosminianism was never on the *tapis* during the examination of the Ontologistic propositions, which its professors were finally called upon to retract in 1866,* tended to set misgivings at rest, and no one took occasion of the censures on Ontologism to raise at that period an alarm against Rosminianism.

The system of the philosopher of Rovereto has certainly never been formally condemned up to this time, but the *Scuola* considers it to be practically censured by the "Æterni Patris," for the Pope, in expressing his desire that in the schools the philosophy of St. Thomas should be taught, has necessarily assumed its truth, and, in excluding systems which do not agree with it, he must, on the other hand, necessarily assume them to be erroneous. But why, then, say the objectors, has he not named Rosmini expressly? We have no right, says the *Scuola*, to scrutinize what may be the motives of the Holy Father, but, if it may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, we might say that the Pope has not named Rosmini in particular because the naming of him would have limited and minimised his object; for the Encyclical was directed, not against the philosophy of Rosmini alone, but against all those systems which are not in accordance with that of St. Thomas. To have specified him, would have marred this universality of application. The Holy Father, no doubt, may think that for those who are willing to understand, he has spoken plainly enough; for those who are not, clearer language would not suffice, and would

* The person of Professor Ubaghs was always respected, and even his books were never put on the Index.

have no effect but that of adding to their culpability. It must be remembered, however, that, when speaking of censure and condemnation, the Review expressly states that it does not mean to assert that the Encyclical condemns the works of Rosmini, but only excludes the Rosminian system from the schools. In this exclusion all other philosophical systems discordant with the Scholastic, and which had more or less substituted themselves for it, are equally comprehended.

In conclusion we will quote the words of another writer in the same number of the *Scuola*, who is replying to the arguments of the *Sapienza* of Turin, a Rosminian journal. "The defence of the person of Rosmini is a thing which any one who has a mind to fight with phantoms may undertake, because no one has come forth to attack him. The whole question in debate at present is as to the merit of his philosophy, and when we maintain that it is perilous and ought to be repudiated, it is very far from our desire to raise any doubt as to his piety, his mental powers, or his good and holy intentions."

This whole subject is ably pursued in subsequent numbers.*

2. *The Roman Malaria.* 31 Dicembre, 1880; 31 Gennajo, 1881.

THREE have been two articles in the *Scuola Cattolica* on the Malaria of the Agro Romano since our former notice. In the first of these the causes continue to be treated in detail; in the last, which appeared in the January number, proof is given that the evil has been in gradual and increasing operation very much longer than is generally supposed. When it is stated that the whole of the Agro was flourishing and extremely populous during the times of the Roman Empire, the assertion must be accepted with some reserve. The originally habitable portion has been narrowing for ages, and we have recorded testimony in ancient writers to the comparative insalubrity of the region, even while it was still habitable and inhabited. The causes at work, which were progressively increasing this insalubrity, continued, however, to be largely under control so long as the present delta had not been deposited, with the exception of one of them, namely, that caused by the inequality of the surface of the ground, having frequent depressions in the form of hollows in which little stagnant pools established themselves, of which the character of the soil, a spongy tufa resting on an impermeable bed of marl, prevented the absorption. The Agro Romano was, therefore, in those days, though still habitable, not healthy, and pasture predominated over agriculture. The testimony of Cato, in the sixth century of Rome, is adduced, and the still more telling evidence to be drawn from Plutarch's *Life of Camillus*, who, referring to it as to a well-recognized fact, attributes the mortality amongst the Gauls, when beleaguered

* In recording the comments and observations of the excellent periodicals here referred to, we must not be understood as agreeing with all their inferences. The philosophy of a genius like Rosmini deserves the gravest consideration. We may say at once that we have good reason to believe that that philosophy was not in the mind of the Holy Father when he condemned anti-Thomistic systems in the "Æterni Patris." We hope soon to treat the subject in an article.

the Capitol, to the malaria of the vicinity ; thus proving that it was in powerful operation nearly twenty-three centuries ago. Livy also speaks of this mortality, of the marshy hollows, and of the vicissitudes of climate in that region. The writer continues to trace historically its further deterioration, and satisfactorily exonerates the Middle Ages and the Papal Government from the charge brought against them, a charge which even those who lay this accusation at their door implicitly contradict by their own statements in reference to the physical causes which have been at work.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Janvier, 1881. Paris.

“**L**E Passage de la Mer Rouge par les Hébreux” is another of the series, “The Bible and Egyptology,” from the industrious pen of the Sulpitian M. Vigouroux. The article may be recommended to the attention of scholars as a lucid and well-argued presentment of an original view on the long-debated question of locality. It has another recommendation ; it supplies a complete summary of the history of the question, and contains in the notes a quite sufficient, if not complete, bibliography of works in German, French and English. This character of thoroughness and simplicity is very praiseworthy ; so many men of less erudition than the learned Sulpitian aim in similar articles apparently at parade of reading and brilliancy of theory, rather than at a winning patience of explanation, or a cautious testing of their supposed facts. These words of praise are equally deserved by the writer even if one should refuse to be won over to an absolute acceptance of the particular theory he defends. The difficulties to be overcome in attempting to trace on the Egypt of to-day the path of the Hebrew people towards the Land of Promise, will suggest themselves immediately in discouraging magnitude. Man’s “footprints on the sands of time” are proverbially quick to be effaced, but long ago the *trace* of Israel’s footstep has passed into uncertain tradition, and perhaps the sands themselves of the Egyptian desert have buried the very city from which he started. The locality, as M. Vigouroux says, has been “bouleversée par la nature et par les hommes.” Where was that Ramesses from which the children of Israel set forward, “being about six hundred thousand men on foot, besides children ?” And at what point on the Egyptian border of the Red Sea did Moses smite the waters, and lay open the dry way for their passage ? These—“le point de départ et le point d’arrivée”—are the objects of the learned writer’s earnest search ; and in spite of lapsed ages, new peoples, sand-drifts, and changes of even the physiognomy of the land, he does not despair of rising above the disproof of existing systems to the establishment of a more probable one. His destructive attack is chiefly dealt against the routes adopted respectively by Père Sicard, M. Lacointre, and by the (in this country) better known Dr. Brugsch. Only the author’s conclusions can be here stated ; recourse must be had to the article for

proof and authority. Having accounted for the prevalence of a wrong opinion concerning the topography of the Hebrew Exodus, from the time of Josephus to the approach of this "critical era"—the opinion that the march commenced from the vicinity of Memphis or Cairo—the author states the theory of Père Sicard, who laboured in Egypt during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and whom he justly styles "the worthy precursor of our Egyptologists in the land of the Pharaos." Ramesses was, according to this author, identical with the little village of Bessatin, three leagues from Old Cairo to the east of the Nile; the route pursued hence to the Red Sea was eastward through the valley between Mounts Tora and Diouchi. This itinerary, M. Vigouroux contends, starts from a mistaken "point de départ;" had this been correct, Moses would doubtless have followed the route traced from it. Memphis was not, as Père Sicard thought, the residence of the then Pharaoh, and Ramesses is not Bessatin; when the plagues afflicted Egypt the royal residence was at Tanis (Ps. lxxii. 12 and 43). This Tanis, it is now well established, was not directly westward of the north point of the Red Sea (as is Memphis), but to the north-west, and in the immediate vicinity of the land of Gessen. In 1874, first at a Conference at Alexandria, and then at the Congress of Orientalists in London, Brugsch-Bey propounded another and new route, farther from the truth than the route just discussed. His point of departure was also wrong; his Ramesses being Zoan or Tanis; but his passage by the Mediterranean, not the Red Sea, is "a grave and reprehensible error." His identification of Tanis rests on the discovery of the name Pi-ramesses on monuments discovered there, and is worthless as proof that it is the biblical Ramesses; for there are several places of that name. The Pentateuch proves that the town whence the Israelites started was not the capital and residence of the Pharaoh: also that Tanis (Zoan) is not in the land of Gessen.

In all probability, says M. Vigouroux, "Ramesses was built on the banks of the fresh-water canal which traverses the Wadi-t-Tumeylat, to the east, near to Tel-el-Maschuta, or Abu-Kescheb, between Tel-el-Kebir and lake Timsah." There are to be found the vestiges of an ancient canal, and an immense block of granite representing in relief Ramesses II., the Pharaoh who had forced the Israelites to work for the adornment of the city to which he gave his name. The ruins around this monument are of brick—bricks of Nile clay mixed with straw—and are the *debris* of the city walls. Having disposed of some other portions of Dr. Brugsch's route, the author discusses the direction taken by the Israelites after leaving the Ramesses just identified. Most scholars at the present day, he remarks, admit that this point of departure was on the borders of the above-mentioned canal, and that at a certain point in the eastward journey Moses turned abruptly southward; but they are quite of various opinions as to the locality of his crossing the Red Sea. Most of the engineers engaged in piercing the Isthmus of Suez have supposed that at the date of the Exodus the Red Sea was united to the Bitter Lakes; many of them again have contended that the Israelites crossed the

Bitter Lakes (M. de Lesseps, for example, places the crossing near Serapeum). Their proof of the former continuity of the lakes and the sea is founded on the salt deposits of the former and the peculiar *coquillages* found in the lakes, which are identical with those found in the Gulf of Suez. It is at this point that the author dissents from the opinion of M. Lecointre, who also takes the Hebrews across the Bitter Lakes, but at a point further south than Serapeum. This dissent is made with much courtesy, and a glad recognition of M. Lecointre's learning and the true Christian spirit of his researches. "One argument," says M. Vigouroux, "appears to us decisive against M. Lecointre; the ridge (*seuil*) of Chalouf, which intercepts communication [at the present day] between the sea and the lakes is, to speak the language of geologists, of Tertiary formation; in other words, it is anterior to Moses by many ages." This crucial point is established by the testimony of M. de Mauriac, a French engineer, and M. Fraas, a German geologist. In the days of Moses, therefore, the Bitter Lakes were not continuous, any more than now, with the Red Sea; therefore the children of Israel journeyed further south than it is customary to mark their route. M. Vigouroux brings them to the vicinity of Suez, though not quite so far to the south as the Père Sicard's point of crossing. Socoth, of Exodus xii. 37, having been most probably only a nomad encampment (Socoth = tents), he thinks will never be identified. Etham was perhaps a part of a line of fortifications raised by the Pharaos against the nomad Arabs. We can only indicate those of his conclusions which satisfy the requirements of Exod. xiv. 2. Beelsephon is most probably the chain of mountains now known as Jeb-el-Atakah, to the south-west of Suez, and critics have, with much plausibility, identified the present Ajrud as the Pi-hahiroth of Exodus. Ajrud is situate between the Bitter Lakes and the Gulf, about four hours' march to the north-west of Suez, in a vast plain where encampment would be easy. When the Hebrews had reached this plain the approach of Pharao and his hosts enclosed the fugitives in a kind of prison—on the east the Gulf, on the west the chain of Jeb-el-Atakah advancing so near to the sea that only in narrow ranks could the multitudes slowly pass through the defile. The chariots of Pharao placed across the route by which Moses might have sought the desert, occupying the north and north-east, left the Israelites no earthly resource. At this point, then, Moses struck the waters in the Red Sea of to-day.

In a final section the author defends the miraculous nature of the passage of the Red Sea against the various attempted naturalistic explanations. It may not be useless to remark that the Abbé Ancessi's "Atlas Géographique et Archéologique" of the Old and New Testaments, has a chart of the Isthmus of Suez in the time of Moses, on which the diverse routes of Sicard, Lecointre, and Brugsch are printed in different colours. The distinct indication of these three systems is a great help to following the arguments in this very interesting article. M. Vigouroux is zealous for an honest interpretation of the Mosaic narrative; and it must be confessed that the various stages of

that narrative (in Exodus xiii. and xiv.), especially the "turn" (xiv. 2) from Etham, "in the utmost coasts of the wilderness," to Pi-hahiroth, are apparently best realized in his route: whilst he contends that Dr. Brugsch's "crossing" over Lake Menzaleh, and M. Lecointre's over the Bitter Lakes, do not satisfy the requirements of the Sacred Text.

"*Les Articles Secrets; Pacification de la Vendée en 1795*," by M. de la Sicotière, deserves that at least attention should be drawn to it. The writer purposed to discuss and follow the question to its sources, with equal freedom from Royalist or Revolutionary prejudices. The article contains a mass of references and documents that will be new to many English readers; and it is intensely interesting, as must be any able study of that desperate Vendean war. The point in discussion is this: "Is it certain that when the Treaty of Pacification of the 29 Pluviose of the year III (17th February, 1795) was concluded between the Representatives of the people on one side, and Charette and Cormatin on the other, it was secretly agreed, outside the official articles intended for publication, that royalty should be re-established, and that the children of Louis XVI. should be placed in the hands of Charette in the month of June following, or simply that this disposition of them should be effected?" The supposition is improbable; appears indeed quite impossible. The writer describes the state of affairs in 1795—the anxiety on both sides that bloodshed might cease. He then gives *in extenso* the 22 Articles of Vendean demands drawn up by Charette and sent to the Representatives on the 12th February; the Declaration actually signed on the 17th by the Royalists; and the *arrêtés* of the Representatives, five in number, and signed with eleven signatures. That there were other secret agreements appears certain—did some of them refer to the restoration of royalty? The writer shows how earnestly the Convention desired peace; he then quotes the documents in which the Royalists mention these secret articles—"solemnly promised"—for the restoration of Catholicity and royalty, conceded to gain the much-desired pacification of Vendée. The critical examination of the authenticity and force of these documents, and the expressions in them are very able. The writer concludes:—
1st. There were never any "Secret Articles" *in writing*; on this point the testimony of Charette and others must outweigh that of Napoleon. 2nd. It is not yet proved that there were Articles, properly so called, discussed and resolved upon, even verbally, in conference between Republican and Royalist, stipulating for the restoration of monarchy or the return of the royal children to Charette. 3rd. But it seems very certain that there were overtures on these points made by the Royalist chiefs to some of the Representatives; and that these overtures, far from being repulsed, received countenance and promises more or less evasive. 4th. How far the Committee of Public Safety was involved cannot be precisely determined: probably not collectively. 5th. Did the Republican Representatives intend to keep their promises? "The thing would have been difficult if they had wished. Very few of them were in good faith; but all, or nearly

all—if the Bourbon cause had triumphed—would have claimed the price of their promises, and attributed to themselves the honour of the success." 6th. Were the Royalists in good faith on their side when they signed the treaty? Probably both sides regarded the treaty as rather a truce; the official Articles were not scrupulously observed on either side; but who can say if the *inexécution* of the Secret Articles or promises was not either chief motive or pretext with the Royalists for resuming arms? However it may be, the state of public opinion in 1795, looking to and even negotiating for the near re-establishment of monarchy, and the vitality of the "inexplicable Vendée," are subjects well worthy the attention of the student of history.

2. *Revue Générale.* Février, 1881. Bruxelles.

"LE Suicide en Europe," by M. A. Reynaert, Member of the Chamber of Representatives, contains some curious details on a melancholy topic. The Article is chiefly occupied with the statistics and conclusions of Prof. E. Morselli (Direttore del Manicomio di Macerata) in his late work, "Il Suicido, Saggio di statistica morale comparata." M. Morcelli's comparative table embraces suicide statistics in all civilized countries; he is a man of penetration and learning, and some of his conclusions are the more valuable as he has no leaning towards Catholicity—is, on the contrary, a disciple of Darwinism, and believes with Haeckel that "the degree of mental development of a people is measured by the facility with which it accepts 'evolutionism.'" For him suicide is a simple social phenomenon, ruled, as are other like phenomena, by inflexible if yet imperfectly discovered laws.

The first most indubitable result of statistics is evidence that suicides are steadily increasing; and this is confirmed by other statisticians. The force of this conclusion not a few authors earnestly endeavour to weaken by various explanations, chiefly by this, that only of late years have records and statistics been carefully or at all kept. To this it is answered that the regular and rapid increase has been as noteworthy within the recent years of register-books and statistics. Prof. Morselli admits this, attributing the increase to civilization; remarking that savage peoples *ne se suicident pas* except through hunger or fanaticism. M. Wagner has shown that the regular growth of the number of suicides, during a long series of years, exceeds that of the numbers of births, deaths, or marriages. The Article quotes the percentage of suicides in a million inhabitants of Sweden, Russia, England, Prussia, and other countries. But the suicidal movement is by no means identical in different countries; so varied, indeed, that authors search for the reasons of the diversity. Whilst upholding sound doctrine on free-will, one may admit tendencies affecting certain peoples towards suicide as well as outward circumstances. Morselli enumerates first, race, religion, and social culture; and chief among external causes, climate, seasons, and atmospheric vicissitudes. Thus the north of Europe has been always recognised as "the classic land of suicide :" Tacitus and Suetonius expressing, at that remote time,

their wonder at contempt of life in German, Celt, and Briton: Montesquieu in his day giving to foggy England *la triste suprématie* in matter of suicides. But statistics do not allow this decisive influence of climate. The author sees one fact clearly through them; that the ratio of suicides increases both from north and south towards the centre—especially latitude 50 of Europe. He cites the noteworthy difference (19 per million of inhabitants) between the northern provinces of Belgium—Antwerp, Brabant, East and West Flanders, &c., and the southern provinces, Hainault, Liège, &c. The seasons exercise great influence. In a hundred cases the maximum of suicides occurred thirty times in summer, three times in spring, once in autumn; the minimum occurred thirty times in winter and four times in autumn. Suicides increase in the first period of each month, and are rarer in each week on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, especially in cities.

As to the question of race, Teutons and Scandinavians excel; Saxony, where the Teuton race is best preserved, having the highest average in Germany: Italy and Spain, the purest in Latin element, standing lowest. What is the influence of religion? The figures of these authors show that where Catholicism exercises most vigour, suicides are more rare; the writer ventures on the assertion that in Catholic countries (he reckons Italy, Spain, Portugal, Ireland), the average is about 58 per million; in "mixed" countries, 96; in Protestant countries, 190 per million. Prof. Morselli admits that scepticism begets suicides. As to education, he asserts that the more of this there is among a people, the fewer the suicides; but the more numerous, in inverse ratio, are "crimes against the person," and *vice versa*. As to sex, the proportion in all countries is one woman to two or three men; whilst criminality is in the ratio of one woman to four or five men. For 100 suicides of married persons are counted:—

	Celibates.	Widowed.	Divorced.	
In Italy	108	157	.	—
„ France	112	196	.	—
„ Wurtemburg .	143	156	.	139

We must perforce leave aside the very instructive details as to the number of suicides in the various systems of prison discipline in European countries, and the most curious section on the marked preference in different countries of different instruments and modes of self-destruction. Taking the world at large, "the rope" holds the first place as a means; next come in order—water, fire, pointed and then cutting arms, jumping from a height, and finally charcoal and poison. Taking countries, Italy most frequently drowns itself, France hangs, Prussia strangulates, England poisons, but here side-arms are disputing the palm. Prof. Morselli is sure that suicide is an effect of the struggle for existence and of "selection;" it will continue during the period of the civilization of humanity. His only prophylactic, meanwhile, is "to develop in man the power of co-ordinating his sentiments and ideas so as to attain a certain end in life; briefly, to give to moral character force and energy." One may well ask him,

what more *d'propos* here than the Christian faith? Where such a school of force and energy as modifying the moral character as the Catholic church?

Since this notice was written, we have seen in the *Contemporary Review* for January of this year, a well-written article on "Suicidal Mania" by W. Knighton, LL.D. It does not go into such detail as does the above article by Mr. Reynaert, but it brings into prominence the same important fact as is there mentioned, that suicides are becoming annually more frequent all over the civilized world. Some interesting cases are quoted; and amongst facts not mentioned in the Belgian Review there is one worth mentioning—that "suicide appears very common" in Japan; a statement taken from Miss Bird's "Unbeaten Tracks in Japan." We also happen to notice that a volume on Suicide by Professor Morselli himself is announced to appear shortly in English.

Notices of Books.

The Sacred Book of the East, translated by various Oriental Scholars:
Vol. IV. Zend-Avesta. By M. DARMESTETER. P. I. Vendidad.
Edited by Prof. MAX MÜLLER. London: Clarendon Press.

EVERY attempt to solve the remaining difficulties that bar the way to a perfectly accurate and indisputable interpretation of the Avesta is no doubt worth the attention of the learned world: the one we are about to examine is certainly not less so than any other. The work was announced some time ago, and great hopes of progress were founded upon it. Various opinions as to its merits have already been pronounced, and whilst one *savant* severely criticizes all that part of the work which is M. Darmesteter's own, another, not a specialist, bestows unqualified praise on the whole of this new version, proclaiming it superior to any other. We heartily wish we could endorse this latter view of it; but we owe, in the first place, a duty to our readers. We proceed, therefore, to put before them the result of a careful examination of the work. As a rule, the version of M. Darmesteter resembles our own. The author has even adopted interpretations which he formerly disputed; as, for instance, those of *mairyô*, *geredhô*, *frashmo dâiti*, &c. We by no means find fault with him on this account, and we notice the fact merely because M. Darmesteter has chosen to conceal it from his readers, and that, as a critic remarks, it might have been better not to do this.

In some rare instances he prefers to follow the version of Spiegel, and it is not for us to blame him for doing so. The opinions of Dr. Spiegel are always worthy of respect even, when one may not agree with them; but there are many interpretations of words and phrases which are the young Zendist's own—these we will examine carefully. And first of all we note that the meaning (saffron) given to

qaokenta, in the derivative *qaokentavaiti* (saffron-water, used in the trial by ordeal) seems to us perfectly admissible. We can also regard without regret the banishment from the Avestian Pandemonium of the dog *Madhaka*, whose existence has always appeared to us doubtful. But, on the other hand, it requires more weighty reasons to reconcile us to its transformation into "gnats and grasshoppers," and especially to the inscribing in the Avestian lexicon the meaning "gnat" to the word *gpan* or *qün*. After this fashion we may easily enrich any glossary with imaginary words. There may also be some truth in the distinction adopted by Justi between the words *cithravaiti* and *dakhsh-tavaiti* (feminine rules normal or not); but its application to § 84 of chapter xvi. is scarcely possible, for reasons which we cannot here enter into. So far, this is all of which we can approve in the explanations peculiar to M. Darmesteter. All the rest is but little calculated to advance science, even when not positively erroneous.

Sometimes M. Darmesteter trusts to the most recent and least certain traditions rather than to those more ancient and therefore more trustworthy. Sometimes he pins his faith to a lexicon dating from the latter period of the Middle Ages, and full of errors (*Farhangi oīm haduk*), rather than to the Pahlavi version, earlier by many centuries. Sometimes he chooses the Pahlavi glosses of the second class—very often too fanciful ones—in preference to the first, which are more ancient and weighty. For instance, the Pahlavi lexicon gives to the word *uruthware* the meaning of "stomach," and the Pahlavi glosses that of "increase, development, progress;" but M. Darmesteter stops short at the former meaning, and makes Zoroaster ask the singular question: "What is the stomach of the Mazdayasnian law?" Then the Iranian reformer demands, "What is the means of the growth, the progress, the prosperity of the law?"

We may, however, remark that the word *uruthware* has probably two meanings and forms, two distinct terms, the one (growth) being derived from *urud* (to grow), and the other coming from *urud* (to flow).

In the beginning of Fargard IV., the Avesta condemns him who does not grant the *nemō* when it is due. This word has been very variously translated. It has been rendered as request, salute, honour, and loan. The first gloss explains it as meaning "request"—benefit, charity requested; the second, as a loan. Now the etymology of this word (Rac. *nam*, to comply with, to bow down, to honour, to supplicate) allows the three first meanings, but excludes the last. The translation of M. Darmesteter is consequently defective.

In most other cases the new explanations require proof even when they do not run contrary to the text, or even create inexplicable errors. We will quote, for example, chapter i. 54, where the distinctive sign of the *Yātus* (magic spirits) is spoken of. M. Darmesteter takes the word *paitidayo* as designating this sign, and translates it "evil eye." Now this word, in Yesht VIII. 44, is applied to the star Tistrya, and cannot consequently mean anything evil. Besides, to construe the phrase as this translation requires, the masculine of the adjective

cithrō (evident) must be confounded with the neuter substantive *cithrem* (sign), and the evident parallelism of the members of the sentence destroyed.

In the same chapter, § 78, M. Darmesteter describes the inhabitants of the banks of the Ranha as monstrous beings, who *exist without heads* (who have heads on the chest or between the shoulders); in this manner he translates *aç̄ro aiwiākhshayente*.

Now, quite contrary to this supposition—in itself but little probable —*aiwiākhshayē* does not mean to exist, but to be established upon, to be settled, to regulate themselves. This term applies to the social condition of its subject. On the other hand, *aç̄ro* signifies undoubtedly “without ruler, without king,” for it is said of the dévas. Lastly, in the Avesta the inhabitants of the Ranha are spoken of several times, and they are never described as having a nature in any way monstrous (see II. 16 Gloss.). § 230 seq. of chapter viii. treat of the duties of the Mazdayasnians, who suddenly come upon a fire in which a dead body is burning. The Avesta, in a perfectly clear text, prescribes in such case that the fire be extinguished by stamping on the blazing wood. “If the Mazdayasnians find a fire *burning a dead body* (*naçupaka* = *νεκυοπέτος*), let them stamp on this that is burning a dead body (*aētem naçupakem* = *αὐτὸν νεκυοπέτον*). For this meaning, so perfectly simple, M. Darmesteter substitutes: “Let them kill him who kindled the fire,” thus attributing to the authors of the Avesta a barbarous prescription, the existence of which there is no reason to suppose.

Further on, in chapter vii. 78, the Avesta propounds the principle that the corpse of a man or a dog is more deeply impregnated with impurity when it has not been torn (*aiwighnikhō*) by wild animals. M. Darmesteter asserts that here the funeral ceremony called *sagid* is referred to, in which a dog was placed before a dying person, that the look of this animal might drive away evil spirits. Consequently he renders the word *zend* by “looked.” Now the text says distinctly, “If this dead body has been *aiwighnikhō* by voracious dogs and carnivorous birds.” Something quite different therefore is evidently referred to, and the Avesta alludes to the Mazdayasnian superstitions, which held as of good augury the eager haste of wild beasts and vultures to prey upon the dead bodies exposed upon the mountains. To this day the Parsis erect small buildings in their burying-grounds, from whence they watch with anxiety for the approach of birds of prey, and when the corpse has been torn by these birds of good omen, they deem that it has lost its impurity.

According to M. Darmesteter, the term *peshotanus* (a varied form of *peretotanus*), which denotes “sinner” and plays a great part in the Avesta, means “he who owes his body as a debt,” and signifies technically one who has to be chastised with two hundred strokes of the whip. This etymology and this resolving of the meaning are equally false. *Pereto*, the past participle of *per, par* (to pass, to traverse, to perish), signifies “perished, lost;” *āpereta* means passed, effaced, expired; *andāperetha*, is “inexpiated, inexpiable;” *pārem* is “expiation,” and probably by derivation, the thing to be expiated, the debt; but *pereto* can never mean “owed as a debt.”

The meaning given to the compound *peretotamus* (from *tanu*, body) is not more correct. If the § 69, and likewise that of Fargard IV., were the only sources relating to this term, we might consider the explanation given as probable. Yet for this the terms of the § 69 must be inaccurately translated, and this is what M. Darmesteter has done, as we shall see later on; but the § 57 and the known sequel of chapter xv. sufficiently prove the erroneousness of this theory.

The author of chapter v. 165, employs, in order to describe a certain kind of blow, the terms *aipijato pistro*. The word *aipijato* is known, "struck on;" *pistro* alone presents a difficulty. M. Darmesteter gives it the meaning of occupation; and translates the compound altogether as "struck by a blow which makes it impossible for one to continue his occupation." It is, he says, a technical term.

It is not difficult to prove that this is impossible. In the first place, tradition knows nothing of terms of this kind; and also a meaning contrived by such an extravagance of addition is certainly not admissible; *aipijatopistro* would signify by this hypothesis "whose occupation struck," nothing more. But this is not all; in chapter xiii. 26, it is said, speaking of a dog, *yō pistrem jainti*—he who strikes it with a *pistrem*—which cannot be explained if we admit the meaning given by our author. Thus we are compelled again to transform these very simple expressions and to translate them thus: "he who strikes a dog in such a way as to make it unable to continue its employment" (that of a dog!), whilst the text would signify "he who strikes the occupation of a dog," expressions without any meaning. Finally, *pistrem* does not signify "occupation, service;" it denotes the classes of the nation, the social condition of the priest, the warrior, the agriculturist (see Yaçna XIX. 46), which leads us still further away from this supposed meaning. The most extraordinary thing in this is that the terms in question are some of the most clear and simple. "If any one," says the text, "strikes a dog a blow which splits its ear." There is evidently here no question of a wound which makes its usual employment impossible. Further, *pistrem* is here used precisely as *qarem*, wound, in chapter iv. 85-99.

Pistrem, in Fargard III., denotes wheat ground, made into paste; it means, therefore, something ground, bruised, a bruise, and its derivation is known; it comes from the Ranah *per*, to strike, to bruise. It is, therefore, a blow which bruises, or crushes, more or less severely.

Yō gânê qarem jainti is translated by all "he who (strikes) makes a wound." *Yō gânê pistrem jainti* can only be "he who makes a bruise."

These examples, to which we could add many more, prove sufficiently that the innovations of this new version are scarcely of a kind calculated to advance the cause of science. What still remains to be pointed out is not more so.

Several numbers of sentences are translated as if they had not been understood. Some of these we will cite, following the order of the chapters.

I. *Āat ahē paityārem frakerentū anro manyus pourumahrko*, which is repeated sixteen times, and signifies, *at illius adversarium formavit A.M.*, is thus rendered: "But Anro Mainyus, who is quite dead, thereupon appears and counter creates by his magic."

IV. 70. *Aetahē paiti peshotanuyē*, for the peshotanus (the state of sin), is substituted, "He is peshotanus." *Id.* 133. *Hamaptibyo aiwibyō*, burning waters, is translated, "before the water and the burning fire."

V. 71. *Avi frā davaiti*, flown upwards, springs on high, is rendered "is more rapid than," although this construction destroys the parallelism of three comparisons, all of which refer to the height of objects.

Ganh and *hvar*, to eat (chapter vii. 141), *uzdath*, to raise (*id.* 181), *taokhman*, belonging to the family or tribe (xiii. 72), are respectively rendered "to feel, to rub, stranger."

Kva asti dāityōgātus, "where is the lawful or suitable place?" is translated, "what is he who ought to be called?" (xiii. *seq.*).

Yezi nōit nādirika niurudyāt, "unless the woman should be defiled," becomes "lest the woman should gather strength." Now, *yezi nōit* cannot mean "unless," and the prefix *ni* (below) cannot form a verb denoting increase (xvi. 17).

Nistā daeva, "perditi dæmones," is translated "he who destroys the devās," and the plural *nista* is made to agree with the singular *ashem*, purity (xviii. 37).

Yat na jahika (paçca 15 çaredhem) frapataiti anaiwiyāsta, &c., is thus translated: "If a man or a woman go without a girdle," &c. But the word *or* is not in the text; *jahika* is a courtesan, not any woman; *anaiwiyāsta* cannot relate to *na*—it is either feminine or plural. The real meaning is, "Si vir cum meretrice procedit discincta," &c. (xviii. 114).

Let us observe also this passage. At the end of chapter xiii., it is said the soul of a dead dog goes to the depths of the water, to the original source of the waves, where there preside two beavers, a male and a female, and there it finds itself in the company of a thousand dogs, male and female. M. Darmesteter interprets this quite differently. According to him, each couple of beavers proceeds from two thousand souls of dead dogs, male and female, reunited to their original source. Two thousand souls of dead dogs produce two couples of beavers! This does not appear to us particularly worthy of acceptance.

M. Darmesteter has simplified certain difficulties by suppressing some passages which seemed to him to be glosses. We should have expected at least to find them translated in a foot-note.

Before completing this cursory examination, we will say a word about the introduction.

This somewhat elaborate production (102 pages) describes, first of all, the well-known history of the discovery of the Avesta, and the method adopted by the author in his interpretation of the text; the history of the compilation of the Zend Avesta; the origin of the Avestian religion; and the contents of the Vendidād. M. Darmesteter's method is that of the traditional school, but not exclu-

sively so. In this we cannot but agree with him ; but as he proceeds he seems to trust too much to the latest traditions. As far as regards the formation of the Zend Avesta, M. Darmesteter's system may be summed up in three points :—The Avesta is the work of the magi of Media ; it was compiled under the Parthian kings, and its last edition was brought out under the Sassanides; Aderbâd Mahraspand was its author. We are quite in accord with the author as regards the first point, for we were the first to maintain this theory in our "Studies on the Avesta" (Paris : Leroux, 1877). From the second point, however, we must express our dissent. M. Darmesteter brings forward to support his theory the authority of Hamzah of Ispahan, who affirms, if we may believe our author, the identity of the religion of the Parthian kings with that of the Sassanides. Now there is, in reality, no such statement. The passage in Hamzah cited by M. Darmesteter says something quite different—namely, that the religious principles of the first Sassanidæ did not differ from those of the Persian Satraps (*reguli Persiæ*), whom he subjugated. (See "Hamzah," Gothwald's Translation, p. 32.) Through the whole chapter devoted to the Sassanides not a word is said of the Parthian kings.

M. Darmesteter relies also upon a remark of Dinkart. According to the Pahlavi book, a *Valkash* (Vologeses) had collected all the fragments of the Avesta that had escaped the hands of the satellites of Alexander. The quotation this time is correct. Dinkart, however, attributes a work of the same kind to Darius ; and further, he supposes that the Avesta and the Pahlavi version were already in existence in the time of the Achæmenidæ. His testimony, therefore, is of no value. As to *Aderbad*, his work may include the Pahlavi version and its glosses, but it certainly does not bear upon the Avesta.

The theory of M. Darmesteter with regard to the origin of the Avestian religion is well known. It is the extreme of mythologism, or rather in its highest expression. The author himself formulates the principle in these terms :—"Every religious belief and practice proceeds from some myth," as if myths did not necessarily presuppose some already existing religious belief.

As to the Avestian religion, according to M. Darmesteter it does not constitute either a reform or a change of religion. It is the natural and gradual development of the Aryan myths. Ahura Mazda—god, spiritual, eternal, infinitely wise and pure, creator of heaven and earth—is but a natural development of the physical heaven, vivified by superstition. The principle of evil, the author of all evils, is but the demon of the storm, magnified or exaggerated. In another place—if the Mazdayasnians, revelling in all sorts of things contrary to nature, in order to purify themselves, plunge into an unclean bath of the urine of the ox—it is because in a *certain mythology* rain was metaphorically described as the urine of an immense bull. If the dog in the Avesta is made almost the equal of man, if its wrongs are avenged almost to the same extent as those of man, it is because a Hindu poet had already imagined the sending forth of a dog that was divine in quest of the clouds stolen by the demons.

But we will not dwell longer on this subject. We have treated it in detail in our "Origin of Zoroastrianism" (Paris: Leroux), and in the preface to the second edition of our translation of the Avesta, to which we may refer our readers.

In conclusion, we must express our regret that we have not been able more favourably to criticise a work which we would gladly have praised, and on the appearance of which great hopes were founded.

C. DE HARLEZ.

Introduction to the Science of Language. By A. H. SAYCE, Deputy-Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford. In Two Volumes. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.

PROFESSOR SAYCE is one of the few scholars produced by our English Universities who can be said to have attained a European reputation. He is, in point of fact, more than a scholar—he is a *savant*; the compeer of the Bréals and Lenormants, the Rasks and Steinthsals, the Pictets and Spiegels of the Continent. The colleague of Professor Max Müller in the school of Comparative Philology at Oxford, he, in the main, follows the method of that eminent man, of whom he is, to some extent, the pupil, and to whom he is little, if at all, inferior either in learning or in power of generalisation. But Professor Sayce is no mere repeater of the discoveries and speculations of other men. While quite devoid of that delusive desire for the reputation of originality which, issuing oftenest in mere paradox, is the bane of so many men of real ability, he never takes on trust a theory however specious, nor adopts a nude hypothesis upon the mere strength of a great name. Without underrating authority, he is "nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri." His writings are as signal an example of modest independence as they are of wide and patient research and critical sagacity.

Professor Sayce's object in the work before us is to give a systematic account of the science of language, its nature, its progress, and its aims. He begins by discussing the various theories of language which have been propounded to the world, and then proceeds to inquire into the nature of human speech—with remarks upon the principal causes which bring about changes in it, namely: imitation, emphasis, and laziness. Then follows a chapter on Phonology and Sematology; and next, one in which the Morphology of Speech, the Metaphysics of Language, and Comparative Syntax are dealt with. Such are the contents of the first volume. The second opens with a chapter on Roots, and then proceeds to a genealogical classification of languages. The Inflectional Families of Speech, and the Agglutinative, Incorporating, Polysynthetic and Isolating tongues, are next passed in review; and finally, Comparative Mythology, the Science of Religion, the Origin of Language, and the relation of the Science of Language to Ethnology, Logic, and Education are considered. A selected list of works for the student, and a very full and copious index close the work.

It is manifest that in such a notice as that to which we are here restricted anything like adequate criticism of a book of which the scope is such as we have described, would be impossible. All we can do is to indicate generally the learned author's point of view, and to point out some of the main lines which he follows. The rise of a real Science of Language he dates from the last century, the older Etymology, instead of being what it professed to be, *ερυθρο-λογία*, the science of truth, having been little more than the science of falsehood, and mere guesswork. Leibnitz, he points out, prepared the way for the true method by overthrowing the belief that Hebrew was the original language from which all others are to be traced,—Hebrew being, in fact, as all the world now knows, merely a Semitic dialect—while the discovery of Sir William Jones, that Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin have sprung from the same common source, entitles him to be remembered as the pioneer of comparative philology. The work of the Spanish Jesuit missionary, Don Lorenzo Hervas, entitled "Catalogo delle Lingue conosciute e notizia della loro affinità a diversità (1784)," was a valuable step in the right direction; and Herder made the rise of an historical science possible by substituting the idea of development for that of uniform sequence in history. "It was a poet, Friedrich Schlegel, however, and not a philologist, who first laid down the great fact that the languages of India, Persia, Greece, Italy, Germany, and Slavonia, form but one family, daughters of the same mother, and heirs of the same wealth of words and flections. Schlegel learnt Sanskrit while in England, during the peace of Amiens (1801–1802), and to his work on 'The Language and Wisdom of the Indians,' published in 1808, may be traced the foundation of the science of language. All that was now required was some master-scholar who should continue the work begun by Schlegel, and establish on a deep and firm basis the edifice that he had reared. This master-scholar was found in Francis Bopp."

Bopp then was the true founder of comparative philology, and the numerous scholars who have devoted their lives to this subject since his day have but built upon his foundations and carried on his work. It is worth while to quote a page from Professor Sayce's book in which he gives a summary of what has been accomplished by the most distinguished of those who have followed that great genius:—

Bopp's work was confined to the more strictly scientific and inductive side of comparative philology, to the comparison of words and forms, and the conclusions we may infer therefrom: the metaphysical side of the science of language found an able expositor in Wilhelm von Humboldt. Starting with the new method of Bopp, Humboldt revised the old endeavours to found a philosophy of speech, and extended the results obtained by Bopp to all the manifold languages of the world. In a number of publications, more especially the introduction of his great work on the Kawi language of Java, which came out after his death in 1836, he dealt with the various problems raised by the science and philosophy of language, and not only sketched the general outlines of a true philosophy of speech, but also threw out suggestions which have since borne abundant fruit in the hands of other scholars. Humboldt's

work was followed up by Steinkthal, whose journal, the "Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft," conducted with the help of Lazarus, has proved a treasury of suggestive thought to a whole generation of linguistic scholars. Bopp, on the other hand, was followed by Pott, whose vast knowledge and genial insight are probably unequalled among the students of language. His "Etymologische Forschungen," in spite of its size and want of an adequate index, is a mine of philological wealth, and his works on the "Language of the Gipsies" (1846), on "Proper Names" (1856), and on the "Quinary and Vigesimal Systems of Numeration" (1847), have largely helped the progress of linguistic science. In the "Anti-Kaulen," or "Mythical Representations of the Origin of Peoples and Languages" (1865), and "The Inequality of the Races of Men" (1856), where a great display of anthropological knowledge is made, Pott did good service in checking the unifying haste of a young science. While Humboldt and Pott were laying broad and deep the foundations of the new science of language, Jacob Grimm was applying the method of Bopp in another and more special direction. Instead of endeavouring to grasp the whole vast range of languages, or even those of the Aryan group alone, he devoted himself to the minute and scientific study of one branch of them only, and his "Deutsche Grammatik" (1819-1837) ushered in a new epoch in the history of comparative philology. Benfey, indeed, still carried on with a master's power the labours begun by Bopp and Pott, but he too had by degrees to adapt himself to the spirit of the time, and the fame he has acquired as a Sanskrit scholar, far outshines that acquired by his brilliant but ineffectual attempt to reduce the Aryan and Semitic families of speech to a single stem, or by his "History of the Study of Language, and of Oriental Philology in Germany, since the beginning of the sixteenth century" (1869). The time was come for a microscopic rather than a telescopic view of language and languages; the broad outlines of linguistic science had been sketched by its first founders, and what was now wanted was, to fill up the details, to apply the general principles of the science to special cases, and, by a close and accurate study of particular languages and dialects, either to confirm or to overthrow the conclusions at which they had arrived. No single man can know thoroughly more than a few languages at the most; for the rest he must be content to trust to the report of others: and however great may be his genius, however wide-reaching his vision, unless the materials he uses have already been sifted and arranged in the light of the comparative method, his most important inferences are likely to be vitiated. Hence the value of the work begun by Grimm, and of the direction in which he turned the course of scientific philology. Erasmus Rask, the Dane, followed up the example thus set with an investigation of the northern languages of Europe, and his researches into the language of the Zend-Avesta, the first ever undertaken by an European scholar, formed the scaffold upon which Eugène Burnouf erected the colossal structure of Zend philology. Burnouf did for Zend and Achæmenian Persian what Grimm had done for the Teutonic languages; his work has been continued by Lassen, Haug, Spiegel, Justi, and others. Meanwhile, the Romance languages were taken in hand by Diez, whose "Comparative Grammar" (1836) and "Comparative Dictionary" (1853) are masterpieces of method and insight. Indeed, they may be said to have created Romance philology altogether. The philology of the Keltic dialects was set on a scientific footing by our own countryman, Prichard, and above all by Zeuss and Stokes, while Miklosich and Schleicher did the same for the Slavonic tongues. Along with his special labours in Slavonic, Schleicher carried on the tradition of a wider and more general

treatment of the whole Indo-European family itself, and his "Compendium of Comparative Grammar" (1861-2), in which he endeavoured to restore the grammar of the parent Aryan speech, will ever remain a monument of learning and genius. Schleicher also came forward as the representative of the view which includes the science of language among the physical sciences, and his works, whatever may be thought of the theory that underlies them, have done much to further the progress of linguistic study (vol. i. p. 53).

For a long time comparative philology was practically synonymous with the comparative treatment of the Aryan tongues only. But gradually it was discovered that the principles applicable to these are inapplicable to other languages and dialects. The parent Aryan tongue has no claim to be considered the primitive language of mankind. "The Aryan group is an exceptional one, and the laws determined from it, so far from being of universal validity, do not apply even to the dialects of the Semitic family." Professor Friederich Müller reckons a hundred families of languages, between which science can discover no connection or relationship. Professor Sayce would apparently reduce the number to seventy-six (vol. ii. p. 64). "The Aryan languages," our author writes—

are the languages of a civilized race: the parent-speech to which we may inductively trace them back was spoken by men who stood on a relatively high level of culture, and was as fully developed, as inflectional, in short, as Sanskrit or Latin themselves. Such a speech can tell us far less of the early condition of languages than the Bushman dialects of our own day, and to make the conclusions derived from the examination of it of universal validity or so many revelations of the primitive state of speech, would be a serious error. The exceptional character of the Aryan group of languages has been made apparent by the application of the method learnt from its investigation to other groups of tongues. The four most important groups which have yet been examined are the Malay-Polynesian, as explored by W. von Humboldt, Buschmann, Von der Gabelentz, and Friederich Müller; the Bâ-ntu of Southern Africa, the scientific investigation of which is due to Bleek; the Athapasian and Sonorian of North America, of which Buschmann has been the Bopp; and, above all, the Ural-Altaic, otherwise called the Ugro-Altaic, or Turanian, which is now, owing to a variety of circumstances, receiving a special attention. The work begun by Castrén, Schott, Böhlingk, and Max Müller, has been continued by Boller, Budenz, Donner, Hunfalvy, Ahlgren, Thomsen, Ujfalvy, Schieffner, and others; and so far at all events, as the Finnic group is concerned, "Turanian" philology is almost as far advanced as Aryan philology itself (vol. i. p. 57).

Let us quote yet another passage: that with which the first chapter concludes.

Philological opinion is still divided upon certain points. But such division of opinion is a healthy sign of life and progress in the new science. It is only by the conflict and discussion of theories that truth can finally be reached, and the many controversies excited by the science of language show how broadly and deeply the foundations of the science are being laid. On the phonological side the progress has been greatest, and most certain; morphology and the investigation of roots still lag behind; comparative

syntax is but beginning to be handled; and sematology, the science of meanings, has hardly been touched. But the method inaugurated by Bopp remains unshaken; the main conclusions he arrived at hold their ground, and the existence of the Aryan family of speech, with all its consequences, is one of the facts permanently acquired for science. True there are many questions still to be settled. It is still disputed whether the science of language is a historical or a physical one; whether language is an independent organism obeying fixed and necessary laws of its own, or an "institution" controllable by the will of man; whether phonology is to exclude all other departments of the science when the nature of the latter is discussed; whether roots ever constituted a real language, or are merely the ultimate elements into which words may be decomposed; whether the flexional stage of language springs from the agglutinative, and this again from the isolating; whether the languages of the world are the selected residuum of infinite attempts at speech, or have flowed from one or two common sources; whether dialects precede languages, or languages dialects; whether conceptual thought has created language, or language has created conceptual thought; whether, finally, the word or the sentence is the true unit of speech. But with all this diversity of opinion there is a yet greater unanimity. There is no scientific philologist who doubts the indispensable value of phonology and the absolute strictness of its laws; who questions the axiom that roots are the ultimate elements of articulate speech, the barrier between man and brute, and that no etymology is worth anything which does not repose upon them; who would compare the words of one family of speech with the words of another in the easy-going fashion of a præscientific age; or who would shut his eyes to the light already shed on the history of the human mind, and the riddle of mythology, by the study of the records of speech. Language is the reflection of the thoughts and beliefs of communities from their earliest days; and by tracing its changes and its fortunes by discovering the origin and history of words and their meanings, we can read those thoughts and beliefs with greater certainty and minuteness than they had been traced by the pen of the historian, or even if

Supera bellum et funera Troiae
... alias alii quoque res cecinere poetæ (vol. i. p. 89).

The questions here glanced at are treated by Professor Sayce with more or less fulness in his subsequent chapters. From much which he advances we are obliged to dissent. Sometimes he is wrong historically, as when, for example, he tells us (vol. ii. p. 288) that "Mohammedanism professed to be a protest against the Christian idolatry of the sixth century." As a matter of mere fact, apart from all theories, Mahomedanism did not profess to be anything of the kind. Sometimes he appears to adopt conclusions too hastily. For instance, he speaks of the meaning of the word "Nirvana" as having been "exactly" settled. Surely this is cutting the Gordian knot. Professor Childers, Professor Max Müller, and Mr. Rhys Davids, to speak only of a few authorities out of many who have discoursed upon the word in question, have thrown great light upon it. But so far are they from having settled its exact meaning, that perhaps the safest conclusion derivable from their discussions is the impossibility of a precise definition of it. Buddhists themselves hold it to be a mystery—a thing which passeth the understanding of ordinary men—which only the perfectly

enlightened intellect of a Buddha can comprehend. Into the graver matters upon which we differ from Professor Sayce we will not enter. In every page of his work we feel the ethos of Protestantism, which of course is natural enough in the case of a Protestant writer who honestly and logically follows out his principles. But this must not make us unjust to the author. It is the saying of a wise and virtuous man, "In our greatest differences and in proportion as our convictions are deep and serious, let us not be afraid to be equitable, considerate, generous;" and no one, we think, can peruse Professor Sayce's work without learning much from it, and without feeling that the words of Montaigne fully apply to it: "C'est icy lecteurs, un livre de bonne foy."

W. S. L.

A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature. By JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S., late Professor Hindustani, Staff College. London: Trübner & Co.

HELPs for the student of the language and literature of the East are multiplying apace, and no one in this country—perhaps in any country—has a stronger claim upon his gratitude than the publishing house of Messrs. Trübner.

Quæ regio in terris nostri nou plena laboris

might serve as an appropriate motto for the catalogue of their linguistic publications, but the tongues, both classical and vulgar, of our Eastern possessions have been their especial field; and it is to their indefatigable enterprise that we in no small degree owe it, if, in pursuing our researches in Sanskrit and Pāli, in the Dravidian or Hindi dialects, in Singhalese and Burmese, we can proceed swiftly and securely, where some twenty or thirty years ago people were obliged to grope their way in a hesitating and tentative manner.

We have upon several occasions drawn attention to the important Oriental series which Messrs. Trübner planned a short time ago, and have noticed some of the more remarkable volumes which have already appeared in it. Mr. Dowson's "Hindu Classical Dictionary," which is now before us, is not a production which can claim the same rank as Dr. Haug's "Essays on the Parsis," or Professor Weber's "History of Indian Literature," or Bishop Bigandet's "Legend of Gaudama." As the author modestly intimates, it "is derived entirely from the productions of European scholars," and aims at being a summary, gleaned from many sources, of the present condition of our knowledge respecting the religion and mythology of ancient India. But unpretending as Mr. Dowson's volume is, it is not easy to speak too highly of its practical utility. He has brought together a vast amount of information, for which the student must previously have gone to many different sources; and the value of the time which would have been spent in hunting through Max Müller or Muir, Wilson or Monier Williams, Lassen or Weber, Röth or Böhthlingk, is the measure of the value of this book. As far as we have been able to test Mr. Dowson's work, he is as accurate as he is diligent. Perhaps we could

occasionally desire that his information had been a little fuller. But no doubt it was an object with him to restrict, as far as possible, the dimensions of his volume. He acknowledges in his preface that the book "would be more valuable and interesting if it were illustrated with plates and cuts," and laments that the expense of such illustrations "would be too heavy to be at once ventured upon." We trust that the work may be sufficiently well received to warrant these adjuncts to a future edition. There is one class of students, in particular, to whom Mr. Dowson's book will be especially useful—those who are preparing for missionary work in India. Mr. Matthew Arnold somewhere remarks that "to any one who weighs the matter well, the missionary in clerical coat and gaiters, whom one sees in woodcuts, preaching to a group of picturesque Orientals, is, from his inadequacy of his criticism, both of his hearers' religion and his own, a hardly less grotesque object in his intellectual equipment for his task than in his outward attire." Mr. Arnold, indeed, has here in view Protestant missionaries; but Catholics, no less than Protestants, would do well to obtain a just conception of the systems which they seek to overthrow by way of preparation for their enterprise.

Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, with an Introduction. Many Prose Versions and Parallel Passages from Classical Authors. By J. MUIR, C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D. London: Trübner. 1879.

THIS is another volume of Messrs. Trübner's Oriental Series, and to the general reader it is likely to be among the most attractive of those which have as yet appeared in that collection. Mr. Muir's object is to present in English some of the best sentiments which are found in Sanskrit writers, and he has wisely given metrical form to the passages he has chosen, at the same time appending prose versions of almost literal exactness. In some cases, too, he has quoted the context where that course seemed desirable for bringing out more fully the author's meaning; and he has also cited largely from the Greek and Latin classics, by way of parallel or illustration. As specimens of his translations, we will give a few of his verses. First, take these on "True Piety and Righteousness, and their Fruits":—

With awe sincere the gods adore,
Meet honour to thy tutor show;
With gifts enrich the good, and so
In heaven enduring treasure store.

Thy pious acts perform apart:
A love for goodness scorn to feign,
And never as a means of gain
Parade it with self-seeking art.

The passage thus versified is from the *Māhabhārata*, and runs literally as follows:—

"A man should worship the gods with sincerity, and should serve his *guru* (teacher) honestly, and lay up treasure in the next world. Let him practice righteousness alone, and not make pretences to it.

In the following verses the lesson taught is, that he is the true Brahman who follows after virtue:—

The Sūdra pure in all his ways,
Who all his passions sternly sways,
The same respect can rightly claim
As he who bears the Brahman's name.
So Brahmā ruled, and he well knew
To mete to every class its due.

When worthy acts, a nature sound,
Are both in any Sūdra found,
He surely merits more esteem
Than worthless Brahmins;—so I deem.

Nor birth, nor hallowing rites, nor store,
However vast, of sacred lore
Can make a Brahman: naught avails
For this, if virtuous conduct fails.

Good conduct constitutes a man
A Brahman: naught else ever can.
And Sūdras, too, whose lives are pure,
The rank of Brahmanhood secure.

Brahmanic nature shows no change,
Wherever found, in all its range.
That man a Brahman deem in whom,
Exempt from goodness, passion, gloom,
The stainless Brahma dwells, serene;—
None else deserves the name, I ween.

This is also taken from the Māhabhārata, and must sound strangely in the ears of a modern Brahman. The prose version runs thus:—

For pure acts a pure-minded Sūdra, who subdues his senses, should be honoured as a Brahman. Such is the doctrine revealed by Brahma. The Sūdra in whom a virtuous nature and virtuous actions are found, is to be esteemed more excellent than a Brahman. Such is my opinion. (Mahādeva is the speaker.) Neither birth, nor initiation, nor learning, nor progeny (descent?) are the causes of Brahmanhood. Good conduct alone creates it. All this class of Brahmins in the world is only constituted such by virtuous conduct; and a Sūdra who continues to conduct himself virtuously attains to Brahmanhood. I consider that the Brahmanical nature is the same everywhere. He in whom the pure Brahma, devoid of qualities (goodness, passion, darkness), resides, is a Brahman.

One more extract, and it is a very striking one:—

DRAUPADI speaks:—
Beholding noble men distrest,
Ignoble men enjoying good,
Thy righteous self by woe pursued,
Thy wicked foe by fortune blest,
I charge the Lord of all—the strong,
The partial Lord—with doing wrong.
His dark, mysterious, sovereign will
To men their several lots decrees;
He favours some with wealth and ease,
Some dooms to every form of ill.

As puppets' limbs the touch obey
 Of him whose fingers hold the strings,
 So God directs the secret springs
 Which all the deeds of creatures sway.

In vain those birds which springes hold
 Would seek to fly: so man, a thrall,
 Fast fettered ever lives, in all
 He does or thinks by God controlled.

As trees from river banks are riven
 And swept away when rains have swelled
 The streams, so man by time impelled
 To action, helpless, on are driven.

God does not show for all mankind
 A parent's love, and wise concern;
 But acts like one unfeeling, stern,
 Whose eyes caprice and passion blind.

YUDHISHTHIRA replies:—

I've listened, loving spouse, to thee,
 I've marked thy charming, kind discourse,
 Thy phrases turned with grace and force,
 But know, thou utterest blasphemy.

I never act to earn reward;
 I do what I am bound to do,
 Indifferent whether fruit accrue;
 My duty I alone regard.

Of all the men who care profess
 For virtue—love of that to speak—
 The unworthiest far are those who seek
 To make a gain of righteousness.

Who thus—to every lofty sense
 Of duty dead—from each good act,
 Its full return would fain extract;—
 He forfeits every recompense.

Love duty, thus, for duty's sake,
 Not careful what return it brings:
 Yet doubt not, bliss from virtue springs,
 While woe shall sinners overtake.

By ships the perilous sea is crossed;
 So men on virtue's stable bark
 Pass o'er this mundane ocean dark,
 And reach the blessed heavenly coast.

If holy actions bore no fruits;
 If self-command, beneficence,
 Received no fitting recompense;
 Then men would lead the life of brutes.

Who then would knowledge toil to gain?
 Or after noble aims aspire?
 O'er all the earth delusion dire
 And darkness deep and black would reign.

But 'tis not so ; for saints of old
Well knew that every righteous deed
From God obtains its ample meed :
They, therefore, strove pure lives to lead,
As ancient sacred books have told.

The gods—for such their sovereign will—
Have veiled from our too curious ken,
The laws by which the deeds of men
Are recompensed with good and ill.

No common mortal comprehends
The wondrous power, mysterious skill,
With which these Lords of all fulfil
Their high designs, their hidden ends.

These secret things, those saints descry
Alone, whose sinless life austere
For them has earned an insight clear,
To which all mysteries open lie.

So let thy doubts like vapours flee,
Abandon impious unbelief ;
And let not discontent and grief
Disturb thy soul's serenity.

But study God aright to know,
That highest Lord of all revere,
Whose grace on those who love him here
Will endless future bliss bestow.

DRAUPADI rejoins :—

How could I God, the Lord of all,
Contemn, or dare His acts arraign,
Although I weakly thus complain ?
Nor would I virtue bootless call.

I idly talk ; my better mind
Is overcome by deep distress,
Which long shall yet my heart oppress,
So judge me rightly : thou art kind.

For the literal translation of the passages on which these verses are founded we must refer our readers to Mr. Muir's volume, as we have not space to quote it here. Before we put aside the book, we should observe that in the Introduction to it Mr. Muir gives us a dissertation wherein he discusses at considerable length the question whether the religious ideas of the Indians were influenced by the introduction of Christianity into India in the earlier centuries of our era, and whether any trace of such influence is to be found in the Māhabhārata. There can be no doubt that the Māhabhārata was composed before the beginning of our era; probably four or five centuries before; and that it subsequently received large additions at uncertain times. Among the additions is the portion known as the Bhagavad-Gītā, and it is in this portion that the passages supposed to be borrowed, more or less, from the New Testament

occur. The conclusion Mr. Muir arrives at—and we think correctly—is identical with that expressed by Professor Monier Williams in the following passage of that very competent scholar's "Indian Wisdom":—

Dr. Lorinser, expanding the views of Professor Weber and others, concerning the influence of Christianity on the legends of Krishna, thinks that many of the sentiments of the Bhagavad-Gitā have been directly borrowed from the New Testament, copies of which, he thinks, found their way into India about the third century, when he believes the poem to have been written. . . . He seems, however, to forget that fragments of truth are to be found in all religious systems, however false, and that the Bible, though a true revelation, is still, in regard to the human mind, through which the thoughts are transfused, a thoroughly Oriental book cast in an Oriental mould, and full of Oriental ideas and expressions. Some of his comparisons seem mere coincidences of language, which might occur quite naturally and independently. In other cases, where he draws attention to coincidences of ideas—as, for example, the division of the sphere of self-control into thought, word, and deed, in chap. xviii. 14-16; and of good works into prayer, fasting, and almsgiving—how could these be borrowed from Christianity, when they are also found in Manu, which few will place later than the fifth century B.C.?

The Angel-Messiah of Buddhists, Essenes, and Christians. By ERNEST DE BUNSEN. London : Longmans & Co. 1880.

WE are at a loss how to review this book. We must begin with a candid confession that we have utterly failed in the attempt to read it through, though we have read quite enough to feel sure that the author's idea of reasoning is completely different from ours.

M. Bunsen, so far as we understand him, maintains that the Buddhists believed in an Angel-Messiah, that the Essenes borrowed this tenet from them, and finally that St. Stephen and St. Paul derived it from the Essenes, and propagated it in the Christian Church.

On the part of the book which treats of the Buddhists, we can form no opinion, for we do not know enough of the subject to test M. Bunsen's assertions. But as to the Essenes, there is no proof that they entertained any special Messianic idea of any sort, nor does M. Bunsen furnish one shred of evidence that they believed in an Angel-Messiah. But what proof is there, the reader will ask, that St. Paul derived his doctrine on the Messias from the Essenes, even supposing that the Essenes had any particular teaching on the matter? We will give a specimen of the way in which M. Bunsen answers this question: "During the three years," he says (p. 232), "spent by St. Paul in Arabia, after his conversion by Ananias (the Essene) to the Christian-Essenic faith, Saul may have passed through the Essenic noviciate of three years, as Josephus seems to have done with Banus. As initiated Essene, Paul would have been bound by oath not to speak the 'hidden wisdom' to others than the perfect or initiated."

On this we must remark (1) there is no shadow of reason for suppos-

ing that Ananias ever had been an Essene. M. Bunsen assumes without the least proof that he is identical with an Ananias mentioned by Josephus, but there is no ground for thinking even that the other Ananias was an Essene. (2) It is not certain that St. Paul was three years in Arabia; (3) the Essenic noviciate in Arabia is a pure invention. M. Bunsen might as well dispense with the Essenes altogether, and say that St. Paul met a Buddhist teacher at the foot of Mount Sinai.

The style in which the book is written is most obscure. We have been disappointed even in the hope of picking up a few interesting facts, for M. Bunsen, so far as we have been able to test him, is no less inaccurate than fanciful. The book is a striking example of the aberrations possible to the human mind, but this, so far as we can judge, is its only value.

W. E. ADDIS.

Dogmatische Theologie. Von Dr. J. B. HEINRICH, Domdecan, Generalvicar, und Professor der Dogmatik am bischoeflichen Seminar zu Mainz. Mainz: Kirchheim. Vol. I., 1873; Vol. II., 1876; Vol. III., 1879. (Dogmatic Theology. By Dr. Heinrich.)

SINCE the great event of the Ecumenical Vatican Council, Catholic Germany has witnessed the publication of several excellent textbooks of dogmatic theology. We may mention the works of Glossner, Hurter, and the great work of Professor Scheeben of Cologne. Dr. Heinrich's book seems to call for a special notice. Two great prerogatives distinguish it—admirable clearness of ideas and language, and a thorough explanation of the subjects treated. The author, who for upwards of twenty-five years has enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most able lecturers and speakers in Catholic Germany, purposed to publish such a dogmatic work as would complete the student's lessons, help the missionary clergy to keep up, amidst their hard work, the study of theology—a study which never ought to be superseded—and finally would present to the cultivated layman an attractive and useful repertory of theological knowledge. Immense as may be the progress made by mankind in our days in the cultivation of separate sciences, it cannot be denied that a terrible want of the higher principles—the spiritual bond holding together single parts—is spreading almost everywhere. As in the natural order of sciences, metaphysics may be styled the queen, to whom the other sciences must be subservient—so in the supernatural order it is theology, or, to speak more accurately, dogmatic theology, which sways the sceptre. It was so in old Catholic times; and dogmatic theology would still hold this noble position but for the Reformation, and the French Revolution, and the disastrous consequences therefrom to both Church and State. Hence, Dr. Heinrich goes back to the fathers and great scholastics, bringing out the treasures hidden in their works, and presenting them in a shape more attractive to the nineteenth century. He borrows also

his method from this undefiled source. For Catholic theology, very appropriately remarks our author, a new method has not to be invented: it is only incumbent on the present generation to construct their edifice on those solid, unwavering foundations that were laid centuries ago. And since theology cannot be duly treated without extensive knowledge of Christian philosophy, Dr. Heinrich ~~larg,~~ employs the philosophy of St. Thomas. Nay, a very great part of the first book may be called purely philosophical. For this, perhaps, fault may be found with the author; but considering that his principal aim is to give a dogmatic theology fit to be used by cultivated Catholics of various classes, we must thank him for quoting so largely from philosophy.

The first volume opens with an introduction on the idea of theology, the relation between philosophy and theology, theology as science and wisdom, and the qualities requisite for its proper treatment (pp. 1-107). The two latter chapters are well worth perusing. Theology is the most sublime of all sciences; hence is also wisdom and the most perfect image of the increased wisdom of God. And as theology is necessarily and simultaneously "theologia mentis et cordis," the theologian must be endowed with science, faith, and a good intention. The first book explains the "praeambula fidei." We may call attention to the refutation of modern errors about the "praeambula fidei" (pp. 205-214), and to the splendid apology of the Christian religion drawn from the person, life, and works of our Divine Lord (pp. 440-472). The second book comments on faith; its nature, fountains, rule, &c. Here our author makes ample use of the opportunity afforded him of meeting a special necessity of our time, in which the false principle of man's independence is a source of so much calamity. Many false systems have appeared even within the Church under the unhappy influence of modern anti-Christian philosophy. And these Dr. Heinrich refutes by irrefutably showing that the act of faith is free, virtuous, and supernatural; whereas Hermes supposed it to be *extorted* by the motive of credibility. The Catholic doctrine of inspiration has been fully developed and absolutely established by the Vatican Council. Hence several modern theories started in Germany concerning inspiration had to be given up. Catholic divines in the time of, and immediately subsequent to, the Reformation felt obliged to oppose a kind of bibliolatry, by bringing into prominence the necessity of tradition; whereas at the present day they are urged to insist on the inspiration and interior perfection of Holy Writ against the rationalism that disclaims the authority of the Bible.

The second volume concludes the doctrine concerning faith by treating on—1. tradition, its criteria and documents (pp. 3-147); 2. infallible office of teaching and deciding bestowed on the Church (pp. 163-632); and finally, we have in the third book an essay on the relation between revelation and science. As Protestants, on hearing the word "tradition," are led at once to think of legends, or a tradition resting on merely human support and liable to error, Dr. Heinrich expatiates fully on Catholic tradition: its immense difference from

human tradition, and he explains the various ways in which a doctrine may become the object of divine tradition. He contends that only those truths, commandments, and institutions which derive their origin from divine revelation, are objects of the "traditio divina," and it matters not whether they have been given by Christ to the Apostles, revealed by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost to the Apostles as organs of divine revelation. The present day conflict against the claims of the Holy See fully justifies our author in commenting as thoroughly as he does on the infallibility of the Pope in teaching doctrine and morals. He points out the *extent* of this gift, showing that it covers not only supernatural truth as considered in itself, but also those facts which are connected so intimately with it, that the Church, without deciding on these facts, could not pass a judgment on the doctrines themselves. As specimen facts of this kind, our author mentions the approbation of religious orders (p. 644), and the canonization of saints (p. 646-650). In explaining the doctrine of theological conclusions he duly distinguishes between conclusions derived from two premises immediately revealed by God, and theological conclusions derived from premises of which one is divinely revealed, and the other a truth known by natural reason. He justifies the Church in establishing conclusions of the second kind by her infallible judgment; but he answers the question, "whether such definitions of the Church are an object of divine faith, or only of a certain persuasion founded on the divine faith as to the Church's infallibility?" by referring to the expression "tenere" used by the Vatican Council.

Hence he believes that there may be such a certain persuasion founded on faith in the Church's infallibility that has not the character of divine faith in the strict sense of the word. In saying this, our author deviates from the great leader Suarez, and places himself on the side of Molina. The third book goes on to explain the relation between philosophy and theology. The disastrous principle, that what in philosophy is true may be false in theology, defended in the Middle Ages by the Arabian philosophers, afterwards supported by Pomponatius and propounded with extreme onesidedness by modern sophists, is admirably refuted, and the Catholic doctrine, that truth (natural) cannot contradict truth (revealed), fully established. The best philosophy that can be employed by the Catholic divine is that of S. Thomas, but, "on the other side we never ought to forget that, as in theology, so also, and still more, in philosophy, a progress is possible and necessary (pp. 733-734).

The first and second volumes have an apologetical character, but the third volume introduces us into the sanctuary of theology. It treats of God, His existence, essence and qualities (pp. 18-884). Well worth reading is the first part, in which Dr. Heinrich opens the campaign against the modern false systems of pantheism, idealism, traditionalism and ontologism. They are literally crushed under the mighty strokes of his hammer. As to the refutation of ontologism, we should like to make one remark. This system is certainly a false

and dangerous one, our knowledge of God not being implanted, but, on the contrary, founded on the principle of causality. But is there not a world within us, and does not the examination of this world help us to know God, as well as the aspect of the visible world? One of the most important chapters is that treating on divine cognition (p. 533, 6 ff.). Here we at once come on the great question of "scientia media." With delicate circumspection and dexterity our author brings before us the opinions defended for 300 years in the two great schools of Thomists and Molinists. He declines to give his own opinion now, reserving it for the treatise on divine grace. We may be allowed to object to this proceeding, both in our own interest and far more in the interest of the student who always likes definite conclusions.

Dr. Heinrich will require three or four more volumes for the completion of his labours if he treats the remaining portions of theology on the same large scale. Catholic science is deeply indebted to him; he has, with ability equal to that of any of his contemporaries, explained and defended dogmatic truth in language that for simplicity and clearness is unrivalled in German literature.

BELLESHEIM.

Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte. Von JOSEPH CARDINAL HERGENRÖTHER. Erster Band, 1876; Zweiter Band, 1877; Supplement Band, 1880. Freiburg: Herder.

OF the numerous German Catholic scholars of our day there is not another to be found whose elaborate writings have so well deserved of the Church, by the defence of her rights and interests, and principally of the prerogatives of the Holy See, as Professor, now Cardinal, Hergenröther. Undoubtedly he is the most able pupil of Dr. Döllinger, but a pupil who has far surpassed his "maestro." Professor Hergenröther won for himself from the first the admiration and confidence of Catholic Germany by his excellent book on the "Kirchenstaat seit der französischen Revolution," in which he thoroughly treats of not only the external relations and vicissitudes of Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter, but also, and principally, of the religious, social, and agricultural condition of the people. He may claim a special merit for his fair exposition of the state of the Pontifical financial system, which he unanswerably defended against those unsound and malign attacks which were launched against it at that time both in England and Germany. The *Civiltà Cattolica* called this book the most perfect comment on this delicate question, and declared itself impressed with admiration of the immense diligence of the author in accumulating and digesting masses of statistics and details.

In his work on the origin of the Greek schism, Professor Hergenröther next came forward as the defender of the same Holy See that had been slanderously taunted by Dr. Pichler with having given rise to that lamentable separation. In order to do his work

thoroughly, the learned Professor visited the principal European libraries, and was occupied for several years in searching for, and examining into, the most important manuscripts bearing on Photius and the deplorable influence he exercised on the Church of Constantinople. Three bulky volumes were published in 1867-1869 by Hergenröther on "Photius," in which our author fully succeeded in proving the fact that the Holy See, far from breaking up the unity of the two Churches, has always exerted its influence in order to bring them closer together. So far from the Holy See being blame-worthy, the very first beginnings of the schism are to be traced to the intrigues of the learned, crafty, and ambitious patriarch, Photius. By this work Professor Hergenröther proved himself to be one of the best Greek scholars of our time. Curious to relate, this work has been welcomed even by Russian divines. Had he published only this work, he would have established his right to be ranked for ever with Baronius and Orsi. No sooner had Dr. Döllinger taken a not only doubtful but totally hostile position against Pius IX. and the *Œcumene*ical Vatican Council, than Professor Hergenröther victoriously opposed him in several minor works, and lastly in his "Catholic Church and Christian State." This last was translated into Italian and also into English; hence any comment on it is here unnecessary.

It was Hergenröther's intention now to publish two other extensive books, one on Church and State, and the other on the history of the Catholic Church during the eighteenth century. All the materials necessary for carrying out this purpose were collected, when he was invited, or rather pressed and prevailed on by his friends, to give to the world his first "Handbook of General Ecclesiastical History." Only a few months ago this eminent work was completed; it is now therefore a duty incumbent on us to bring it before the English public; all the more, too, as the author's talents and merits have obtained a solemn recognition by his elevation to the sacred purple. Cardinal Hergenröther's method of writing the history of the Church is the very opposite to that of Dr. Döllinger, who seems to have forgotten the most simple and plain axioms of canon law and dogmatic theology. The Cardinal is as clever and solid a canonist and theologian as he is a historical writer. The principles to be adopted by writers of ecclesiastical history are laid down by him in the following words: "The essential ideas of historical pragmatism in ecclesiastical history have not to be now discovered; they exist, and are real; but to point them out more and more is the historian's most holy duty. Indeed, pragmatism could never be true and consistent, were the author to start from a certain philosophical system, or from a point of view lying *outside* and not inside the Church. The standard on which persons and facts are to be tested must be afforded by the Christian spirit; hence arises what we call impartiality. It consists in being destitute of personal and unfounded prejudices, and in endeavouring to describe persons and things as they really are; but impartiality does not at all abstract from every religious feeling or persuasion. That would be a mere impossibility."

The first volume, after an introduction describing the preparatory means employed by God for facilitating the spread of Christianity, opens with the period of Christian antiquity. This period is divided into two epochs—from the foundation of the Church to Constantine, and from Constantine to the Synod of Trullo (A.D. 692). Every epoch is commented on in various chapters that treat of the propagation of the faith, the war against heresies, Christian science and life, rites and constitution of the Church. The characteristics of the single periods and of leading personages are specially excellent, and deserving of attention ; as, for example, "The Emperor Constantine" (I. p. 203), St. Gregory VII. (I. p. 738), and "Boniface VIII." (I. pp. 822-869). In his explanation of scholastic science, Cardinal Hergenröther shows himself to be one of the most solid theologians (I. pp. 946-986). The second volume deals with the history of the Church from the fourteenth century to 1879. In the first part the author finds ample opportunity for correcting a good many errors, handed down from one generation to another, regarding several Popes. Let me take John XXII., who for his ascetic life and deep learning, according to our author, ranks with the most excellent Pontiffs of any century. Most accurate and appropriate are his critical remarks on the so-called Council of Pisa : "Gregory XII. was—before the Council was convened—either legitimate Pope, or he was not. If he was the legitimate Pope, he could not cease so to be by the decree of an acephalous meeting ; if he were not legitimate Pope, then neither were the Cardinals who elected Alexander VI. legitimate. . . . For deposing the Pope there did not exist any right. Gregory, had he really been breaking his promises, would have sinned, but by no means have lost his dignity. Did there not exist any right for deposing the Pope, there could not be a right for electing a successor" (II. p. 65). Perhaps most interest will be felt in the descriptions of the Reformation period (II. pp. 242-400) ; the counter-reformation, starting from the Council of Trent (II. pp. 409-512) ; and the events of our own time, from the French Revolution down to the Vatican Council. A chapter full of the most instructive details is that from pages 693-721, treating of "Unbelief and the preparation for the Revolution period."

Every author is subject to the old proverb, "Tantum valet, quantum probat." Testing by this truth the work of Cardinal Hergenröther, we feel sure that any scholar perusing the third volume of his "Handbook of Ecclesiastical History" will be bound to rank him with the most excellent authors of ecclesiastical history. In a volume of five hundred and ninety-six pages we are led through the literature of nineteen hundred years ; and a very storehouse of books is opened before us. The volume concludes with chronological tables and a general index. Cardinal Hergenröther has laid peculiar stress on adducing the testimony of the Greek Fathers, and especially of those who testify to the primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

Considering the singularly high merits of this work, the vast extent of learning exhibited in it, the author's acquaintance with ancient and modern literature in its bearing on Church history, the accuracy of

his doctrinal statements, his familiarity with canon law, his burning zeal for the Catholic Church, for her supreme pastor, and for her great interests, one cannot but think it a pity that at the very moment when this work became complete an English translation of Alzog's Handbook was issued in English—a work that can in no way be compared with Hergenröther's. I trust the time is not far distant when some English scholar will be found to do as much for the introduction of Hergenröther to the English public as has been done for Alzog.

BELLESHEIM.

A Commentary on the Book of Job. With a Translation. By SAMUEL COX. London : C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1880.

MR. COX tells us that it has been his aim to produce a "readable book," and to bring home the best results of modern scholarship to readers of ordinary intelligence who are unable to study Job in the original. In this most useful task he has certainly attained what we may fairly call a brilliant success. His commentary is eminently interesting, and we cannot think that, in spite of its faults in style and taste, many persons will begin to read his book without perusing it to the end with pleasure and profit; for Mr. Cox has studied Job long and carefully, and in a most religious spirit, and he has in a high degree the gift of imparting his ideas in clear and forcible language. He has, however, a higher ambition. He hopes that he has made an addition of "real value to the exegetical literature which has gathered round the sacred poem." We cannot think that this hope has been, at least to any considerable extent, fulfilled, but before we give our reasons for this judgment, we must try to explain the task which a commentator on the book of Job has to perform.

There are difficulties enough in the prophetical and poetical books of the Old Testament, but in Job difficulties of all kinds crowd together, as if in conspiracy to baffle the interpreter. Any one who has attempted the serious study of this sacred poem will understand St. Jerome's meaning, when he compares it to an eel, which seemed to slip out of his hands however hard he pressed it. First of all there is the difficulty of the language, and this difficulty is extreme. There is no book in the Hebrew Bible which, for number of words found nowhere else, can in any way compare with Job. With regard to a number of words we can, after all, only conjecture the exact meaning, and to the end of time scholars will differ about the precise force which attaches to them. Much has been done through comparison of cognate languages, particularly of Arabic. An immense debt is due to Jerome's translation, to which Canon Cook, one of the foremost among Protestant scholars, and one of the best commentators on Job, rightly attributes a "great value." Much is due to the labours of modern Semitic scholars, from Schultens in 1737, to Ewald and Delitzsch in our own day. Gesenius, who once intended to write a commentary on Job, has discussed every difficult passage in the book with wonderful clearness and brevity, in his Thesaurus. Mr. Cox is very severe on the way

in which his predecessors in the exposition of Job have accumulated references, and given long catenas of opinions on the meaning of hard words. But we think this criticism rests on a misunderstanding. Perhaps, for most educated persons ignorant of Hebrew, it is best to take the rendering of some eminent scholar, and not to trouble themselves much about differences of opinion on details. But a scholar, or any one who wishes to be a scholar, must toil carefully through the various opinions of commentators. In this manner, and in this manner only, he can ascertain how much in the interpretation is certain, and by this means only can he have a right to an opinion of his own on disputed points. Mr. Cox has chosen to omit all matter of this kind in his commentary, and, considering the end he has in view, he has done well; but the course he has chosen, although good, is only relatively good, and his criticism of other commentators is unreasonable. Delitzsch, in his commentary of 500 closely printed pages, has not wasted a word: had he been as rhetorical or diffuse as Mr. Cox, he might well have reached 1,500 pages.

When the lexical difficulties of Job have been met, extraordinary difficulties in syntax, particularly as to the use of the tenses, remain. And even at last, when the problem of translation has been approximately solved, fresh questions at once occur to an intelligent reader. Who wrote the book? or, if we have no means of discovering its author's name, when was it written? What is the lesson which the poem is meant to teach? At first sight the moral seems to be that virtue and temporal prosperity are not necessarily connected, as cause and effect. Yet the epilogue scarcely appears to be consistent with this theory, for as a matter of fact Job's latter end is more prosperous every way than his beginning. His affliction is a mere episode in his life, for he lives after God "turns his captivity" 140 years, although he had already reached the "autumn" of his life (xxix. 4), when the "hand of God touched him." If we look more closely into the structure of the poem, we encounter new obstacles, and we come face to face with critical objections to the unity and integrity of the book. Most objection has been raised against the place occupied by the discourses of Elihu (xxxii.-xxxvii.). The three friends maintain that Job's suffering is the punishment or vengeance for his sin. Job asserts his own integrity, and even at times challenges the justice of God. Elihu takes a middle view, and suggests that Job's sufferings may be remedial or corrective. Yet this theory of Elihu does not appear, on the one hand, to be true, for, according to the prologue, Job's suffering had no connection at all with sin; nor, on the other hand, is Elihu set right or even mentioned in the epilogue, whereas the three older friends are distinctly and definitely rebuked. Add to this, that there is marked difference in style and in poetical art between these discourses of Elihu and the rest of the book, and we can understand why many scholars have concluded that they have been interpolated by a later hand. Another, and to our mind a more serious, difficulty concerns Job's words, xxvii. 11-xxviii. 28. Here Job seems to fall into the very doctrine which his three friends have urged, and against which he all along has most strenuously contended. He himself takes up the

cause of the opinion that wickedness necessarily brings temporal misfortune, having, *e.g.*, in ch. xxi. said the very contrary. It looks as if Job had been transformed for the moment into Zophar, the youngest probably, and certainly the most intemperate, of his three friends. And in fact, inasmuch as Eliphaz and Bildad speak each three times, while Zophar only speaks twice, many critics have suggested that the passage in question—viz., xxvii. 11—xxviii. 28—has fallen from its place, and is in reality the third speech of Zophar. Further, critical questions exist with regard to the descriptions of the Leviathan and the Behemoth, (xl. 15—xli. 26) but they need not detain us here.

We have given this little summary of the desiderata in a commentary on Job, hoping that it may not be without interest to a few at least of our readers. They will understand for themselves that perception of poetic beauty and dramatic art, and a heart capable of entering into the doubts and sorrows of another human heart which beat thousands of years ago, as human hearts will beat till the end of time, should not be wanting in addition to lower qualifications. Nor need we say anything of the religious spirit which should belong to a commentator on any book of Holy Scripture. We pass on to examine the way in which Mr. Cox has fulfilled the functions of a commentator, beginning with those he has fulfilled best.

As we have already said, Mr. Cox has given us a good translation. In substance it is borrowed from German and English sources; nor, as we shall presently show, is Mr. Cox capable of doing more than using the materials which modern authors have supplied. Still, the language which he makes Job speak is his own, and it has many excellences. Sometimes, indeed, Mr. Cox falls into vulgarities of style (as when he talks of “fumbling” in the dark) which are singularly untrue to the sonorous majesty of the Hebrew. Still, the translation given is clear, vivid, and tolerably harmonious, so that on the whole we have little fault to find on this score. More than this, Mr. Cox, as he informs us himself, has meditated on Job for years, read and re-read it till he has made the book his own, and the work before us fully bears out this statement. He seizes the themes of the book with great skill, and, we think, with accuracy. The higher intention of the book, according to Mr. Cox, is to show that God can inspire, and that man can give a disinterested love: that man can serve God, even when it seems to be for nought; and Job is set before us, well-nigh driven to doubt and despair, but still determined never to renounce [bless] God. The secondary intention of the poem, Mr. Cox thinks, is to show that when God smites the just, He smites in love; that His chastisement is corrective; that evil is redressed in this life if God wills, but anyhow in that life which discloses itself to the eyes of Job, just when he sinks, nay, because he sinks, to the lowest depths of sorrow. This is admirably put in the introduction; and when Mr. Cox comes to exposition he often illustrates meaning very happily. What, for example, can be more telling than this remark on iii. 5, when Job, cursing the day of his birth, exclaims, “Let darkness and the shadow of death redeem it?” “Darkness and black death,” Mr. Cox writes, are the nearest of kin to that most dark and miserable day. Let

them reclaim it then, as, according to Arab and Hebrew law, kinsmen might redeem the inheritance which had fallen into the hands of a stranger. It was a portion of the kingdom of death, which had gone astray into the light ; let it be recovered, recaptured, and compelled to submit once more to the sway of ‘chaos and old night.’” This is a fine passage, and, unlike some fine passages in commentaries, it throws a flood of light on the meaning of the text. It is a pity that a writer who can excite interest by such honest work, should stoop to catch the interest of those who are not worth interesting, by violating good sense and good taste. What, for example, can Mr. Cox mean by saying that St. Peter describes the devil as “the peripatetic?” St. Peter simply tells us that the devil “walks about (*περιπατεῖ*) like a roaring lion.” The lowest class of Mr. Cox’s readers might have spared such a feeble and senseless joke, besides a deal of irrelevant matter which he has scattered with a liberal hand over his pages.

Again, Mr. Cox is often singularly successful in seizing the subtle connexion of the argument, veiled, as it is, in the language of emotion and under Oriental imagery. This enables him to do good service on the critical questions. Nothing could be better than his vindication of Elihu’s speeches, or of the passage in Job’s monologue (xxvii. 11–xxviii. 28), as integral parts of the poem. We do not always like Mr. Cox’s sneers at the “higher criticism,” and as he has really strong arguments against those critics, he should have taken care not to use such as are evidently worthless. It may be very true that some extreme critics, quoted at second-hand by Mr. Cox, have written absurdly about Virgil. But we are at a loss to see how a perusal of these absurdities can prove a “tonic” for persons perplexed by the negative criticism on Scripture, unless the fact that orthodox writers on Job—such, *e.g.*, as the one quoted by Mr. Cox, p. 406—have said absurd things about Elihu, is a sound argument for refusing to listen to any other orthodox expositor.

We have now mentioned all the good points in Mr. Cox which we can discover. He betrays throughout not so much defect in scholarship as the absolute lack of it. He reads English and (we suppose) German ; he is possessed of good natural abilities ; but of Hebrew he knows nothing. His references are second-hand ; and he never touches Hebrew, never for one moment deserts his German and English guides about the meaning of the Hebrew, without falling into some gross blunder. At the very outset, i. 11, “Surely he will renounce thee to thy face” (lit. if he will not ! the common Hebrew form of swearing), Mr. Cox first of all misunderstands the expression, though it is explained in any elementary grammar (see Gesen. § 155, 2), and then quotes an irrelevant passage in the Coran, though the formula discussed occurs times innumerable in the Hebrew Bible. In v. 11 we have, “lifting up those that are cast down,” when it should be “those that mourn (lit. are in black) are exalted to prosperity.” These are easy passages ; but xxx. 18 is very obscure. Job uses a verb which signifies to “allow oneself to be searched for,” to “disguise oneself,” and so to change one’s appearance” (never to be changed into anything). The verse may mean, “By strength [of God]

my garment (that is, my skin) is changed; it girdeth me like the collar of a tunic"—i.e., the incrustation of his disease covers him like a close-fitting garment; or, which is much more likely, Job may mean that his garment changes its form. It hangs round him, no longer in ample folds, but falls close to his emaciated body. But when Mr. Cox ventures on an independent translation—viz., "by its great force it (the incrustation of my leprosy) is changed into a garment"—he ignores first the meaning of the verb, and then a law of Hebrew syntax. In Ps. cxi. 20 we find a word which really does mean change in the sense Mr. Cox intends, and we also see the construction which it requires. We need not give many additional samples of Mr. Cox's scholarship; one or two will suffice. Two of Job's daughters, we read at the close of the book, were called Jemima and Keren-happuch. The former name, Mr. Cox suggests, may mean "according to its Greek derivation," "day." There is, of course, no Greek word like Jemima which means "day," though there is a similar Hebrew word which means, not "day," but "days." And if, as Mr. Cox believes, Job lived in the patriarchal age, he is not very likely to have given his daughter a Greek name. However, not content with suggesting that Job may have been fond of Greek names, Mr. Cox proceeds to give a Latin derivation for the name of another daughter. Keren-happuch, he says, may be the "Hebrew form of the *Greek cornucopia*" (*sic*). We suppose Greek is a clerical error for Latin; but what is to be said of the derivation? True, the Septuagint does translate "*κέρας Ἀμαλθείας*," but the only possible meaning is that given by the Vulgate—viz., "cornu stibii."

The book we have been reviewing would be improved if some scholar of average attainments would revise it and remove these blots. They scandalize us a little in a writer who talks with such lofty disdain of the "unlearned," and make us rather curious to see the translation of Job which Mr. Cox "struck out in white heat," before he had read any of the commentators. But, when all abatements have been made, Mr. Cox's work is in many respects instructive, and even delightful. We cannot learn from him, as we can from Dr. Wright or from Mr. Cheyne; still, we have much to thank him for, and he may hope for a larger audience than they can reach.

W. E. ADDIS.

The Life of Mother Frances Mary Teresa Ball. By HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, S.J. (Quarterly Series.) London: Burns and Oates. 1881.

A LIFE of Mrs. Ball, following so quickly her Life by Dr. Hutch, has probably been a surprise to many readers. The present Life, however, by the eminent Jesuit Father who edits the "Quarterly Series," is quite an independent work. It is shorter; it is extremely accurate; it contains a very great number of the letters of the holy nun and foundress not elsewhere published; and those who know Father Coleridge's writings will be prepared to find perfect literary form, with a fine and sustained spiritual tone.

Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire de Paris, avec le Journal de ses Actes. Par M. H. WALLON, Membre de l'Institut. Vol. I. Paris and London : L. Hachette and Co.

TRUE RFS AGITUR is an expression which may well be used when noticing a new work on the French Revolutionary Tribunal ; for we must not be told that the days of terrorism are over, and that, thanks to the Republican government now committed to the firm but moderate hands of M. Grévy, the Golden Age has at last made its appearance. When, about twenty years ago, M. Emile Campardon published his "Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire," optimists repeated to us *ad nauseam* exactly the same thing. According to them, the guillotine had abdicated, and the red flag was torn to shreds. Since that epoch we have had the Commune, with the citizens Délescluze, Assi, Raoul Rigault, and Cluseret ; the temporary triumph of the mob has led to massacres in the prisons, exactly as when Danton was Minister of Justice ; and if France, from one end to the other, did not share the fate of the capital, it was simply because the Prussians had effectually kept Paris in a complete state of isolation. As M. Wallon remarks in his preface, nothing of the kind is to be dreaded, of course, *so long as the present constitution lasts*. With two Legislative Chambers and an Executive proceeding from them, although exercising independent power, the reign of terror is impossible, although we may, and we probably shall, have to witness transient outbursts of party-spirit manifesting themselves by persecutions and annoyances of various kinds. But this form of government is precisely the obstacle which the Radicals are bent upon removing. Suppose one Legislative Assembly and an Executive naturally subordinate to it, the struggle would soon begin again, and in a week Paris would be bristling with barricades. When we see the daily appeals made by the *intransigeant* papers to the passions of the mob—when we reflect, moreover, that the Government itself sedulously helps the Socialists and Communists in suppressing every spark of religious feeling, what hope can we possibly have for the future ? And let us note, by-the-by, the monstrous absurdity implied in the cry *guerre au bourgeois* ! Why, the *bourgeois* is nothing else but the people, knowing no privileged class above them, no disinherited below ; to dispossess the *bourgeois* would be to rob him of the fruits of a labour, the rights of which the *ouvrier* cannot deny without condemning his own children to the position of a *proletaire*. Such are the dreams and utopias of modern revolutionists ; a moment's folly would transform their dreams into the saddest of realities.

It is with the view of reading a lesson both to the thoughtless and the dreamer that M. Wallon has published the work we are now noticing ; one volume of it is in our hands—two more, we believe, are to come. Already, last year, the same author had treated the same dismal subject. In a couple of duodecimos comprising a series of newspaper articles on histories, memoirs, correspondence, and other documents referring to the French Revolution ; on the present occasion he gives an original work—a work, we mean, in which he comments from

his own point of view on the numerous official papers which ten years' assiduous research have enabled him to find "in public and private collections."

Previous to M. Wallon's "Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire," we had in our libraries two works bearing very nearly on the same period of French politics; the one was the late M. Maxime Ternaux' "Histoire de la Terreur," left, unfortunately, incomplete; the other was M. Campardon's monograph alluded to above. The former is of a general character, whereas the design of M. Wallon is merely to show how the Terrorists administered justice; the other is hardly anything but a set of *pièces justificatives*, most valuable, no doubt, but requiring a kind of running comment, which is not added; in fact, M. Campardon's idea was merely to supply materials for historians, and, so far, he has been pre-eminently successful: M. Wallon gives us both documents and illustrations; he lays the scene open, makes the actors say their say, draws his own conclusions, and invites us to draw ours.

It would, however, have been tedious to fill two large octavo volumes with the reports of all the cases judged by the Revolutionary tribunal. M. Wallon has accordingly divided his work into two parts; in the first place, we have the great political trials, together with some others which are specially interesting from the view they give of the spirit which animated the court, and the mode in which the investigations, cross-questionings and deliberations were conducted. These are, as much as possible, classed according to the nature of the offence. It was, let us add, impossible for the author to retain this classification throughout, because, as time wore on, the charges were more and more puerile, and the victims, brought to the bar of the tribunal under all kinds of pretexts, were included in one common accusation. The second part of the work forms a kind of journal or catalogue, giving merely the chronological enumeration both of the cases discussed previously in detail, and of many supplementary ones too insignificant to deserve more than a bare mention.

M. Wallon begins by describing the origin of the Revolutionary tribunal, and by showing that it arose from the events of August 10. A body which owed its creation to violence alone, was sure to conjure up against itself adversaries on every side, and, further, to exaggerate the number of these adversaries. The insurrection triumphed at the storming of the Tuilleries, and, as a natural consequence, the unfortunate king was accused of having plotted against the safety of the State and kindled the torch of civil war. But such a design necessarily supposes accomplices, and hence a series of trials and juridical murders, the last of which struck down Robespierre and his party. From the 10th of August sprang the massacres of September 1792; these prepared the way for January 21, and May 31, 1793; after the Girondists, the Hébertists, and the Dantonists, there remained nothing but the purveyors of the guillotine standing; they managed to quarrel among themselves, and in their downfall they carried along with them the court of assassins which had so unrelentingly done their work.

Charlotte Corday, Marie Antoinette, and the Girondists form the three leading episodes in M. Wallon's first volume; we say leading episodes, because a number of secondary incidents are narrated, such as the defection of Dumouriez, the trial and execution of Custine, the circumstances connected with the *loi des suspects*, the Rouen manifestations, &c., &c. The journal or summary which completes the volume begins with the sitting of August 17, 1792, and ends with that of September 21, 1793. Our author has thus laid before the reading community a faithful and interesting history of the Revolutionary tribunal, both in its organization and its working, and the merits of this chronicle of wickedness make us look earnestly forward to the publication of the concluding volumes.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

Les Officialités au Moyen Age. Etude sur l'Organisation, la Compétence, la Procédure des Tribunaux Ecclésiastiques ordinaires de France, de 1180 à 1328. Par PAUL FOURNIER. Paris: E. Plon. 1880.

THE book with which M. Fournier has recently presented us, deserves to be regarded as a model of erudition, of clearness, and of common sense; it interests not only those who study canon law, but all persons anxious to know something about the relation between the Church and the State during the Middle Ages. The researches which such a work as this presupposes, are immense; facts, proper names, dates, quotations occur repeatedly, and therefore an alphabetical index would have been an invaluable assistance to the reader; let us hope that M. Fournier will add it when a second edition is sent to press.

We must not expect to find here what the author did not intend to give—namely, a complete history of ecclesiastical procedure; the scope of his work merely implied an account of the Church dignitaries called “officials,” who were instituted about the twelfth century for the purpose of assisting the bishops in the discharge of their duties. It is evident, however, that the whole nature of the ecclesiastical law courts, the position and powers of the diocesans, and the corresponding rights of the laity, are essentially bound up with the subject, and give to the volume we are now reviewing a far higher importance than that of a mere monograph.

Amongst the plans of reform entertained by the Council of Trent was one concerning the organization and administration of the episcopal sees: how thoroughly required such a reform was, appears from M. Fournier's preface, which is the most complete refutation possible of the stupid ranting some persons are fond of indulging in, on the tyranny and absolute power of mediæval prelates. In the first place, the archdeacons could not be removed at pleasure by the bishop, and enjoyed, as a matter of course, almost absolute independence. In the next, most of the cathedral chapters, having obtained exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, were, so far as internal organization was concerned, under the direct authority of the Holy See; at the same time, they had a necessary share in the legislative power of the diocese, so that the bishop, whilst unable to touch their privileges, or even to

exercise his rights as visitor, was compelled, in a great number of cases, to consult them and take their advice; hence a constant state of animosity and of bickerings, rights usurped, privileges contested, the most objectionable features of feudalism introduced into the government of the Church.

The appointment of the dignitaries to which the name "official" has been given, is due to the deplorable state of things we have just been attempting to describe; it is also the result of the evergrowing study of Roman law. It we read, says M. Fournier, the sentences passed by a Church court during the first half of the twelfth century, we easily perceive that there is no regular mode or form of procedure, the terminology has no precision, and the judge does not feel shut up, so to say, within a narrow circle of necessary forms. On the other hand, at the close of that century, and towards the beginning of the thirteenth, especially, the decrees of ecclesiastical courts mention in a strictly invariable order the forms prescribed by the code of Justinian, which has returned to life again; and several of these forms are required under penalty of nullity. Obliged to conduct his cases through all the intricacies of a learned procedure, subtle, complicated, full of difficulties, the bishop, who was not necessarily a lawyer, often gave way under the pressure. Would not his natural course, therefore, be to delegate the management of contentious jurisdiction to a clerk skilled in the study of canon law? This would be absolutely indispensable when the rules of Justinian's code were rendered obligatory, as these rules extended the administrative power of the Church.

In connection with the functions of the ecclesiastical courts, and of the officials, a number of questions suggest themselves, which it would be most interesting to discuss, if time allowed us to do so: let us, however, mention one fact, perfectly patent to those who study the history of the Middle Ages impartially and fairly—the populations in general, far from believing the authority of the ecclesiastical courts oppressive and arbitrary, regarded it as much more lenient and much milder than that of the lay barons. Their efforts, consequently, tended uniformly to increase it, because it was the result of customs which expressed the real wants of society. There were abuses, no doubt, and M. Fournier is too unprejudiced not to point them out; but they sprang more from the rivalry of personal interests than from questions of principle; moreover, they manifested themselves by feuds between the prelates and the barons, rather than between the Pope and the king. It is a curious fact, that during the whole of his reign St. Louis had to struggle against a kind of anti-clerical movement which prevailed amongst the feudal lords and the legists. Whenever he treated with the Court of Rome through the medium of his law advisers, he met with difficulties which these very gentlemen raised for their own private purposes: if he carried on his negotiations directly, he always found reconciliation easy, and *entente cordiale* a matter of course. The chapter which M. Fournier has devoted to the discussions between the civil power and the Papacy, from the reign of Philip Augustus to that of Philip the Fair, is certainly one of the most interesting in the

volume, and we recommend it to the serious attention of our readers.

The benefits rendered by the Church to mediæval society have often, as we all know, been denied by so-called philosophers trained at the school of Voltaire and of the *Encyclopédistes*. After having carefully studied M. Fournier's learned monograph, an unprejudiced person must needs come to the conclusion that, representing as it did both the traditions of Christianity and those of Roman civilization, it offered to society at large guarantees of order, of peace, and of security, which feudalism did not, and could not, possess. If it exceeded sometimes the rights it enjoyed, such abuses were immediately corrected, and the encroachments of certain members of the clergy always found themselves checked and censured by the prompt action of their superiors.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. By J. A. FROUDE, M.A. New Edition. In three volumes. London : Longmans.

IT is not our intention to review in detail these three volumes, a cheap reprint, with a supplementary chapter, of the well-known work published by Mr. Froude seven years ago. It is enough to say that, like everything which proceeds from his pen, this book is fascinating in the brilliancy of its execution, and repulsive in the unconscionable partisanship of its statements. History is the last department of literary activity into which Mr. Froude should have ventured. It may be said of him as Lord Macaulay said of Mr. Gladstone, and with even greater truth, that whatever he sees is refracted and distorted by a false medium of passions and prejudices. He is absolutely wanting in the judicial mind, which is the first requisite of the historian. He is an advocate, and a not very scrupulous advocate. There are, however, let us add, some retrenchments and qualifications in this edition, which show that Mr. Froude is not wholly insensible to the exposure which was made of the misrepresentations of fact contained in his work as it originally appeared. It will be remembered, for example, how severely he was taken to task by Mr. Lecky for his assertion that the abductions which so frequently disgraced Ireland were sanctioned by the Catholic clergy. "The priests"—for it is well to quote Mr. Froude's own words—"the priests, secure in the protection of the people, laughed at penalties which existed only on paper, and encouraged practices which brought converts to the faith, and put money in their own pockets. Mr. Lecky, in a few masterly pages of his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," showed not only that "not one particle of evidence could be adduced for this accusation," but that there was ample evidence before Mr. Froude's eyes, in the documents cited by that writer, to show what stringent measures were taken by ecclesiastical authority to suppress the crime in question. We are glad to see that Mr. Froude has accepted the correction (although without acknowledgment), and that this particular calumny has disappeared from his work. It is a sign of grace, upon which we beg leave to offer him our congratulations.

A Year's Meditations. By Mrs. AUGUSTUS CRAVEN. Translated from the French. London: C. Kegan Paul. 1881.

THE following extract from the preface will best explain the nature of this beautiful little book:—

These pages were written solely and exclusively for myself; not during a time specially devoted to religious meditation, but when, on the contrary, leading an unsettled and somewhat worldly sort of life, I feared that I might lose the power of concentrating my thoughts on subjects which, whatever may be our occupations and callings in this world, are in fact the only subjects of real interest and importance to us all.

Finding, therefore, that, to use an almost obsolete but expressive word, my mind was not sufficiently recollected for what is properly termed a "meditation," I took to setting down, each day, the thoughts and aspirations suggested to me by the portion of the Gospel which I had been reading in the morning.

I think it due to my readers to mention this fact, because it imparts to these reflections the only value they can possess—that value, namely, which often attaches to a fortuitous remark, or to a thought casually expressed in our presence, but not personally addressed to ourselves. It may be others besides myself have found that similar stray shots often reach further and sink deeper into the mind than can the soundest advice directed to oneself, even when clothed in words of the keenest eloquence.

Something of the kind has happened with regard to these meditations. They fell accidentally under the eyes of strangers, and attracted their attention from the very fact of their not being written with any purpose of instruction or advice to others.

A too-indulgent friend conceived the idea that the favourable impression produced by these pages upon the very few who had read them might be extended to others, and with that view has thought them worthy of an English translation.

May she not have been too blindly partial! and may indeed, my poor meditations serve, according to her anticipations, to induce others to ponder on the heavenly Catholic truths to which they relate!

We cordially echo Mrs. Craven's aspirations. We are quite sure that no religiously minded person who takes up her little volume can fail to derive from it much pleasure and profit.

Dr. Appleton: his Life and Literary Relics. By J. H. APPLETON, M.A., and A. H. SAYCE, M.A. London: Trübner and Co. 1881.

DR. APPLETON'S claims to distinction are twofold. He was the founder and first editor of the *Academy*, and he was the inventor of the phrase "endowment of research." Both the newspaper and the phrase live after him, and are likely to live. Both have been fruitful, and are likely to bring forth more fruit. The *Academy* represents a distinct type of review, its main aim being that authoritative writers should report in it on publications relating to subjects in their own province. And gradually the idea of which he was the apostle, that Universities should be something more than big schools—that it is part, and the chief part, of their office to foster "mature study," and "to add to the already acquired accumulation of knowledge"—has been making its way into the public mind. He died at thirty-seven, of disease of the lungs brought on by overwork. The

modest "literary remains" in this volume are but a small remnant of what he did. The most interesting of them is his "Plea for Metaphysic," a reply, and a not ineffective reply, to Mr. Matthew Arnold's attack upon the study of Philosophy. The Memoir is written with good sense and natural feeling, and is conspicuous for the absence of any attempt to exalt its subject by undue eulogy.

The Variorum Teacher's Bible. With various Renderings and Readings from the best Authorities. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1880.

THIS is certainly one of the most important publications of our age of Biblical revision and commentary. It anticipates the work of the Westminster Revisers, which will not be ready for publication till May; and at the same time it enables the public to see how vast is the labour of revision by putting them in possession of the material on which revisers have to work. In fact, it almost helps a reader to revise the authorized version for himself. When the Westminster Revision has fixed its text, many will read the improved version without noticing the changes introduced, being quite unconscious of the opposing critical forces of which that rendering is the resultant. But with the Variorum Bible, and its formidable array on every page of various readings and renderings, backed up with whole alphabets of initials, this is impossible.

The fear is, lest perhaps the mind of the ordinary Bible-reading public is hardly prepared for such a revelation of variation and divergence in a version authorized by the good king James. Bishop Ellicott, we believe, said that a revision of the English Bible would rob Dissenters of their best texts. The tendency of the Variorum Bible is to drown all alike in a flood of uncertainty and variation. In fact, a Variorum Bible, unsettling reading and rendering alike, is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the soli-biblical principle of Protestantism. How happy would the author of the "Errata" have been, could he have foreseen the day when the Queen's printers would issue a Variorum Bible, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge a Revision of King James's.

Still, it must be acknowledged that this work is a wonderful epitome of the toils of biblical critics, and a marvel of condensed knowledge. Whatever the effect upon the unlearned, it is a book very useful to the student, especially if he can be sure of its accuracy. On this point one cannot but express doubts. For, on referring to the well-known passage, 1 Cor. xi. 27, the various reading is made to support the error of the text by citing MSS. and editions which are unquestionably of the opposite reading. Again, the distinction between a various reading and a various rendering is not always capable of expression in English, and is often very confusing. The care taken by the Editors, when citing the Sinaitic and Vatican codices, to distinguish between the work of the different correctors, is needlessly minute. In looking at certain difficult passages in the Old Testament, it is disappointing to

find that the various renderings given seldom diminish the difficulty, even where that is quite possible; for instance, the old difficulties about the number of Ephraimites slain (Judges xii. 6), or the men of Beth-shemesh (1 Kings vi. 19). Nor is anything done to relieve Dr. Colenso of his difficulty as to how the priest could carry the whole bullock some three-quarters of a mile (Lev. iv. 12).

Catherine d'Aragon et les origines du Schisme Anglican.

Par ALBERT DU BOYS. Paris: Victor Palmé. 1880.

IN the above work M. du Boys has furnished the French public with an ably-written, conscientious, and therefore trustworthy, Life of the first of Henry VIII.'s unhappy wives. As one of Catherine's admirers long since said—

Those that can pity, here
May, if they think it well, let fall a tear;
The subject will deserve it. Such as give
Their money out of hope, they may believe,
May here find truth too. (Prologue to "King Henry VIII.")

In these two requisites for an interesting volume, a worthy subject and historical truth, M. du Boys is eminently happy. Few lives have more sad interest attaching to them than has Catherine of Aragon's, and few have been more completely cleared from the misrepresentations of a more prejudiced age by the recent discoveries and publication of the genuine records of the period when that life was not yet a thing of the past.

To English readers there may not be anything very new or very striking in this work, but even to them it ought to be a subject of congratulation that sound views on historical subjects are being propagated abroad, and the excellent summary which M. du Boys gives of the beginning of the English schism may be of use even here in England. The history of that schism is necessarily connected with the tale of Queen Catherine's wrongs, and so much of it as M. du Boys has told makes us look forward with pleasure to his promised biographies of Cardinals Fisher and Pole, where we may hope to see the subject continued. Its completion must yet be told in the Life of yet another Cardinal, the great Dr. Allen, whose memory is surely deserving of some lasting monument in English Catholic literature.

BOOKS OF DEVOTION AND SPIRITUAL READING.

1. *Meditations for every day in the Year.* By the Right Rev. Dr. CHALENNOR. A New and Revised Edition by the Very Rev. Monsignor VIRTUE. London: Burns & Oates. 1880.
2. *Manual for Communion;* containing Meditations and Prayers in the form of a Retreat before First Communion. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1880.
3. *St. Mary Magdalen.* By Père LACORDAIRE. Translated by E. A. HAZELAND. London: Burns & Oates. 1880.
4. *Catechism of First Communion.* Suitable for Children. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1880.
5. *The Practice of Interior Recollection with God.* Drawn from the Psalms of David. By Father PAUL SEGNERI, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1880.
6. *The Lamb of God;* or, Reflections on the Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By the Rev. T. H. KINANE, P.P. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1880.
7. *The Parochial Hymn-Book.* New and Revised Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
8. *The Dominican Hymn-Book, with Vespers and Compline.* London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
9. *The Priest of the Eucharist;* or, a Sketch of the Life of Very Rev. Peter J. Eymard. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
10. *The Story of St. Frideswide, Virgin and Patroness of Oxford.* By FRANCIS GOLDIE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
11. *Select Works of the Venerable Father Nicholas Lancicius, S.J.* Translated from the Latin. Vol. II. With a Preface by Father GALLWEY, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.

1. Monsignor Virtue has given us a new and revised issue of the meditations of Bishop Challoner. (There seems really no reason why the familiar name should be spelt "Challenor" in the new edition.) This admirable book of spiritual reading will probably retain its hold over the affections of devout Catholics for many years yet to come. The Editor professes to have eliminated certain grotesque peculiarities of style, to have corrected undoubted mistakes, and to have pruned away a "large amount" of redundant words. The last operation is one that might easily be carried too far. Bishop Challoner's "lists" of words are generally full of design. To the attentive reader they supply a number of distinct points of thought and meditation, arranged in natural sequence and not one of them really redundant. Challoner may easily be over-edited, if one starts with the idea that he is to be adapted exclusively to be read aloud. The amiable Dr. Husenbeth edited him (disastrously) some forty years ago, on the principle of fitting him "to be read aloud in families and communities." We are glad to see that Monsignor Virtue has restored the greater part of what Dr. Husenbeth left out. Perhaps, however, the eighteen additional meditations which Dr. Husenbeth added from the works of

Alban Butler, might have been inserted with advantage. The present edition will be welcome to those who wish for a handsome copy, at a reasonable price, of the solid, fruitful, and most penetrating "Considerations" of a man whose name can never be forgotten by English Catholics.

2. This "Manual," which reaches us from Dublin, is, on the whole, a pious, sensible, and useful preparation for first Communion, and for Communion in general. The devout reflections or meditations on our Blessed Lord, and on the Holy Eucharist itself, strike us as being very effective. It does not seem that the writer succeeds so well on the subject of Sin. We have here the customary feudal view of a man's duties and shortcomings. The preacher must go deeper than this, or else the present generation will not be persuaded that sin is a very great evil. Some of the prayers are far too long, especially for children. We may remark that the magnificent prayer of St. Thomas of Aquin, after Communion, is disfigured by a slight omission; and that there are two "Litanies" which have no business to be in the book.

3. We need do nothing more than announce this pretty little volume, containing a well executed translation of Lacordaire's picturesque and vigorous Life of St. Mary Magdalen.

4. A Catechism specially prepared for the instruction of first Communicants, is useful both to the candidates and to their teachers. The one named here will be found suitable in every respect. Its price is only one penny, and it contains 70 pages of matter.

5. Few preachers or devout writers have understood and used Holy Scripture better than Father Segneri. His profound acquaintance with them reminds us of St. Augustine himself, whilst his happy touch in rendering them luminous by a slight word of exegesis brings back St. Thomas of Aquin. The little book called "The Practice of Interior Recollection with God, drawn from the Psalms of David," was originally compiled from the Latin text of the Psalter, with brief annotations in Italian. Both text and notes have here been rendered into English, and the result is a pleasing volume of Scriptural prayer for all occasions and all sorts of people.

6. Archdeacon Kinane is already known to readers in Ireland and England by his devout book called the "Dove of the Tabernacle," and other pious treatises. The work under notice is similar in style and treatment to those already published; but the subject is even more attractive. It was a very happy idea to present the whole life of our Lord in the form of a devout half-expository, half-meditative history. On the whole, nothing so well suits the generality of Christians for meditation as the life of our Blessed Saviour. To set forth this divine life quite simply, but with many pious thoughts and a commentary of ardent aspiration, has been Dr. Kinane's purpose. The book, which is strongly recommended in a preface by the Archbishop of Cashel, will be welcomed by many.

7 and 8. These two Hymnals will be found useful, each in its sphere. The Parochial Hymn-book, of which this is a new

and revised edition, has only one defect that we can see, and that is, the smallness of the type; and we confess that it is not easy to see how that could be helped. As it is, the book contains an immense amount of matter, having devotions for all occasions and requirements, as well as the 400 or 500 hymns from which it takes its name. The "Dominican Hymn-book" wears, as might be expected, a Dominican complexion, and groups its hymns round the Dominican Offices and Liturgy. The two books naturally, to some extent, print the same hymns. There are one or two curious divergences in the texts; for instance, the well-known hymn "O happy flowers, O happy flowers!" begins, in the Dominican collection, "O flowers, O happy flowers, which day and night!" and carries the same unlike likeness throughout the version. There is one phrase of a popular hymn in which we cannot help wishing that one or other had deviated into correctness and sense: what does "*thrown on life's surge*" mean? Surely the obvious word is "tost."

9. Père Eymard, of whose life Lady Herbert here gives a most readable and devout sketch, was at first a member of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, but left that congregation to found the "Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament" (1858). This little book may well attract the attention of all pastors who are anxious to promote in their flocks the first of all devotions —devotion to the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. It would be an excellent text-book for the "confraternities" or "altar societies" which are happily multiplying amongst us.

10. The holy Virgin Frideswide, the patroness of Oxford, lived a long time ago; but there seems little reason, as Father Goldie well remarks, to doubt that her legend is substantially historical. It could hardly be better set forth, in its picturesqueness and its touching associations, than in this beautifully got-up volume. If the saints guard and bless the places where their names rest, as we know they do, then will the Catholic revival in Oxford be well promoted by this opportune act of devotion to a patroness who can do more for Oxford than all her doctors.

11. This is a well-executed translation, carefully edited, of two most useful treatises of Lancicius, one on "Rash Judgment," the other on "Aridity." It need not be said that Lancicius is a solid and fertile writer, one of those great Jesuit compilers who brought the treasures of the ancient spirituality to the door of Christians who were beginning to live as if there were no other food for the soul but pedantic sermons and fierce polemics. His works are truly treasure-houses of thoughts and examples. May we mildly protest against Father Gallwey's misreading, or bad recollection, of Venerable Bede? The famous council at Godmundham was not called to deliberate whether St. Paulinus should be obeyed or killed. King Edwin had made up his mind to be baptized, and the assembly was held in order, if possible, that all his chiefs might consent to be baptized with him. The "Let him die!" is the effect of the pure light of nature (Pref. v.).

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